UCLA
Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press

Title
Images in Action: The Southern Andean Iconographic Series

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7gf348nt

ISBN
978-1-938770-14-2

Publication Date
2018-09-01

Data Availability
The data associated with this publication are available at: https://dig.ucla.edu/sais/

Peer reviewed

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Images in Action

The Southern Andean Iconographic Series

Edited by
William H. Isbell • Mauricio I. Uribe
Anne Tiballi • Edward P. Zegarra

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Images in Action

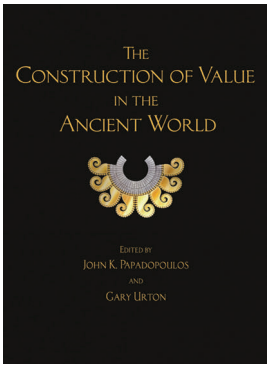
READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

UCLA COTSEN INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY PRESS

COTSEN ADVANCED SEMINAR SERIES

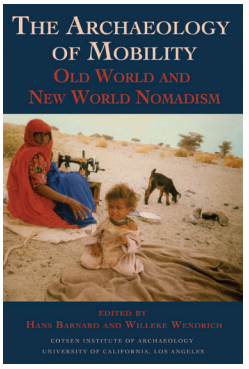
Books in this series present the published results of the Cotsen Advanced Seminars, cross-disciplinary conferences periodically sponsored by the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology

Volume 5



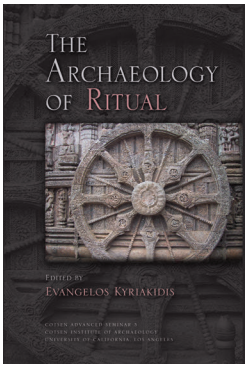
The Construction of Value in the Ancient World
Edited by John K. Papadopoulos and Gary Urton

Volume 4



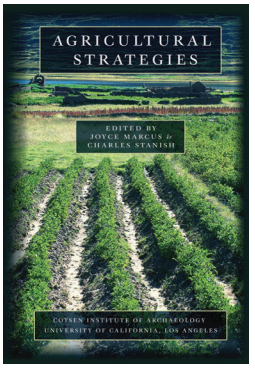
The Archaeology of Mobility: Old World and New World Nomadism
Edited by Hans Barnard and Willeke Wendrich

Volume 3



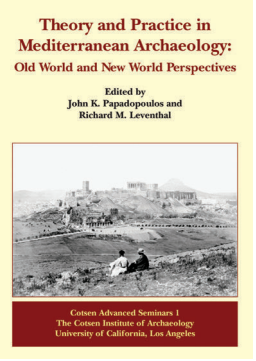
The Archaeology of Ritual
Edited by Evangelos Kyriakidis

Volume 2



Agricultural Strategies
Edited by Joyce Marcus and Charles Stanish

Volume 1



Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives
Edited by John K. Papadopoulos and Richard M. Leventhal

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Images in Action

The Southern Andean Iconographic Series

Edited by
William H. Isbell
Mauricio I. Uribe
Anne Tiballi
Edward P. Zegarra

UCLA COTSEN INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY PRESS

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press is the publishing unit of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, a premier research organization dedicated to the creation, dissemination, and conservation of archaeological knowledge and heritage. It is home to both the Interdepartmental Archaeology Graduate Program and the UCLA/Getty Master's Program in the Conservation of Archaeological and Ethnographic Materials. The Cotsen Institute provides a forum for innovative faculty research, graduate education, and public programs at UCLA in an effort to positively impact the academic, local and global communities. Established in 1973, the Cotsen Institute is at the forefront of archaeological research, education, conservation and publication, and is an active contributor to interdisciplinary research at UCLA.

The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press specializes in producing high-quality academic volumes in nine different series, including *Monumenta Archaeologica*, *Monographs*, *World Heritage and Monuments*, *Cotsen Advanced Seminars*, and *Ideas, Debates, and Perspectives*. Through a generous endowment by Lloyd E. Cotsen, longtime Institute volunteer and benefactor, the Press makes the fruits of archaeological research accessible to scholars, professionals, students, and the general public. Our archaeological publications receive critical acclaim in both academic communities and the public at large.

The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA
Willeke Wendrich, Director
Aaron A. Burke, Editor-in-Chief
Randi Danforth, Publications Director
Deidre Whitmore, Digital Archaeology Lab Director

Editorial Board

Willeke Wendrich	Africa (Ex officio member)
Li Min	East Asia
John K. Papadopoulos	Mediterranean Basin
Gregson Schachner	North America–Southwest
Stella Nair	South America–Andes
Richard G. Lesure	South America–Mesoamerica
Aaron A. Burke	West Asia–Near East
Randi Danforth	Ex officio member

Edited by Gillian Dickens
Designed by Sally Boylan

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Isbell, William Harris, 1943- editor. | Uribe, Mauricio I., editor. | Tiballi, Anne, editor. | Zegarra, Edward P., editor.
Title: Images in action : the Southern Andean iconographic series / edited by William H. Isbell, Mauricio I. Uribe, Anne Tiballi, and Edward P. Zegarra.
Description: [Los Angeles, California] : UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, [2018] | Series: Cotsen advanced seminars ; 6 | "Images in Action is composed of revised papers presented at an international archaeological conference held at the Universidad de Chile Santiago on March 16-17, 2007." | Includes bibliographical references.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018005734 | ISBN 9781938770142 (alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Andes Region--Civilization--Congresses. | Andes Region--Antiquities--Congresses.
Classification: LCC F2212 .I49 2018 | DDC 980/.01--dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018005734

Copyright ©2018 Regents of the University of California
All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Dedicated to the memory of Joerg Haeberli, an inspired thinker who earned the admiration and friendship of his Andean archaeology colleagues. Joerg revolutionized thinking about the ancient peoples of the Sihuas Valley, and greater Arequipa region. With exceptional devotion, he advocated for the overwhelming importance of textiles in understanding Andean social processes, while skillfully mediating the divide between archaeologists and art collectors. Joerg will be remembered for his spectacularly illustrated presentations and his keen insights about the past. He will also be greatly missed for his gentlemanly good nature, both as a friend and as an intellectual beacon.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Contents

Contributors ix

Chapter 1: Introduction: Social Interactions in the Southern Andes 1
William H. Isbell

Part 1: SAIS Origins and Early Influences

Chapter 2: Identification, Definition, and Continuities of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition in the Titicaca Basin 15
Sergio J. Chávez

Chapter 3: Late Formative Period Ceramics from Pukara: Insights from Excavations on the Central Pampa 51
Elizabeth A. Klarich and Cecilia Chávez Justo

Chapter 4: Stone Stelae of the Southern Basin: A Stylistic Chronology of Ancestral Personages 75
John Wayne Janusek and Arik Ohnstad

Chapter 5: Travels of a Rayed Head: Textile Movement and the Concepts of Center and Periphery in the Southern Andes 107
Ann H. Peters

Chapter 6: Front-Face Deity Motifs and Themes in the Southern Andean Iconographic Series 139
Joerg Haeberli

Part 2: Late SAIS and the Tiwanaku Realm

Chapter 7: The Tiwanaku Ceramic Offerings of the Island of Pariti, Lake Titicaca, Bolivia 209
Antti Korpisaari

Chapter 8: The Tiwanaku Style in Cochabamba: How "Derived" Was It? 239
Karen Anderson

Chapter 9: Gods and Goddesses in Diaspora: Gender, Patriarchy, and Resistance in Tiwanaku Ceramic Iconography 275
Paul S. Goldstein

Chapter 10: Tiwanaku in the Tarapacá Region (Chile): Realities or Illusions in the Desert? 305
Carolina Agüero and Mauricio I. Uribe

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 11: Visionary Plants and SAIS Iconography in San Pedro de Atacama and Tiahuanaco 333
Constantino Manuel Torres

Chapter 12: San Pedro de Atacama, Northern Chile: The Domestic Ceramics of the Late Formative and Middle Period 373
Emily M. Stovel and Michael A. Deibel

Chapter 13: Exploring the SAIS throughout the Middle Horizon in San Pedro de Atacama, Chile 387
Christina Torres-Rouff and Mark Hubbe

Chapter 14: Symbols, Offerings, and Metallic Goods from the Puna and Quebrada de Humahuaca, Northwestern Argentina 399
Myriam N. Tarragó

Part 3: Late SAIS and the Wari Realm

Chapter 15: Ayacucho and the Staff God Pantheon: Wari, Tiwanaku, and the Late SAIS Era 423
William H. Isbell

Chapter 16: Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes 479
Donna J. Nash

Chapter 17: Wari Textiles, Vehicles of Ideology, and Power during the Andean Middle Horizon: Iconography of the Weavings from Huaca Malena, Asia Valley 501
Rommel Angeles Falcón

Chapter 18: The Middle Horizon and Southern Andean Iconographic Series on the Central Coast of Peru 529
Peter Eeckhout

Chapter 19: Interacting Polities on the North Coast of Peru: The Moche and Wari Dilemma 571
Hélène Bernier and Claude Chapdelaine

Part 4: Interpretive Perspectives on SAIS Art

Chapter 20: Mothers and Others: Female Images and Life Cycle Rituals in the Southern Andes 599
JoEllen Burkholder

Chapter 21: Huari, Tiahuanaco, and SAIS: The Local and the Foreign in the Iconography of the Empire 631
Krzystof Makowski

Chapter 22: Snake, Fish, and Toad/Frog Iconography in the Ceramic Caches of Pariti, Bolivia 659
Martti Pärssinen

Chapter 23: Founding Fathers of the Middle Horizon: Quests and Conquests for Andean Identity in the Wari Empire 683
Patricia J. Knobloch

Chapter 24: From Structure to Cognition: The "Logic of Models" in the Pattern Systems of Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics 721
Mary P. Frame

Chapter 25: Circum-Puna Style in the Art of Pre-Hispanic Hallucinogenic Paraphernalia (Atacama and Northwestern Argentina) 757
Helena Horta Tricallotis

Chapter 26: Conclusion: SAIS and the Study of Southern Andean Prehistory 785
William H. Isbell

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Contributors

William H. Isbell is Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York at Binghamton, where he has taught since 1971. He has directed archaeological investigations at numerous locations in Peru and Bolivia, authoring and editing many books and academic papers on Andean prehistory. Dr. Isbell is an internationally recognized expert on the Middle Horizon (AD 600–1000), when the capital cities of Huari and Tiahuanaco dominated the Andean world.

Anne Tiballi is Director of Academic Engagement at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. She received her PhD in Andean archaeology from Binghamton University, where she studied under Dr. William Isbell, and conducted her dissertation research at the Penn Museum on the Cemetery of the Sacrificed Women at Pachacamac.

Mauricio I. Uribe is an Associate Professor at the Universidad de Chile where he has worked since 1998. He received his licenciatura in Anthropology and M.A. in Archaeology from the same institution. He has also undertaken coursework for his doctoral degree at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina. He has conducted several research projects in the Norte Grande region of Chile in the Atacama Desert, studying Andean pre-Hispanic cultures.

Edward P. Zegarra received his PhD in Anthropology from Binghamton University in 2018. His dissertation research focuses on strategic collaboration and sustainable archaeological site development at the site of Huari in Ayacucho, Peru.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Carolina Agüero
Universidad Católica del Norte, Chile

Karen Anderson
University of California, Santa Barbara, USA

Rommel Angeles Falcón
Museo de Sitio de Pachacamac, Peru

Hélène Bernier
Heritage College, Canada

JoEllen Burkholder
University of Wisconsin at Whitewater, USA

Claude Chapdelaine
Université de Montréal, Canada

Sergio J. Chávez
Central Michigan University, USA

Cecilia Chávez Justo
Collasuyo Archaeological Research Institute (CARI), Puno, Peru

Michael A. Deibel
Earlham College, USA

Peter Eeckhout
Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

Mary P. Frame
Independent Scholar, USA

Paul S. Goldstein
University of California, San Diego, USA

†**Joerg Haeberli**
Independent Scholar

Helena Horta Tricallotis
Universidad Católica del Norte, Chile

Mark Hubbe
Ohio State University, USA

William H. Isbell
State University of New York at Binghamton, USA

John W. Janusek
Vanderbilt University, USA

Elizabeth A. Klarich
Smith College, USA

Patricia J. Knobloch
Institute of Andean Studies, USA

Antti Korpisaari
University of Helsinki, Finland

Krzysztof Makowski
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, Peru

Donna J. Nash
University of North Carolina at Greensboro, USA

Arik Ohnstad
Vanderbilt University, USA

Martti Pärssinen
University of Helsinki, Finland

Ann H. Peters
University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, USA

Emily M. Stovel
Office of Economic Development, Sandoval County, New Mexico, USA

Myriam N. Tarragó
Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Constantino Manuel Torres
Florida International University, USA

Christina Torres-Rouff
University of California, Merced, USA

Mauricio I. Uribe
Universidad de Chile, Chile

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 1

Introduction
Social Interactions in the Southern Andes

William H. Isbell

The central Andean culture area is privileged by South American archaeologists, much as the Middle East is privileged in Old World prehistory. As home of the continent's pristine civilization and center of great art, the central Andes receives the most media attention, research investment, archaeological tourism, and discussion by scholars. But central Andean culture coexisted with a southern neighbor that appears to have had separate but overlapping roots. Although they experienced different histories and cultural processes, neither can be fully understood in isolation from the other. Among the goals of this book—and of the original round-table presentations that have evolved into its chapters—is highlighting this southern Andean cultural complex to promote a better understanding of its prehistoric past. Approaches from both processual and postprocessual archaeology promote the exploration and interpretation of ancient material remains and social processes. It is our hope that this volume is an initial step in increasing the breadth and depth of our understanding of southern Andean prehistory, while freeing twenty-first-century archaeology of crippling assumptions coming from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anthropology, most particularly the diffusionist model that identified precocious origin centers (see Moseley 1985) as sole actors in the ancient past.

The southern Andes—far southern Peru, western Bolivia, northern Chile, and northwestern Argentina (Figure 1.1)—is not precisely defined, but rather than establishing firm boundaries (which may later prove counterproductive, hindering new understandings more than promoting them), we instead seek to identify and determine a culturally significant, rather than geographically bounded, southern research space. The southern Andes was not a culture area sharing an enduring pattern of adaptation to a distinctive environment and, consequently, accounting for similar technomic artifacts, to employ Lewis Binford's (1962) terminology of early processual archaeology. Rather, the chapters in this volume show that what defines the southern Andes are "sociotechnic" and "ideotechnic" artifacts—tools of social interaction (see González 2004). Finally, archaeologists know that cultural boundaries are not chronologically stable, so our southern Andean region must be defined diachronically, with social interactions and spatial distributions of artifacts varying through time.

The landscape of the southern Andes is imposing and formidable, comprising very high and steep-sided mountains and characterized by great environmental variation. The Pacific Coast constitutes the world's driest desert. High altitudes are very cold, and the climate is arid, except along the eastern edge of the Andes. Vegetation is sparse and human inhabitants have always been thinly distributed, except in favored locations like the Titicaca lakeshore and some of the lusher inter-Andean valleys. Through ingenious planning and indefatigable labor, prehistoric Andeans engineered irrigation canals, walled

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

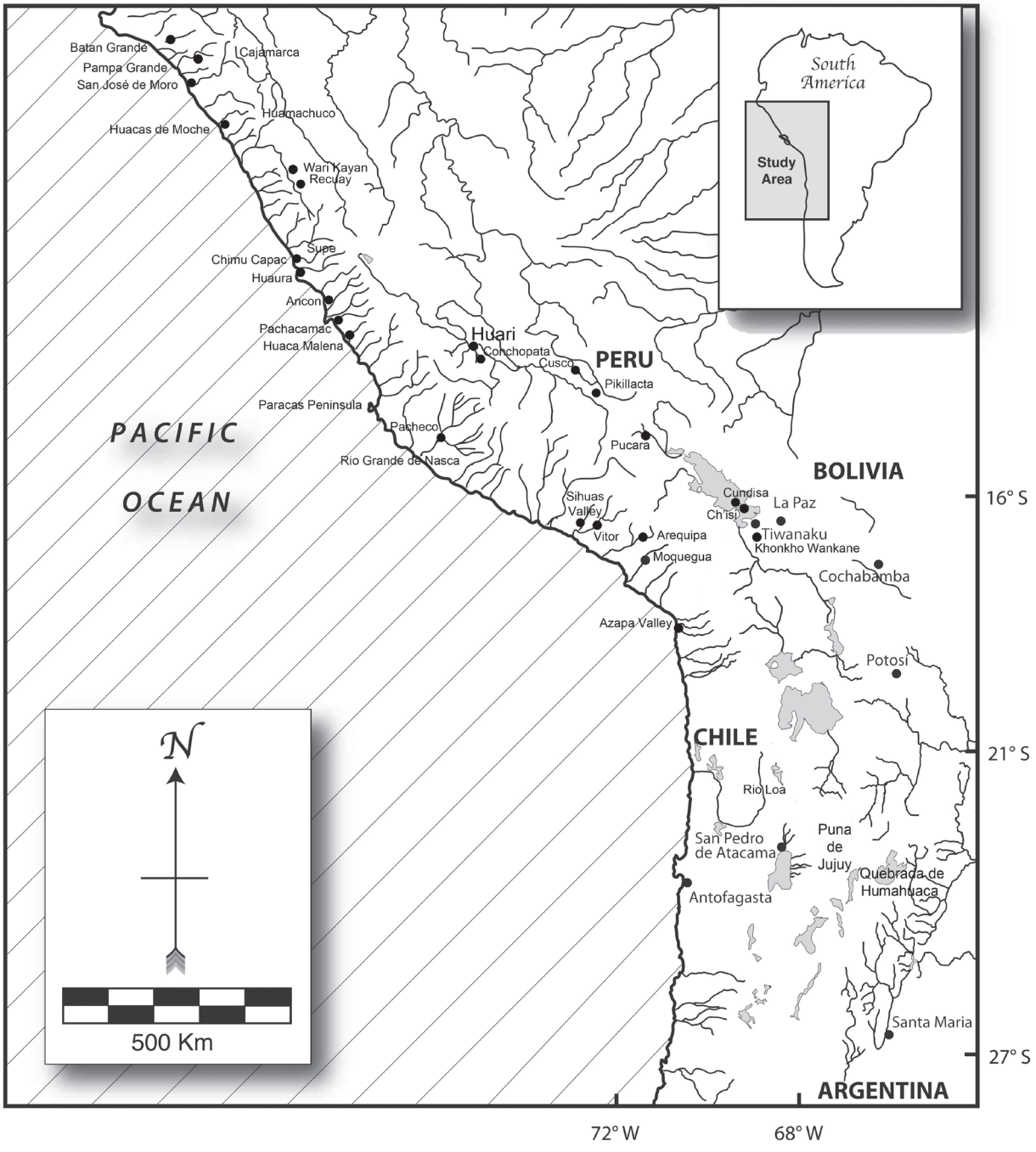


Figure 1.1. Map of the Central Andes and the Southern Andes region, showing the location of principal sites and features discussed in the chapters of this book.

and leveled hillside terraces, reclaimed wetlands, and intensified cultivation of diverse native domesticates in the myriad of contrasting ecological niches where each thrived (see Murra 1972). They converted high grasslands into pastures for llamas and alpacas, as well as caravanned their llamas across the mountains and Pacific shores, traversing great distances to confirm identities and exchange goods.

Long-distance social relationships transformed Andean physical space into social space (Lefebvre 1991; Lizzari 2010; Mauss 1967). Complex and multiple relationships between community residents and visitors crystallized contrasting identities into stereotypic reputations that were materialized in distinctive artifacts from distant places (Lizzari 2010; Stovel 2008; see also Sherratt 2010). Indeed, it seems to have been a spatial

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

imagination, materialized in special artifacts, that promoted mutual concepts of close and distant places and peoples that underlie the "southern Andean" phenomenon explored by contributors to this volume.

Embarking on a new way of discussing the southern Andes, we recommend that archaeologists employ the simplest analytical concept for the social space we seek, Joseph Caldwell's (1964) "interaction sphere." This term highlights the relationships between social interaction and culture processes with a minimum of assumptions—such as core and periphery—that tend to determine historical dynamics inferred by advocates of the world-system model (Algaze 1993; Kardulias 1998; Stein 1999). While world-systems relations may explicate significant processes in the southern Andes, they should be inferred in light of supporting data, not assumed from the outset.

Currently, the earliest evidence for the existence of a southern Andean interaction sphere is found in the artifacts and images of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition of the Lake Titicaca Basin, in the early first millennium BC (Chapter 2, this volume; see Chávez and Chávez 1976). Cusco may have participated in this tradition, as well as some peoples of the *montaña* valleys to the east and coastal deserts to the west, but more research is required before these relationships can be dated and verified. During the first millennium AD, southern Andean interaction spread over a much larger region than Lake Titicaca, probably reaching throughout northern Chile to at least San Pedro de Atacama by the early centuries of our era. Around AD 600 or so, diagnostic artifacts and imagery had reached northwestern Argentina, extending east to the Quebrada de Huamahuaca and south as far as Catamarca and La Rioja. Perhaps the interaction is even older. Bolivia's tropical transversal valleys, including the vast Cochabamba Valley complex, were also active participants in the sphere.

To the north, objects diagnostic of the southern Andean interaction sphere appeared in Ayacucho and from there spread to most of the rest of the central Andes. Indeed, for a few centuries, southern Andean religious iconography overwhelmed the central Andes (Isbell 2008) before disappearing altogether soon after the end of the first millennium. Significantly, during the second half of the first millennium AD, symbols of southern Andean interaction processes attained their greatest spatial extension. They also reached the zenith of intensity, as judged by popularity and formality of structure. These symbols, especially a distinctive set of southern images inscribed on a wide range of objects, are so standardized that many scholars interpret them as the pantheon of a widespread new religion (Isbell, Chapters 15 and 26, this volume; Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009; Makowski 2001; Menzel 1964). Employing this rather specific, elaborate, and diagnostic set of symbols, archaeologists can make exacting stylistic comparisons, establish relative dates, infer symbolic meanings, and explore long-term processes of cultural development. This complex of imagery and decorative art, recently named the "Southern Andean Iconographic Series," or SAIS, by Isbell and Knobloch (2006, 2009), probably represents the materialization of cultural institutions and identities around which archaeologists can most effectively trace and define a great deal of the cultural interaction that took place during the final millennium BC and first millennium AD throughout the southern Andes.

SAIS represents a corpus of well-described and clearly associated art materializing a reasonably well-dated era of interaction in the southern and central Andes. Furthermore, the "series" concept encompasses both time (tradition) and space (horizon) (Kubler 1962). This expedites diachronic studies of interactions and relationships across long distances. The iconic set consists of three images: the Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant(s). Their formal similarities and contextual associations establish a nucleus through which less explicit variations, as well as antecedent and derived forms, can be identified and described. This nucleus of imagery also permits archaeologists to identify objects that may carry or accompany one or more of the diagnostic icons (like *kero* drinking cups) that may have communicated a related message or meaning, although core icons may be absent in some cases.

Even with the organizing concept of SAIS as a new analytical tool, significant obstacles must be overcome before Andean prehistorians can effectively understand, interpret, and model ancient social processes in the southern Andes. Three of these obstacles are especially salient: first is the attenuation of scholarly communications across modern national borders, especially where multiple nations are involved. Some researchers might consider this irrelevant in the Internet age, but poor communication continues to confuse and inhibit archaeological scholarship throughout the southern Andes, making more effective dissemination of information a key goal of this volume and its contributors.

The second obstacle is how archaeologists approach and understand the cultures that participated in the southern Andean interaction sphere, especially relative to current theory in anthropological archaeology. For decades, archaeologists conceptualized the rise of complex societies

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

in the Andes in terms of precocious centers from which high culture simply diffused. Debates focused on locating the earliest center rather than on understanding how and why social complexity succeeded or interpreting the meanings materialized in the objects that experienced broad diffusion. Moseley (1985) criticized this approach as "origin center" thinking, and today such simplistic diffusion is dismissed in favor of analyses that invoke nuanced negotiations by informed agents. The legacy of origin center archaeology has not been eradicated, however, and it continues to drive much thinking and research in the southern Andes.

The third obstacle is closely associated with origin center thinking and the diffusionist assumptions that dominated archaeological scholarship during the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. Since the early days of central Andean archaeological research, Tiahuanaco[1] has been identified as the major origin center from which high culture—especially the Tiwanaku style—was spread to lesser Andean societies and peoples (see Stübel and Uhle 1892; Uhle 1903b). Today, despite origin center thinking's fall from favor, its legacy persists in culture and style names, chronologies and classifications, and assumptions about cultural relationships, all adopted decades ago. Until archaeologists examine and thoroughly reject these old structures and convictions, we will not be able to move on to new and superior understandings.

Multinational Communication across the Southern Andean Interaction Sphere

The shared social space and cultural constitution of the ancient southern Andean interaction sphere is inadequately appreciated and poorly described, especially compared with central Andean culture. This is due, at least in part, to deficient communication of archaeological information.

The southern Andes comprises portions of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru; the central Andes encompasses one modern nation, Peru, and a tiny piece of Bolivia (Bennett 1946, 1948; Steward 1946). For the most part, central Andean practitioners employ the same archaeological chronology, study and teach in incestuously linked intellectual schools, attend the same meetings, and publish in the same journals. Of course, there is some language separation, and provincial Latin American university towns have deeply individualistic intellectual traditions that favor local publication over international presentations of scholarship (despite the advent of the Internet). But, despite these limitations, there is respectable communication within the community of central Andean prehistorians.

Although some investigators of the Peruvian Titicaca Basin are more allied with Bolivian scholarship than archaeology in Peru, communication deteriorates at the Peru/Bolivia border. The chronology preferred by most Tiwanaku researchers differs from that favored by central Andeanists (see Stanish and Cohen 2005:5), making cross-dating more difficult and complicating comparative discussions. Indeed, Bolivia has no universal archaeological chronology, in contrast to the central Andes—and only a few of its excavators apply the central Andean scheme south of the border. Interaction between Peruvianists and Bolivianists is less frequent than within either group, with fewer joint conferences and fewer shared field activities, such as visits to colleagues' projects and collections. Fewer international projects of edited books and preferences for publication in different journals characterize cross-national scholarship, but perhaps most important, books and journals published in Peru or Bolivia tend to remain in their country of origin, with only limited international circulation. In many cases, the publications of provincial universities and their scholars hardly circulate beyond the home city. Furthermore, the scholarship of archaeologists teaching in provincial capitals is often judged to be too specialized to appeal to the broad readership imagined by editors of international journals. These factors undermine intellectual communication, reducing the circulation of new research findings and, in particular, cutting down on the availability of detailed descriptions and illustrations.

If communications between Peruvianists and Bolivianists are attenuated, the archaeological communities of Argentina and Chile are separated even further. Both of these nations have excellent universities and museums, with their own academic traditions, schools of archaeology, and research institutions; authors, intellectual circles, and journals; reports and editing projects; and picture books, conferences, and exchanges. These types of scholarship tend to be more regional or national in reach than international. Even with the increased accessibility provided by the Internet, it is difficult for a central Andeanist to stay abreast of archaeological research in northwestern Argentina or northern Chile, and detailed information on new excavations, artifact descriptions, and recent chronologies/dates is often quite limited outside the nation of the research. Of course, research by archaeologists from many countries contributes a diversity of perspectives, but efficient international circulation of information is essential if archaeologists are to appreciate or understand the shared cultural practices and processes that unified ancient peoples across the international space of the southern Andes.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

While communications have retarded the fuller understanding of the southern Andean interaction sphere and the SAIS, much can be learned by bringing diverse scholars together. Regional groups and communities of researchers have unique histories of knowledge. They know particular sites and materials firsthand and with a level of detail unavailable to international colleagues. They bring to the table of discussion a specialized knowledge in depth, which is essential for forging a more realistic and integrated understanding. Wari scholars cannot appreciate similarities of the early Middle Horizon (hence forth, MH) humped animal with Aguada Phase felines unless a sample of that iconography is readily available.

Diffusionism and the Tiahuanaco Origin Center Myth

In 1964, Dorothy Menzel published "Style and Time in the Middle Horizon." A key assumption on which her groundbreaking seriation was based was that diffusion from Tiahuanaco played the seminal role in the emergence of Huari as the MH capital in Peru. Specifically, Menzel (1964:19–21) argued that Peru's most strongly Tiahuanaco-influenced imagery was painted on oversized urns excavated by Julio C. Tello in 1942 at Ayacucho's Conchopata site (1942). These urns and their decorations initiated Middle Horizon Epoch 1a.

Menzel did not have stratigraphy, associations, or absolute dates to confirm chronological priority for what she named the "Conchopata style," after the site where Tello discovered the Tiahuanaco-like iconography. Her underlying assumption was that radical changes in local social and political organization produced Huari, and these, in turn, initiated the MH. Diffusion of Tiwanaku influences was widely documented throughout the central Andes during the Middle Horizon, so it could be assumed that key social and political changes were introduced with the new iconography. As new cultural patterns initiated MH Epoch 1a, it seemed clear that Tiahuanaco was responsible.

It is now apparent that the Conchopata style and its Tiwanaku/SAIS icons appeared at the Conchopata site later than initial MH 1a. In fact, recent excavations at Conchopata show that Huari was already well on its way to becoming a city with widespread political influence when SAIS imagery arrived (Isbell 2001; Isbell and Cook 2002; Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009; Knobloch 1983). However, in the 1960s, it was still axiomatic that Tiahuanaco was the origin center of cultural complexity for much of central Andean civilization, and Menzel did not question foundational knowledge that had stood for 60 years (see Stübel and Uhle 1892; Uhle 1903a, 1903b).

Throughout the early twentieth century, archaeologists argued that Tiahuanaco had been an archaic megalithic city where remarkable cultural advances took place (Means 1931; Posnansky 1945; Ponce Sanginés 1976). In particular, it was the home of elaborate religious iconography sculpted on spectacular stone monuments, especially the famous "Gate of the Sun." Similar images distributed throughout the central Andes revealed the extent of Tiahuanaco's influence. The archaeological goal of the time was chronology building, and the art and artifacts of newly discovered assemblages were evaluated for any trace of Tiwanaku influence. Art that lacked identifiable similarities was usually judged pre-Tiwanaku, while styles with significant resemblances were ascribed to the Tiwanaku era (Middle Period)—or later, if the similarities were diffuse enough to imply simplification and disintegration of Tiwanaku influences over time. For example, cultures of Peru's coast that included variants of Tiwanaku iconography were classified as "Coast Tiahuanaco," which included an "Epigonal" substyle that was considered late because its objects represented simplified or degenerate versions Tiahuanaco's high art. But stylistically based judgments were not always accurate, and in this pre-^{14}C era, Philip Means (1931) identified Chavin's elaborate staff-bearing images as derived from Tiahuanaco's iconography—albeit evidencing a degree of reinterpretation that suggested a century or two of post-Tiwanaku stylistic evolution. Of course, today we know that Chavin was not diffused from Tiahuanaco and in fact preceded it by hundreds of years. However, the myth of the Tiahuanaco origin center became ever greater through the well-intended efforts of archaeologists to identify Tiwanaku influence and provide a relative date for the new archaeological styles and cultures that were being discovered.

In the mid-twentieth century, archaeologist and politician Carlos Ponce Sanginés (1947, 1969, 1976, 1985, 2001) sought to reconstruct Tiahuanaco as a focus of Bolivian national heritage. He deliberately emphasized its complexity and splendor, as well as its antiquity, to further nationalist political goals. One step was to create a new chronology—Tiwanaku I to V—that began with the appearance of the earliest pottery. With this terminology, Ponce represented Tiahuanaco as an unbroken Bolivian tradition from the end of archaic times. Especially important for him was preemptive nullification of any assertion that Tiahuanaco had been significantly influenced itself by diffusion from earlier origin

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

centers across the border in Peru. It was already apparent that Pucara, on the northern edge of the altiplano, was a strong contender for at least some of the roots of Tiahuanaco in the southern Andes, with impressive archaeological remains and obvious antiquity. But Ponce's control of the Bolivian past made it difficult for alternative voices to speak in contradiction. The old myth of the Tiahuanaco origin center expanded still more.

Menzel accepted some of the Tiwanaku myth in her 1960s and 1970s scholarship, and Ponce's chronology and dates were still employed by Alan Kolata (1993; see also Kolata 1996, 2003) at the close of the century. Today, a new chronology has been proposed (Janusek 2008) and is gaining popularity. It no longer assumes unbroken continuity in Tiwanaku culture, something confirmed by the studies of sculptural styles at Khonkho Wankane (Chapter 4, this volume). There is no trace of the SAIS Staff God or Profile Attendant even in the "Transitional" Phase of the stylistic sequence for monoliths—Mocachi, Wankane, Transitional, and Tiwanaku. These key images of the SAIS first appear in full-blown Tiwanaku sculpture. However, although the new chronology ascribes later dates to most periods than the comparable phases in Ponce's chronology, some prehistorians believe that the onset of Tiwanaku culture is still dated a century or more too early. This I consider to be the result of inertia from the legacy of Tiahuanaco's origin center myth. Its eradication will not be easy or quick, but it is a prerequisite for better understandings of the southern Andes.

Organization and Contents of the Volume

This volume is an outgrowth of a colloquium in pre-Columbian art and archaeology titled "The Southern Andean Iconographic Tradition." It was sponsored by Dumbarton Oaks, the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, the University of Chile (Santiago, where the meeting took place), and the State University of New York at Binghamton. The organizers were William H. Isbell and Mauricio Uribe. A total of 26 contributions appear, most of which originated as conference presentations, although a few of the original contributions were not submitted for publication, and several alternative papers were added more recently. The purpose of the conference was to promote the exchange of archaeological knowledge among an international set of scholars with research commitments to the southern Andean region. It was anticipated that cultural practices shared over long distances, as well as the nature and dynamics of interaction processes, would be an important theme for many participants. The SAIS concept was discussed, especially in dialogues concluding the conference. Many presenters incorporated the term "SAIS" into the published versions of their presentations.

In general, the chapters that follow have been organized in terms of chronological progression and regional divisions, although this was not always practical. Some chapters have been grouped on the basis of theoretical and topical issues. Every chapter appears with its own introduction, written by William Isbell, which often includes suggestions and aids for readers: for example, orthographic conventions, abbreviations, and which other chapters are most significantly related.

Following this introductory chapter, the first five chapters discuss Early SAIS styles and cultures that preceded the MH. In Chapter 2, Sergio Chávez introduces readers to the art of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition, an early pan–Titicaca Basin religious and social movement. His discussion shows that Yaya-Mama is the early source of Tiwanaku art, but, taking a broader perspective, it is also the origin of the SAIS. Chapter 3 by Elizabeth Klarich and Cecelia Chávez Justo presents results of recent excavations at the Pucara site, the primary center of the Pucara culture, which Sergio Chávez relegates to the late phase of Yaya-Mama imagery. Chapter 4 takes readers to Khonkho Wankane, at the southern edge of the Titicaca Basin. John Janusek and Arik Ohnstad present a chronology for southern altiplano stone sculpture, arguing that Khonkho Wankane was the immediate antecedent of the sculptural style that appeared in the MH at Tiahuanaco. Significantly, Khonkho's "Transitional" sculpture still lacks the SAIS triadic pantheon that must have appeared suddenly at Tiahuanaco itself.

In Chapter 5, Ann Peters takes readers away from the altiplano to the south coast of Peru, with a discussion of Rayed Head imagery in the Paracas culture and its relatives, Topará and early Nasca, at the end of the Early Horizon and beginning of the Early Intermediate Period (henceforth EIP). Her primary media are spectacular textiles. Although south-coast images of Rayed Heads share much with the Yaya-Mama tradition, Peters argues that they occur in many variants and that each was well integrated into its local south-coastal context. She is critical of interpretations that favor direct diffusion. Chapter 6, by the late Joerg Haeberli, focuses on developmental steps in the rise of Tiwanaku/Wari SAIS imagery from Early SAIS antecedents—especially

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Provincial Pucara textile imagery. He observes a significant hiatus between Early SAIS imagery and the triadic pantheon of Late SAIS Wari and Tiwanaku, which he seeks to fill by identifying "missing link" iconography. Focusing especially on textile art, Haeberli presents a remarkably refined radiocarbon-backed chronology for key cultural styles and a new explanation of SAIS at Huari that revises Dorothy Menzel's (1964, 1968, 1977) chronology for the MH.

Chapter 7 moves readers into the MH, with a presentation of Tiwanaku-style ceramics from a unique recent discovery on Pariti Island. Antti Korpisaari discusses the contexts, presents surprising radiocarbon dates, and describes the pottery of what is surely the most important cache of spectacular heartland Tiwanaku ceramic objects ever excavated by archaeologists.

The next group of chapters interrogates Tiwanaku (or Late SAIS)–style material culture in what have traditionally been considered peripheral localities. The focus in these chapters is on the nature of social and cultural interactions as revealed by careful studies of form and style. Karen Anderson, in Chapter 8, discusses Tiwanaku ceramics from the Cochabamba sites of Piñami and Quillacollo. She painstakingly shows that this pottery is no less authentic Tiwanaku than pottery belonging to heartland styles or peripheral settlements accepted as Tiwanaku colonies. While cautious about affirming colonial settlement of Cochabamba by Tiwanaku, Anderson presents a compelling case. Chapter 9 turns to the opposite side of the southern Andes, the far south Peruvian coast. Paul Goldstein discusses identities in Tiwanaku colonies established in the Middle Moquegua Valley, proposing the concept of "transregional communities," in which identity is not based on a permanent "home" but on relationships "in motion" over long distances. He also proposes the rise of a patrimonial cult that celebrated elite men though ritual feasts. Chapter 10, by Carolina Agüero and Mauricio Uribe, examines interactions between Tiwanaku and the Tarapaca oases of northern Chile, a little south of Moquegua on the Pacific Coast. The authors are critical of old studies that sought general interpretations and emphasize that analysis of local collections reveals great variation in the kinds of relationships indicated by the material remains. Moquegua, Arica, Tarapaca, and San Pedro de Atacama seem each to have had a different experience of Tiwanaku, much of it driven by the agency of local inhabitants. None of the general models proposed in the past is adequate.

Chapter 11, by Constantino Torres, examines art and artifacts from San Pedro de Atacama, northern Chile, especially paraphernalia for ingesting hallucinogenic snuffs, as the major medium for SAIS iconography. His data and conclusions are critical of interpretations that involve colonization or even intense contact between Tiahuanaco and the long-presumed Chilean peripheries. He infers more nuanced processes that probably involved stylistic change at slower rates in the marginal communities than Tiahuanaco itself. Chapter 12, by Emily Stovel and Michael Deibel, offers a new approach to San Pedro de Atacama archaeology, which has been limited almost exclusively to the analysis of artifacts from mortuary contexts. Employing trace element analysis on ceramics from the surface of a settlement (including a detailed discussion of methods), these scholars cast doubt on conclusions based on mortuary remains, that local social differentiation increased significantly during contact with Tiwanaku. Chapter 13, by Christina Torres-Rouff and Mark Hubbe, presents new radiocarbon dates from San Pedro de Atacama mortuary remains. While the significance of these dates must still be worked out, they suggest the appearance of SAIS art in San Pedro somewhat earlier than the beginning of the Tiwanaku 1 Phase at the type site. Chapter 14, by Myriam Tarragó, takes readers to the other side of the southern Andes, examining spectacular finds from special caches or graves excavated in northwestern Argentina decades ago. The most prominent objects are straight or concave sided, slightly flaring cups, sometimes of gold, but also of pottery or wood, that compare with the *kero* that is so diagnostic of Tiwanaku in its classic phases Tiwanaku 1 and 2 (Tiwanaku IV and V of Ponce Sanginés). Some gold cups have a human head effigy. Long-distance interaction and exchange are apparent, motivated at least in part by some kind of international ritual involving these special drinking vessels. The respect these vessels accrued was probably the product of their biographies, rather like Kula objects described by Bronislaw Malinowski (1922).

Chapter 15, by William H. Isbell, examines stylistic relations between Huari and Tiahuanaco. He argues that the SAIS triadic pantheon—Staff God, Profile Attendant(s), and Rayed Head—introduced to Huari/Conchopata was newly formulated at Tiahuanaco as well. A significant pre-SAIS MH occupation is described for Conchopata, into which Tiwanaku/Late SAIS imagery intruded toward the end of MH Epoch 1. Unified Huari-Tiahuanaco imagery was established but lasted only briefly, as struggle over how the supernatural should be experienced appears to have destabilized both centers.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The next grouping of chapters examines interactions within the Wari sphere of the Late SAIS period. Donna Nash, author of Chapter 16, describes Wari ceramics at Cerro Baúl, a vertical-sided mesa in the Moquegua Valley, where Wari colonists settled alongside Tiwanaku communities. Most exciting is an immense ceramic offering/smash from a patio floor that can be compared with, but also differs from, pottery offerings discovered in other portions of the Wari sphere. In Chapter 17, Rommel Angeles Falcón takes readers to the south-central coastal site of Huaca Malena, describing MH burials intruded into EIP mounds. Most impressive are lovely textiles that are astonishingly varied but document overwhelming Wari influence. An evaluation of Wari influence on Peru's central coast, more globally, is provided by Peter Eeckhout in Chapter 18. The chapter offers an excellent synthesis of the confusing ceramic styles and their chronological relations, focusing on Pachacamac. Although central coastal data are poorly published, Eeckhout argues that Wari influence was integrated into old and prominent coastal traditions. Menzel (1964, 1968, 1977) overestimated Wari power at Pachacamac and elsewhere. However, Wari impact as documented at Malena and at Pachacamac seems significantly different, requiring future resolution. Perhaps textiles were sensitive to some kinds of changes that were not well marked in ceramics—at least on the central coast. Hélène Bernier and Claude Chapdelaine author Chapter 19, evaluating Wari influence on the north coast. They definitively negate any case for Wari colonization or indirect rule in the old Moche region and also demonstrate that many stylistic features in Moche art attributed to Wari actually appeared well before the MH in traditional Moche contexts. On the other hand, specific Moche centers did interact with particular Wari cultural regions, such as San Jose de Morro, probably with Wari elites in highland Cajamarca.

The next grouping of chapters is large and somewhat heterogeneous, dealing with issues of meaning in SAIS art. Chapter 20, by JoEllen Burkholder, interrogates SAIS imagery for representations of female subjects; she successfully takes important steps toward identifying markers that can help archaeologists determine how gender was represented in the southern Andes. Her results are surprising and suggest that SAIS art depicted an abundance of women. Some readers may consider the identifications speculative, but that is the purpose of dialogue. Chapter 21, by Krzysztof Makowski, argues that Wari elites appropriated southern imagery to claim the prestige and power of Tiahuanaco for themselves. High art and fine material objects were carefully produced by artists trained in Tiwanaku skills and techniques to impress audiences at grand public rituals. Makowski also argues that variations in the images of the SAIS triple pantheon have been misinterpreted as individual deities, when they should be understood as representing a myriad of supernatural beings. Chapter 22, by Martti Pärssinen, offers a different interpretation of meaning in SAIS and Tiwanaku art specifically. Employing the largest clearly associated corpus of imagery—the ceramic caches from Pariti Island—and a structuralist approach, Pärssinen equates Tiwanaku image representational inventories with analogues from Inca ethnohistory, recognizing dual, tripartite, and quadripartite structures. He argues that properly arranged, impressive art like the Pariti cache was mnemonic for complex liturgical orations, recorded iconographically in lieu of writing. Chapter 23, by Patricia Knobloch, is a completely different interpretation of meaning in SAIS imagery, focusing on Wari art. Knobloch has studied Wari images of elite men who can be distinguished by features such as clothing, headdress, and face paint. Who were these important people, or "agents," as she has christened them? Agents 100, 101, and 102 are tracked in this chapter, revealing different temporal and spatial distributions for each, as well as what other agents associated with them. Suggesting that they be called "founding fathers," Knobloch infers narratives that the imagery might have depicted, revolving around the forceful introduction of SAIS religion and the conflicts that followed. Chapter 24, by Mary Frame, is a structural analysis of Late SAIS textiles, all two-panel tunics, and therefore probably of Wari manufacture. She observes that the vertical stripes of images employed multiple and distinct systems of logic and symmetry, two of which are described in her chapter. The first system organized the orientation of representational images, especially Profile Attendants, and appears to have been based on locomotion on a surface. The second organized color repeats and is best understood using logic based on cord-wrapped sticks. Educated Wari (and Tiwanaku) viewers would have seen and appreciated one system at a time, giving the tunic power to flash from one pattern to another, in the eyes of the beholder. In Chapter 25, Helena Horta Tricallotis takes readers back to northern Chile and northwestern Argentina to a time probably postdating the MH, when hallucinogenic snuff paraphernalia was manufactured in a non-SAIS style but depicting themes of great relevance to the SAIS. This art represents human decapitation by sacrifice, and it presents a more clearly identifiable repertoire of participants

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

and activities than can be gleaned from SAIS snuff art. Archaeologists of the MH can learn a great deal about sacrificial decapitation in the southern Andes from Horta's excellent discussion. Chapter 26 offers a summary and conclusion for the volume, written by Isbell.

The many authors contributing to this volume represent different nations, intellectual schools, and research foci. As the editors collected the articles, we discussed the idea of regularizing spellings, terminology, and concepts throughout book, but it quickly became clear that this could not be done without affecting a form of censorship. Although the differences in spelling and usage will require additional effort on the part of readers to achieve the fullest understandings of the material, regularizing concepts, terminology, and even spelling involves subtle changes in meanings that would have effects we cannot anticipate. For example, Helaine Silverman recommends two spellings of Nasca/Nazca. She uses Nazca for the geographical region on the south coast but Nasca for the ancient culture named after the valley (see Silverman and Proulx 2002). Some colleagues have followed her lead, but not all, so regularization of terminology of this kind would involve impositions by the editors that may misrepresent authors' intentions. Therefore, we have asked authors to be explicit about meanings and to define terms and explain spelling choices when relevant, but we have allowed most of the original terminology and orthography to stand. Perhaps when southern Andean archaeology has benefited from several conferences and edited volumes of this type, there will be greater agreement so it will be possible to regularize concepts and terminology.

I want to explain a spelling convention I have adopted in my writing that is similar to the one Silverman recommends for Nasca/Nazca. Huari/Wari are alternative spellings that have been readily understood alternatives for one another. I have adopted Huari to indicate the site of the ancient capital city, in the Ayacucho Valley, and its immediate hinterland. Wari, on the other hand, I employ to indicate the broadly spread culture thought to have been promoted by the citizens of the Huari capital, outside their homeland. Similarly, Tiahuanaco/Tiwanaku are optional spellings. I employ Tiahuanaco for the capital city on the south shores of Lake Titicaca and Tiwanaku for the broadly spread culture. I believe that the distinction of the type site from the culture or polity enhances clarity in our chapters, obliging authors as well as readers to think carefully about what is meant by Huari or Wari, denying overly simplistic, all-inclusive terminology. For example, Wari tombs at Huaca Pucllana in Lima contain primary and accompanying mummies that are large cloth- and rope-wrapped bales with false heads (Ccencho Huamani 2011). These are certainly Wari, but they are not Huari mortuary preferences, for nothing of this kind has been discovered in Ayacucho. Similarly, Goldstein (1993) describes the architecture of a monumental building at Omo site as Tiwanaku in style, but it differs greatly from the megalithic buildings at the Tiahuanaco site. Using alternative spellings (which Goldstein does not) allows the author and reader to understand more clearly what is being asserted. In this case, the architecture can be classified as belonging to a variable and widespread Tiwanaku culture, but it is not like that of the Tiahuanaco type site itself. Conventions for writing Middle Horizon (MH) and Early Intermediate Period (EIP) have already been introduced.

The book chapters deal with many southern Andean cultures, a variety of different kinds of materials, many time periods, and numerous theoretical issues. Coverage is not even but reflects intensity of research, especially current research, as well as conference participation.

Notes

1 Tiahuanaco is also spelled Tiwanaku. As explained in this introduction, I employ Tiahuanaco to refer to the archaeological site on the south shores of Lake Titicaca. I employ Tiwanaku for the widespread culture and style associated with Tiahuanaco. Similarly, Huari and Wari are alternative spellings for another prehistoric city and its culture. I employ Huari for the city and archaeological site located in the Ayacucho Valley and Wari for the widespread culture thought to have originated in that city that was spread from far northern to far southern Peru (see discussion at the end of this introduction).

References

Algaze, Guillermo

1993 *The Uruk World System: The Dynamics of Expansion of Early Mesopotamian Civilization*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Bennett, Wendell C.

1946 The Andean Highlands: An Introduction. In *Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 2: The Andean Civilizations*, edited by Julian H. Steward, pp. 1–60. Bulletin 143. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

1948 *A Reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology*. Memoir 4. Society for American Archaeology, Menasha.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Binford, Lewis R.
1962 Archaeology as Anthropology. *American Antiquity* 28(2):217–225.

Caldwell, Joseph R.
1964 Interaction Spheres in Prehistory. In *Hopewellian Studies*, edited by J. R. Caldwell and Hall Robert, pp. 133–143. Scientific Papers No. 12. Illinois State Museum, Springfield.

Ccencho Huamani, Jose
2011 Tumbas Wari en Huaca Pucllana. Paper presented at Ministerio de Cultura del Peru Conference, Tras las Huelles de los Waris. Cusco, March.

Chávez, Sergio Jorge, and Karen Lynne Mohr Chávez
1976 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno, Peru, and the Definition of an Early Style of Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13(1975):45–83.

Goldstein, Paul S.
1993 Tiwanaku Temples and State Expansion: A Tiwanaku Sunken-Court Temple in Moquegua, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 4(1):22–47.

González, Alberto Rex
2004 La Arqueología del Noroeste Argentino y Las Culturas Formativas de la Cuenca del Titicaca. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 29:7–38.

Isbell, William H.
2001 Repensando el Horizonte Medio: el caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Perú. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:9–68.
2008 Wari and Tiwanaku: International Identities in the Central Andean Middle Horizon. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 731–760. Springer, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Anita G. Cook
2002 A New Perspective on Conchopata and the Andean Middle Horizon. In *Andean Archaeology Vol. II: Art, Landscape and Society*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 249–305. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology Vol. III: North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.
2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sanchez, pp. 163–210. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Janusek, John Wayne
2008 *Ancient Tiwanaku*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kardulias, P. Nick
1998 *World-Systems Theory in Practice: Leadership, Production, and Exchange*. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland.

Knobloch, Patricia J.
1983 The Study of Andean Huari Ceramics from the Early Intermediate Period to the Middle Horizon Epoch 1. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Binghamton.

Kolata, Alan L.
1993 *The Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization*. Blackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
1996 *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization (1 Agroecology)*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
2003 *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization (2 Urban and Rural Archaeology)*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Kubler, George
1962 *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things*. Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Lefebvre, Henri
1991 *The Production of Space*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Lizzari, Marisa
2010 Landscapes of Circulation in Northwestern Argentina: The Workings of Obsidian and Ceramics during the First Millennium AD. In *Social Archaeologies of Trade and Exchange Exploring Relationships among People, Places, and Things*, edited by A. A. Bauer and A. Agbe-Davies, pp. 49–68. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Makowski Hanula, Krzysztof
2001 El Panteón Tiahuanaco y Las Deidades con Báculos. In *Los Dioses del Antiguo Peru: Tomo 2*, edited by K. Makowski Hanula, pp. 67–107. Colección Arte y Tesoros del Peru, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Malinowski, Bronislaw
1922 *Argonauts of the Western Pacific; an Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. Routledge & Sons, London.

Mauss, Marcel
1967 *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Norton, New York.

Means, Philip Ainsworth
1931 *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Menzel, Dorothy
1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–106.
1968 New Data on Middle Horizon Epoch 2A. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:47–114.
1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Moseley, Michael E.
1985 The Exploration and Explanation of Early Monumental Architecture in the Andes. In *Early Ceremonial Architecture in the Andes*, edited by C. B. Donnan, pp. 29–57. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Murra, John V.
1972 El 'Control Vertical' de un Máximo de Pisos Ecológicos en la Economía de las Sociedades Andinas. In *Iñigo Ortiz de Zuñiga, Visita de la Provincia de Leon de Huanuco en 1562*, edited by J. V. Murra, pp. 429– 476. Universidad Hermillio Valdizan, Huanuco.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos
1947 Ceramica Tiwanacota. *Revista Geographica Americana* 28:204–214.
1969 *Descripción Sumaria del Templete Semisubterranel de Tiwanaku*. Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Tiwanaku, No. 2, La Paz.
1976 *Tiwanaku: Espacio, Tiempo y Cultura*. Ediciones Pumapunku, La Paz.
1985 *Panorama de la Arqueología Boliviana*. Librería y Editorial "Juventud," La Paz.
2001 *Tiwanaku y su Fascinante Desarollo Cultural: Ensayo de Sintesis Arqueológica*. Producciones CIMA, La Paz–Bolivia.

Posnansky, Arthur
1945 *Tihuanacu: The Cradle of American Man*. Vols. I and II. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Sherratt, Susan
2010 Greeks and Phonecians: Perceptions of Trade and Traders in the Early First Millennium BC. In *Social Archaeologies of Trade and Exchange Exploring Relationships among People, Places, and Things*, edited by A. A. Bauer and A. Agbe-Davies, pp. 119–142. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Silverman, Helaine, and Donald Proulx
2002 *The Nasca*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Stanish, Charles, and Amanda B. Cohen
2005 Introduction to "Advances in Titicaca Basin Archaeology—1." In *Advances in Titicaca Basin Archaeology—1*, edited by C. Stanish, A. B. Cohen, and M. S. Aldenderfer, pp. 1–11. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, University of California, Los Angeles.

Stein, Gil
1999 *Rethinking World-Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Steward, Julian H.
1946 *Handbook of South American Indians: Vol. II, The Andean Civilizations*. Bulletin 143. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Stovel, Emily
2008 Interaction and Social Fields in San Pedro de Atacama, Northern Chile. In *The Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 979–1002. Springer Science + Business Media, New York.

Stübel, Alphons, and Max Uhle
1892 *Die Ruinenstätte von Tiahuanaco im Hochlande des Alten Peru: Eine Kulturgeschichtliche Studie*. Verlag von Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig.

Tello, Julio C.
1942 Disertación del Dr. Julio C. Tello, por Mibe. *Huamanga Año* VIII, No. 48:62–63.

Uhle, Max
1903a Ancient South American Civilization. *Harpers Monthly Magazine* October:780–786.
1903b *Pachacamac: Report of the William Pepper, M.D.L.L.D. Peruvian Expedition of 1896*. Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Part 1
SAIS Origins and Early Influences

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 2: Introduction

Identification, Definition, and Continuities of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition in the Titicaca Basin

William H. Isbell

Chapter 2 of the volume provides an excellent introduction to the early origins of Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) imagery, with Sergio Chávez's discussion of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition. Furthermore, the widely distributed Yaya-Mama style probably also represents the emergence of the kind of social processes underlying the SAIS. This pan–Titicaca Basin social phenomenon of the Peruvian south highlands and northwestern Bolivia is explicitly not a case of "origin center" development followed by diffusion. Increase in cultural complexity is thought to have arisen more or less simultaneously throughout a vast region, promoted by increased interaction and integration (see Parkinson 2002) among many local communities, beginning in the early first millennium BC. While Chávez focuses on the art more than social organization, at that onset of Yaya-Mama times, altiplano settlements were consistent with Neolithic hamlets and villages. Although much simpler than early state modules, the kind of interrelationships that are inferred are very much like peer polity interaction (Renfrew 1975, 1986) based on the appearance of publicly shared ceremonial goods that might represent a modest version of "high culture" (Baines and Yoffee 1998) or "emergent high culture" (Parkinson and Galaty 2010:17), although there is no evidence for social hierarchy. Stone sculptures constitute the primary medium for the new shared imagery, along with portable objects like ceramic trumpets. However, as demonstrated by several other volume chapters (see Chapters 5, 6, and 10, this volume), perishable artifacts that do not preserve in the altiplano—especially decorated textiles—surely carried symbolic messages and participated in public ceremonies as well.

There is no evidence that elites had distinguished themselves sufficiently to constitute an interest group in early Yaya-Mama times. More probably, the Yaya-Mama style materializes a regionally shared experience of the supernatural mediated by some form of shamanism. However, social, ritual, political, and economic interactions among many distant communities were constructing new identities and promoting new organizational complexity that fostered social difference associated with the new ceremonial art and ritual spaces.

Chávez seeks to show that Yaya-Mama stone carving lay the foundation for the Tiwanaku style of sculptural art, especially the sculptures at the Tiahuanaco type site considered Late SAIS by Isbell and Knobloch (2006, 2009). Working at a regional scale that extended from Lake Titicaca to the Cusco Basin, Chávez describes and illustrates the distinctive artifacts and architecture that affirmed identification with the new Yaya-Mama institution. Dedicated sections of the chapter discuss stone sculptures, from small and portable to monumental; iconography on cut stone, including monoliths; special vessels; grinders and slabs; semi-subterranean temples; and ritual objects that included ceremonial burners, miniature lime containers, and trumpets.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Descriptions and illustrations of Yaya-Mama art in this chapter are excellent, giving readers much-needed familiarity with the earliest art of the southern Andes. Also very important are the distribution maps that show how Yaya-Mama sculpture began with a wide distribution but eventually came to focus around a single center, Tiahuanaco. This is the reverse of the "origin center" process.

Two phases of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition are recognized that differ stylistically and temporally. Early Yaya-Mama began by about 800 BC and is best represented in the southern altiplano, where recent excavations at Chiripa suggest even greater antiquity. In this style, only one of the supernaturals that would compose the Late SAIS triadic pantheon is apparent in the imagery, the Rayed Head. Late Yaya-Mama, or Pukara (see Chapter 3, this volume), focused in the northern altiplano and Cusco, seems best dated about 200 BC to AD 200/400. In the Pucara version of Yaya-Mama art, the Rayed Head is present, but in addition, prototypes for the Profile Attendant and probably also the Staff God appear, but they are easily distinguished from the later icons.

Chávez observes that significant overlap between Early and Late Yaya-Mama, stylistically and temporally, is difficult to define precisely because so much of the diagnostic art is on stone sculptures that lack provenience, at least beyond the general region or, occasionally, site location. Indeed, only one Yaya-Mama monument has been discovered in situ by archaeologists, a carved stone flanking the stairway of the semi-subterranean temple at Ch'isi, Copacabana, Bolivia. It was excavated by Sergio Chávez and his late wife, Karen Mohr Chávez. Stylistically, the imagery belongs to the Early Yaya-Mama style but was probably carved while the temple was in use between about 220 to 10 BC.

A principal point of this chapter is that Tiwanaku iconography (and social complexity) has its roots in art and social relations developed by participants in the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition. Huari was influenced almost equally by Yaya-Mama, but Chávez discusses only south altiplano changes during a period from about AD 200 to 500, which he considers transitional between Yaya-Mama and Tiwanaku. He explores many of the issues, as well as objects, also discussed by Janusek and Ohnstad (Chapter 4, this volume) and by Joerg Haeberli (Chapter 6, this volume) in their examinations of the origins of Tiwanaku. This provides fascinating comparative readings. Indeed, issues discussed by Sergio Chávez come up again and again throughout the book.

Elsewhere, Patricia Knobloch and I (Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009) have defined the SAIS, or Southern Andean Iconographic Series. By our definition, Chávez's Yaya-Mama style originated, and is virtually synonymous with, Early SAIS. However, we believe that some other art such as imagery on early examples of SAIS Atacameño paraphernalia for snuffing hallucinatory powders also belongs to Early SAIS, predating the rise of the Middle Horizon. With the rise of Tiwanaku and Wari, SAIS iconography underwent significant transformation, and we argue that these styles belong to a Late SAIS imagery set and time period. The best chronology of Early SAIS is what is established here by Sergio Chávez.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Baines, John, and Norman Yoffee

1998 *Order, Legitimacy, and Wealth in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*. In Archaic States, edited by G. M. Feinman and J. Marcus, pp. 199–260. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch

2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology: Vol. III. North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.

2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sanchez, pp. 163–210. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Parkinson, William A.

2002 Integration, Interaction, and Tribal "Cycling": The Transition to the Copper Age on the Great Hungarian Plain. In *The Archaeology of Tribal Societies*, edited by W. A. Parkinson, pp. 391–438. International Monographs in Prehistory, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Parkinson, William A., and Michael L. Galaty

2010 *Archaic State Interaction: The Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age*. School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Renfrew, Colin

1975 Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication. In *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, edited by J. Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, pp. 3–59. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

1986 Introduction: Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change. In *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, edited by C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry, pp. 1–18. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 2

Identification, Definition, and Continuities of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition in the Titicaca Basin[1]

Sergio J. Chávez

The archaeology of the Middle Horizon in the Lake Titicaca Basin is characterized by the well-known Tiahuanaco polity or empire (ca. AD 500–1100), which spread across a large territory of what is today Bolivia, northwest Argentina, northern Chile, and southern Peru and integrated diverse resources in environmental zones ranging from sea level to ca. 4,000 m elevation. Huari, a related and partially contemporary expansionist empire, maintained some kind of territorial frontier with Tiahuanaco across the south Highlands of Peru. This culture, centered in Ayacucho, has been defined in terms of four chronological epochs within the more general temporal period of the Middle Horizon (ca. AD 600–1000). Huari shared many iconographic elements with Tiahuanaco and expanded into most of today's Peru. A number of important iconographic elements developed that expressed a great unifying movement within the Middle Horizon, particularly at Tiahuanaco. They include portrayal of the Staff God (a front-face deity holding a staff in each hand), the Sacrificer, Profile Attendants (also known as Winged Angels), Heads with Rayed Appendages (either in isolation or as part of the Staff God's head), and anthropomorphic personages and animals with vertically divided eyes. Many stone carvings and monumental structures were erected at Tiahuanaco, including a semi-subterranean temple. Best known among the stone carvings are the Gateway of the Kalasasaya (also known as the Gate of the Sun), the Kochamama monolith, and Tiahuanaco's great stelae named after archaeologists, the Bennett and the Ponce monoliths.

Although we know a great deal from previous and current research at Tiahuanaco and even more for Huari and its heartland, where more archaeological research has been carried out, very little is known about their origins in pre–Middle Horizon times. Taking up the challenge, my late wife and I expanded our long-term studies in southern Peru (e.g., K. Chávez 1969, 1985, 1986a, 1989; K. Chávez and S. Chávez 1969; K. Chávez, Chyi, and Chávez 1988; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1970, 1975; Mohr 1966; Layman and Mohr 1965) and accepted an invitation by Oswaldo Rivera Sundt (then director of Bolivia's National Institute of Archaeology) to undertake archaeological research on the Bolivian side of the Titicaca Basin. We initiated "The Archaeology of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition," an interdisciplinary project of a surface survey and excavations examining the prehistoric human biology, paleobotany, paleozoology, geology, ethnohistory, ethnography, and archaeology of southern Lake Titicaca, especially the Copacabana Peninsula. The project has generated many presentations and publications, including two symposia at the annual meetings of the Society for American Archaeology (K. Chávez 1997a; S. Chávez 2002a). Throughout the project, one of our primary objectives has been the identification and definition of pre-Tiahuanaco occupations, beginning in the Early Horizon and continuing through the Early Intermediate

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

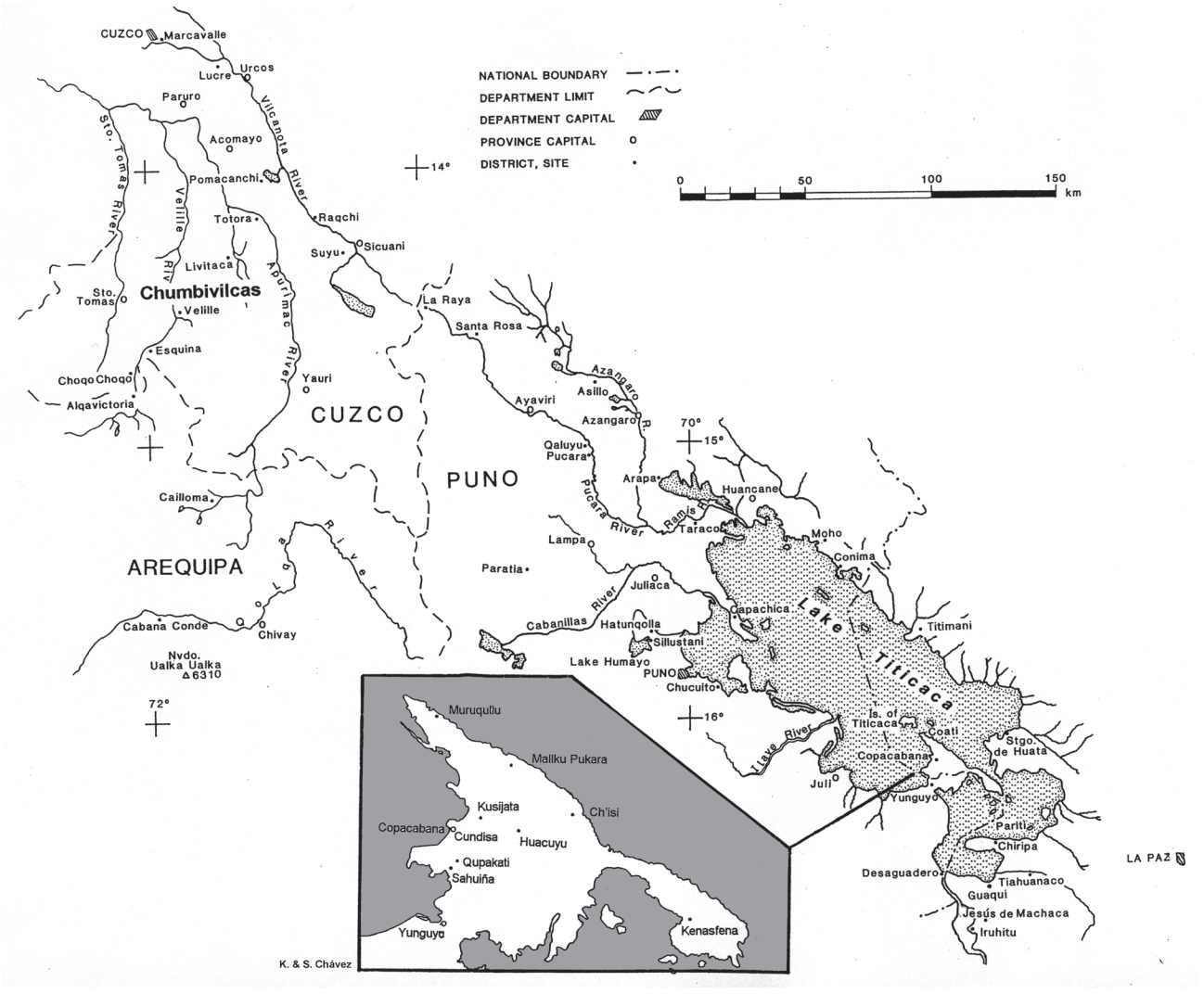


Figure 2.1. Map of the Cuzco and Titicaca Basins (with an inset of the Copacabana Peninsula), showing the sites mentioned in the text. Drawn by Sergio Chávez based on composite maps from the Instituto Geográfico Militar of Peru and Bolivia.

Period in the Lake Titicaca Basin, as well as the greater interrelated sphere newly defined as the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) (Figure 2.1).

During the Early Horizon (ca. 800 BC and perhaps earlier, based on recent work at Chiripa reported by Dean and Kojan 1999:39–41), a strong religious movement emerged in the Titicaca Basin, which we have termed the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition, which is partially contemporaneous with but independent of the well-known Chavín culture in the north highlands of Peru (ca. 900–200 BC). Within this newly defined tradition, we find a number of elements (particularly in iconography and architecture), which became important precursors for the development of complex polities in the region, including the iconography of Pucara, Tiahuanaco, and Huari. Some Yaya-Mama architectural features even reappear in Inca times.

Definition of the Tradition

The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition was defined for the first time in 1988 by Karen Chávez (1989), based on an earlier study of a series of circum-lacustrine stone sculptures (K. Chávez and S. Chávez 1969, S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1970), which identified the Yaya-Mama style of sculpture (S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1971, 1975).[2] This style was defined based on analyses and comparisons of forms, motifs, designs, composition, and technique. Most important, the designs were cross-dated with the relative chronology of the Paracas-Nasca master sequence

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

established by Menzel et al. (1964) in the Ica Valley. This revealed a Yaya-Mama time range extending from Early Horizon 8 to Early Intermediate Period 4. The Yaya-Mama style, therefore, appeared prior to, and was distinct from, Pucara and Tiahuanaco styles of stone sculpture. Specifically, three diagnostic designs (the head motif, the ramiform element, and the double-headed serpentines) present on a stela at Taraco, as well as others, coincide with and suggest an Early Horizon 9 date for this monolith (S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1970:32–34, 1975:64–66; K. Chávez and S. Chávez 1969). These chronological inferences, although based on long-distance comparisons and cross-dating, allow us to establish close temporal approximations for highland objects, which were mostly without archaeological context.

Refined attribute analyses also provide an understanding of another group of stone sculptures, the Pucara style, including the Asiruni substyle,[3] which occur mainly in the northern portion of the Titicaca Basin (S. Chávez 1976, 1982a, 1989:28–29; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1970; cf. Rowe 1976). During the 1970s and 1980s, other authors (including Ponce Sanginés, Portugal Zamora, Portugal Ortiz, Mesa, Gisbert, and Browman) proposed alternate orderings for various Titicaca Basin stone sculptures (including some in our groups), with a wide range of relative chronological variation and/or often lacking explicitly formulated stylistic groups (S. Chávez 1976:57). Indeed, earlier authors had argued that some Pucara-style sculptures belonged to the Classic Tiahuanaco (Posnansky 1957:III:89) style or to a post–Classic Tiahuanaco style (Bennett 1934:475, 482).

Subsequently, based on stylistic and technological differences, I distinguished "early" and "late" versions of Yaya-Mama sculpture (S. Chávez 1998, 2004a:75, 2006, 2007). The "early" variation of stone sculpture (the Yaya-Mama style) corresponds to our original classification, cross-dated with the Ica Valley master sequence, and appears to precede the Pucara style (Figure 2.2). Since then, however, five radiocarbon dates have been obtained from within the Ch'isi temple, which indicate that its use overlapped with the more elaborate temple center of Pucara in Peru, occupied in the first century BC. These dates show that Pucara was partly contemporaneous with later occupations of an "early" Yaya-Mama temple on the

Figure 2.2. A selected sample of stone sculpture showing the circumlacustrine distribution of the "early" version of the Yaya-Mama style. The drawings are based on photographs and original rubbings by Karen and Sergio Chávez.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 2.3. A selected sample of stone sculpture showing the northern distribution of the "late"/Pucara version of the Yaya-Mama style. The drawings are not at the same scale and are based on photographs and original rubbings by Karen and Sergio Chávez.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Copacabana Peninsula. Hence, although Pucara temples are found in groups, with at least three at the type site, and show a greater labor investment than other Yaya-Mama temples, they also follow Yaya-Mama/Chiripa architectural canons and include the other material indicators of the tradition. Consequently, in making the distinction between "early" and "late" versions of stone sculpture, one has to keep in mind that the former was partially contemporaneous with the latter (Figure 2.3).

Another important consideration, based mainly on stone sculpture, is a proposal I made in 1988 (S. Chávez 1989:36–38) that, during late Pucara times, there seems to have been a discontinuous population shift in at least two directions (Figure 2.3). An intrusion to the northwest toward the Cuzco region is documented by Pucara-style stone sculpture and pottery in Chumbivilcas. Furthermore, the Pucara-style stone sculpture in Chumbivilcas includes one of a feline that resembles these portrayed on "Classic" Tiahuanaco–style sculptures (S. Chávez 1989:Figures 10–11). In the southeast, around Tiahuanaco, Pucara-style stone sculpture has also been identified but without Pucara refuse or occupation (S. Chávez 1973, 1976:13–14, 1984b, 1998; see also Núñez del Prado Béjar 1972). Based on reconnaissance and excavations in the Puno region, the inferred population shifts may have occurred after the abandonment of at least three important Pucara settlements, including Pucara, Qaluyu, and Taraco, where there is a relative absence of immediate post-Pucara styles. Furthermore, this demographic shift may have coincided with abandonment of raised fields on the Capachica Peninsula (near the Ilave River), dated by Clark Erickson (1989:11) to ca. AD 400.

Several examples of Pucara-style stone sculpture have been identified in the southern basin, particularly at Tiahuanaco (S. Chávez 1976:13–14), and it seems likely that even in Tiahuanaco times, they continued to possess sacred power and religious importance (Figure 2.3). The most compelling pieces of evidence for this are the Arapa and Thunderbolt stelae, which, as I demonstrated in 1976, are parts of a single stela that originated in Pucara territory. At an unknown date, the lower portion was taken across the lake and placed in the Putuni Palace at Tiahuanaco (S. Chávez 1976, 1982b; S. Chávez and Jorgenson 1981; see also S. Chávez 1984a).

The identification of Yaya-Mama and Pucara styles of stone sculpture (including the Asiruni substyle) was one of the factors that led Karen Chávez and me to carry out surveys, reconnaissance, and excavations in and around sites where such sculptures were known but removed from their original context (including Qaluyu, Taraco, and Chumbivilcas; cf. S. Chávez 1989; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1970). We reassessed and made new comparisons of our previous work (cf. K. Chávez 1982a:240–242; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975) as well as materials from other sites, such as Chiripa (Bennett and Kidder II) and Pucara (Valcárcel, Chávez Ballón, Rowe, and Kidder II). This confirmed that numerous characteristics (e.g., architectural forms, trumpets, ceremonial burners, and iconography) had a wide geographical distribution within the Titicaca Basin, which Karen Chávez (1989) proposed to distinguish as the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition (cf. Burger et al. 2000:310–323; S. Chávez 2004a). Since then, our ongoing research in the basin has confirmed and expanded upon the original attributes and materials diagnostic of this tradition.

Today I can affirm that the archaeological indicators manifested and shared by the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition include (a) stone sculpture, usually associated with temple sites; (b) temple centers with semi-subterranean courts; (c) ritual paraphernalia, including trumpets, ceremonial burners, fancy decorated vessels, decorated grinding slabs and pestles, miniature vessels, architectural models, and ceremonial utilitarian pottery; and (d) iconography on pottery and stone. The following section provides descriptions and interpretations of each of these four major indicators of the tradition, as well as consideration of their continuities into "Classic" Tiahuanaco times. Comparisons and continuities with Huari have been omitted here as they are a topic for a separate chapter. In discussing the material diagnostics of the tradition, I not only show their direct association with iconography but also emphasize the strong overall cultural continuities that characterize the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition through time and space.

Stone Sculpture

As indicated above, most sculptures lack archaeological context. Over the centuries, they have been moved, perhaps many times, from their original locations (e.g., S. Chávez 2008a:271, Figure 15.6).[4] To date, the only Yaya-Mama–style stela found in situ, securely associated with and constituting temple architecture, is the one excavated at the site of Ch'isi (see the next section on Temple Centers). Five radiocarbon dates obtained from natural levels 8 and 9 (poorly made "floors" inside the temple) place its earliest use at ca. 220 BC, with continued use through 10 BC (uncalibrated dates; K. Chávez 1997b; K. Chávez and S. Chávez 1997:6).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The pre-Pucara dating of the Yaya-Mama style of stone sculpture was confirmed by the identification of a grinding slab with a cross formée frame during a study of Kidder's field notes carried out by Karen Chávez (1989:21, Figure 6). This slab was found between Middle and Late Chiripa structures at Chiripa, and the cross formée compares to a Yaya-Mama–style decorated grinding slab of unknown provenience (K. Chávez 1989:20, Figure 4b). Furthermore, Browman found two pieces of stone sculpture (one complete and one fragmentary) within Late Chiripa levels (Browman 1978:809; Lynch 1976:231; Pollard 1982:222–223). Likewise, Portugal Ortiz reports several pieces of stone sculpture (mostly fragmentary) in and around a shrine (*capilla*) situated inside the semi-subterranean temple structure at Titimani. The shrine appears to have been on top of a thin floor with mostly Chiripa sherds beneath (Portugal Ortiz 1985:43–46).[5]

The "Early" Version. "Early" Yaya-Mama sculpture dates to ca. 800 to 200 BC and is found for the most part in the southern Titicaca Basin in sites such as Chiripa, Ch'isi, Titimani, Santiago de Huata, Escoma, and others on the Copacabana Peninsula (S. Chávez 2004a) (Figure 2.2). Instead of employing incision (which is absent or very rare), the designs are pecked in low relief and finished with a slightly polished effect (S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975:59). The sculptures have a tendency to follow the natural shape of the stone, narrowing slightly at the top. There are usually carvings on all four sides of pillars and/or pillar-like stelae. Personages are usually represented in pairs, many lacking legs, and are surrounded by herpetological fauna and designs. The arms rebent at the elbow and the hands are on the chest, one above the other. Faces have circular eyes and frequently possess mouth masks and labrettes. Lip ornaments or labrettes are associated with some Yaya-Mama–style grinding slabs and stelae, but few Pucara-style statues (Figures 2.2–2.3). These ornaments have been found in several excavations in and around temple sites on the Copacabana Peninsula, made from bone, pottery, copper, and stone.

Unlike Pucara, there are no true statues carved in the round in "early" Yaya-Mama sculpture. Also absent are notching and steps on the upper corner of the stelae, elements found in later sculptures. Since roughly half of the known pieces are broken, overall height estimations are difficult. Nevertheless, with the exception of more functional decorated pestles, which are about 15 cm high, and grinding slabs, which range from 36 ´ 29.2 to 53 ´ 37.5 cm (see the section on Ritual Paraphernalia below), early Yaya-Mama stone sculpture ranges from 21 cm to almost 4 m in height.

The "Late" Version. Most diagnostic attributes of "early" Yaya-Mama stone carving are absent or different in the northern "late"/Pucara version (estimated to date ca. 200 BC to AD 200/400), which shows a higher degree of standardization, more sophisticated technology, and characteristic elaboration of associated motifs. In the Pucara Period, new shapes were developed that include stepped stelae, decorated rectangular double-chambered bowls, and three-dimensional anthropomorphic statues or statuettes (cf. Figures 2.2–2.3). There was a move away from retaining the natural shape of the stone to shaping the sculpture into regular forms or blocks. Pucara sculpture also shows greater realism in the elaboration of motifs and a technique that combines high and low relief with incision and polishing. There is a tendency to

Figure 2.4. Photograph of the headless stela excavated by Gregorio Cordero Miranda just north of the Kalasasaya in Tiahuanaco. Photograph and inked outlines by Stanislava and Sergio Chávez.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 2.5. The Jinchun Kala stela from Khonko Wankane, Jesús de Machaca. Redrawn by Stanislava Chávez based on Posnansky (1945:II:Figures 89–90) and photographs by Karen and Sergio Chávez.

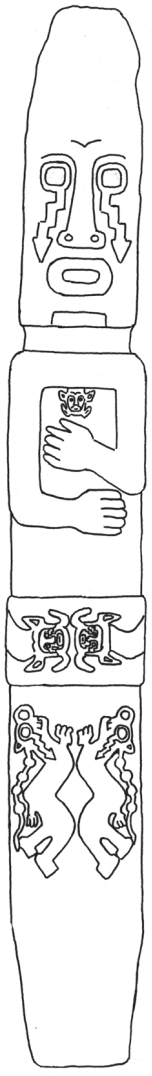


Figure 2.6. The Wila Kala stela from Khonko Wankane, Jesús de Machaca. Drawn by Stanislava Chávez based on Rydén (1947:Figures 31, 33a,b) and photographs by Karen and Sergio Chávez.

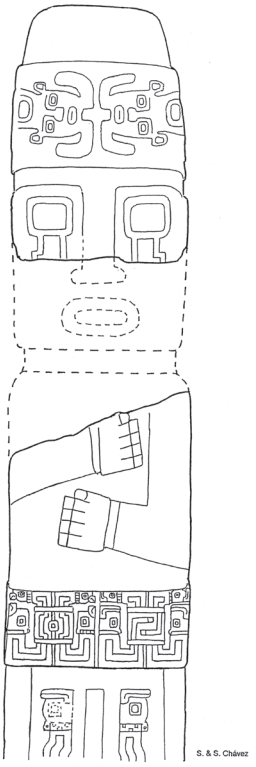


Figure 2.7. Stela 13 (also known as the "Idolo Plano") from Tiahuanaco. Based on Posnansky (1945:II:Figures 105–107) and photographs by Karen and Sergio Chávez.

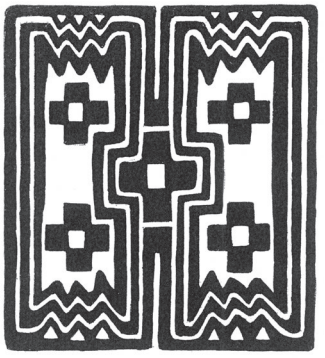


Figure 2.8. The "divider cross" symbol taken from a panel on the Pucara-style Hatunqolla stela, Puno. Drawing by Stanislava Chávez based on photographs by Karen and Sergio Chávez taken at the National Museum in Lima.

Figure 2.9. The "bifurcated band" symbol taken from the Pucara-style Qaluyu stela, Puno. Drawn by Stanislava Chávez from original rubbings made by Sergio Chávez.

represent one person or animal pair on a single sculpture, and sometimes animals are combined with humans on both sides of a stela. Geometric and stylized designs also appear in series of panels (e.g., the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela). Anthropomorphic figures are realistic and dynamic, including legs in three dimensions (e.g., carved separately and even with separate, removable feet and pedestals), with the figure in a seated position or kneeling (on one or both knees). Features of the anthropomorphic figures include a breech cloth, greater variability in the position of the arms than the early Yaya-Mama sculptures with hands holding objects (including severed human heads and axes/knives), and details such as ribs, scapulae, ankle bones, and sub-rectangular ovoidal eyes (e.g., S. Chávez 1976, 1982a, 1989:36–37; Young-Sánchez 2004a). The overall range in size of these figures is 15 cm to almost 6 m.

In an early article, Karen Chávez and I defined Yaya-Mama–style sculpture in the Titicaca Basin for the first time and produced an attribute analysis of some stelae in and around Tiahuanaco, which, based on stylistic seriation, we regarded as "transitional" between Yaya-Mama and "Classic" Tiahuanaco (S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975:60–61, 67; see also S. Chávez 1989:36–37). Since then, I have expanded the database of attributes, and the results confirm our original observations. The expanded seriational ordering of statues portraying an anthropomorphic personage with bent arms over the chest and stomach, as well as additional motifs distributed on the preserved sides of the monolith, is as follows:

(a) A headless stela with narrow sides found north of Tiahuanaco's Kalasasaya (Arellano 1991:271, Figure 27) and four four-sided and pillar-like stelae from Khonko Wankane in Jesús de Machaca, known as Jinchun Kala,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

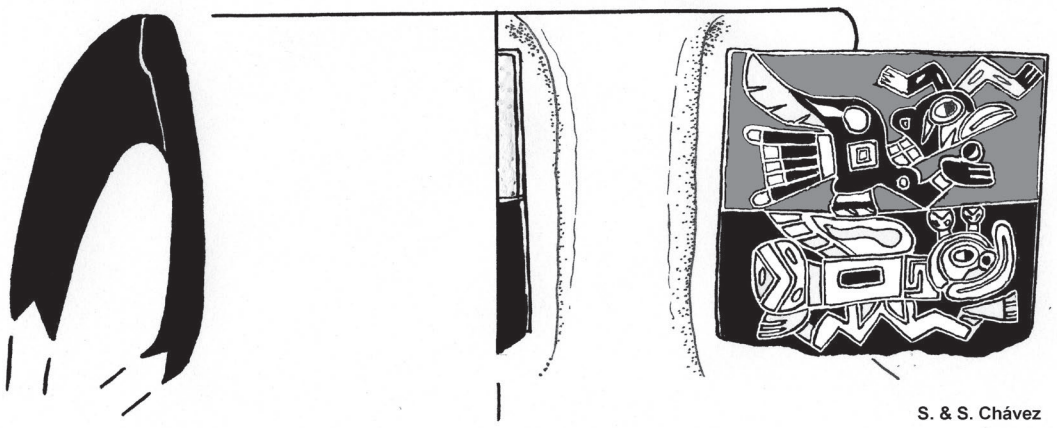


Figure 2.10. Motifs showing the association of the black bird with the winged "fish" on a Pucara-style jar neck from Pucara. Drawn by Sergio Chávez based on tracings of the original sherd.

Wila Kala, Tata Kala, and another described by Portugal Zamora in 1941 (Figures 2.4–2.6, respectively). The long animal with a wavy body, eared head, and curved appendages at the side of the chin and the small motifs with incised details are reminiscent of those in "late" Yaya-Mama/Pucara-style pottery (e.g., S. Chávez 2002c:Figures 2.12c, 2.13) and sculpture (cf. S. Chávez 1989:Figures 5–9; see also Figure 2.3, this chapter). Depiction of personages showing only the upper body was popular in "early" Yaya-Mama sculpture (note a possible labrette on the Wila Kala sculpture in Figure 2.6) (see also Figure 2.2). A series of parallel "braids," each terminating in profile bird or "fish" head (Figure 2.5), relates to those on the Bennett, Ponce, and Kochamama monoliths, as well as other stelae.

(b) A broken and incomplete stela from Tiahuanaco, known as "Idolo Plano," or Stela 13, allegedly found in the Kalasasaya (Figure 2.7), shares only the position of the arms and the wavy-body headband animal with the previous sculpture group. The designs and elements in the two asymmetrical panels that continue around a waistband, the profile "fish" head in the legs, "tear" bands emanating from rectangular eyes, fingernails, and wristbands, are more consistent with "Classic" Tiahuanaco. Posnansky (1945:II:181), who saw Stela 13 in a better state of preservation, noted remains of braids on the back and panels on the narrow sides. Furthermore, the two geometric designs in the middle of the waistband panels and the rectangular appendages terminating in "fish" and bird heads in profile are reminiscent of the divider cross, bifurcated band symbols, and the association of bird and "fish" in Pucara-style pottery and stone carving (Figures 2.8–2.10).

(c) A unique stela from the northwest, or Chunchu Kala, sector of Tiahuanaco's Kalasasaya (Ponce Sanginés

Figure 2.11. Photograph of the carved portion of the stela from the Chunchu Kala sector northwest of the Kalasasaya, Tiahuanaco. Photograph and inked outlines by Stanislava and Sergio Chávez.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

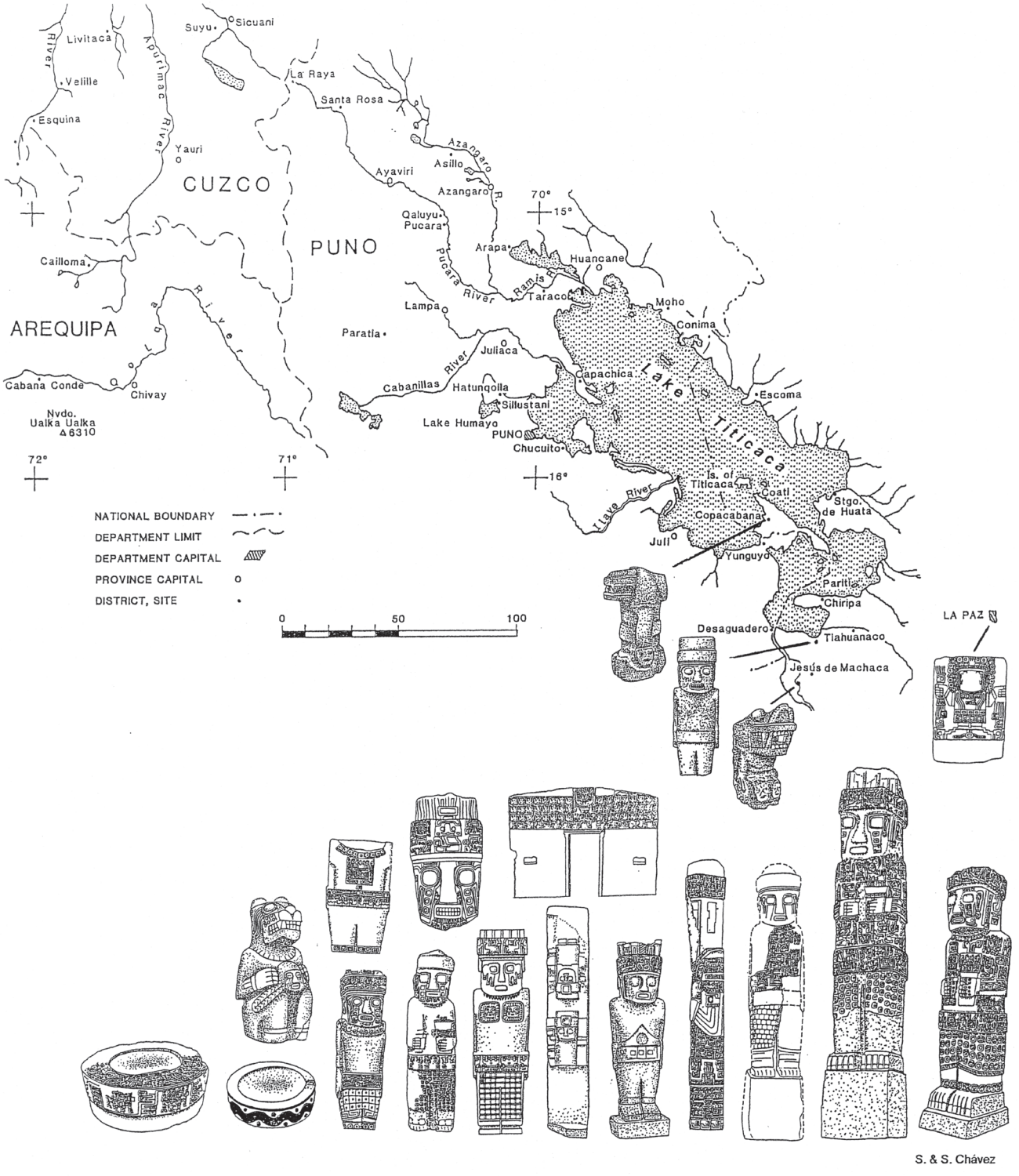


Figure 2.12. Concentration of almost all the "Classic" Tiahuanaco-style stone sculptures is at the site of Tiahuanaco. The drawings are not at the same scale and are based mainly on Posnansky's illustrations and photographs by Karen and Sergio Chávez.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1972:Figure 93) is decorated on only one side with a full-bodied personage and combines incision with a high relief head (Figure 2.11). Except for the bent arms and a profile feline head on the chest, which are consistent with previous sculptural groups, the associated elements and details (such as the head with ray appendages, "winged" eyes, hands with fingernails pressing two long double-fillet bands, feet in profile with toenails, wrist and ankle bands, and internal structure in arms and legs) align most closely with "Classic" Tiahuanaco sculpture. However, the head with ray appendages has a direct antecedent in the Pucara Rayed Head Motif (see section on iconography below), while the interlocking "L" on the band surrounding the face and the mouth with teeth relate to Provincial Pucara textiles (Haeberli 2002).

The two proposed sequential groups of "transitional" sculptures include only seven pieces, but assuming they constitute a representative sample, they show that the major characteristics of "Classic" Tiahuanaco emerged from previous Yaya-Mama characteristics (Figure 2.12). Indeed, the transitional sculptures share with both Yaya-Mama and Tiahuanaco statuary an overwhelming tendency to represent a single, standing, blocky personage in relief or the round (sometimes almost intermediate between the two) and in a static position on each pillar-like stela (including standing statues); arms with hands that have prominent outstretched fingers, (transitional sculptures tend to have hands on the chest while Tiahuanaco statues show the hands at the side or, more frequently, holding objects over the chest); the earlier head with projecting appendages that appears on many front-view personages; feet with toes resting on a pedestal; and braids usually terminating in profile heads of bird and "fish." Actual labrettes of various materials have been discovered at Tiahuanaco (e.g., Janusek 2003:255), but they are not depicted on Tiahuanaco-style stone sculptures. However, chin labrettes do appear on the most realistic human representations in pottery, a portrait vessel excavated by Ponce on the north side of Kalasasaya associated with a cist containing a "trophy" skull (Ponce Sanginés 1961:26–27, 2002:Figures 23.1–23.2), and several portraits from the Island of Pariti (Pärssinen and Korpissari 2005:53, Figures 12, 16, 31).

Figure 2.13. Photograph of the Yaya-Mama semi-subterranean temple of Ch'isi, taken right after excavations, consolidation, and reconstruction of the stone walls. Photograph by Karen and Sergio Chávez.

Figure 2.14. Photograph of the four-step and flanking slabs at the entrance of the Yaya-Mama semi-subterranean temple of Ch'isi. Photograph by Karen and Sergio Chávez.

The rest of the personages and designs that appear overwhelmingly on the upper half of sculptures (like the Bennett, Ponce, and similar monoliths) and on the Gateway of the Kalasasaya are also derived variations and/or further elaborations (frequently repeating many times on one sculpture) of earlier Pucara motifs. These motifs include the primary personages and their elements from the Woman with Alpaca and the Feline Man themes (S. Chávez 2002c, 2004a, 2006, 2007; see also the section on iconography below). However, the overall geographical distribution of "Classic" Tiahuanaco sculpture is very restricted, appearing almost exclusively at Tiahuanaco itself (Figure 2.12).

Temple Centers with Semi-Subterranean Courts

Yaya-Mama temple buildings consist of rectangular, unroofed, semi-subterranean courts with an entrance placed off-center in one of the walls. We conducted several excavations in temples on the Copacabana Peninsula, which further document overall shared characteristics around the Titicaca Basin, as well as local variations in some architectural features, including temple reuse. For example, the four stone walls of the semi-subterranean portion of the Ch'isi temple show that it was built without foundations over a flattened floor, and the rows of stones

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

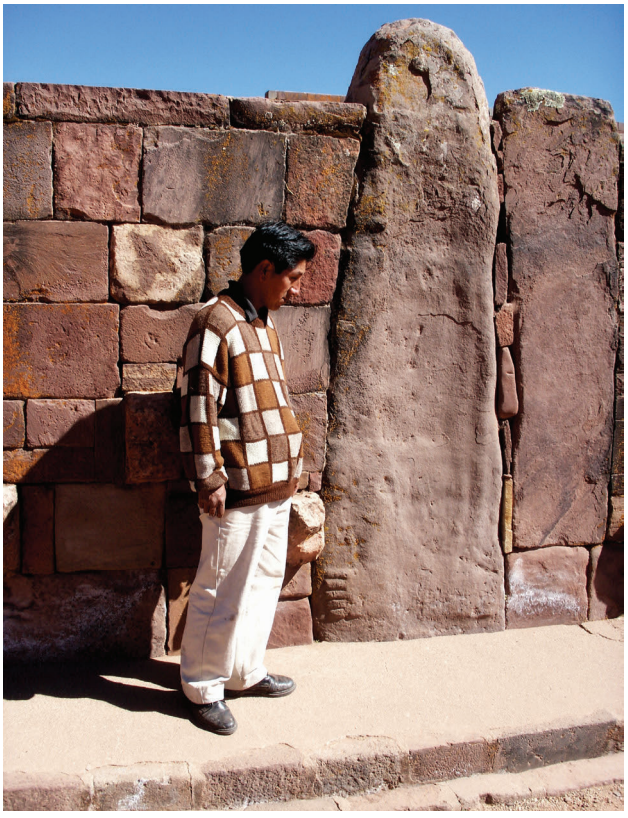


Figure 2.15. Photograph of Pillar 40 on the west wall of the semi-subterranean temple at Tiahuanaco, showing faint and worn outlines of the lower portion of a personage. Photograph by Stanislava and Sergio Chávez.

(not formally staggered) are interrupted by tall pillars and slabs (Figure 2.13). The four-stepped entrance is flanked by large stone slabs, one carved in the "early" Yaya-Mama style. This is the only sculpture discovered in its original, direct association with Yaya-Mama architecture (K. Chávez 1997b) (Figure 2.14).

Temple sites on the Copacabana Peninsula and around the Titicaca Basin reveal a number of features above and surrounding the semi-subterranean courts, including peripheral structures and compartments like those of elaborate buildings at Chiripa and Pucara, which Karen Chávez (1989:18–20, 22) interpreted as "part of a planned temple-storage complex." Temples on the Copacabana Peninsula show variations in the peripheral structures, such as at Ch'isi, which incorporated 36 burials and numerous offering pits that were excavated (K. Chávez 1997b); at the temple site of Mallku Pukara, where corbel vaulted adjoining structures seem to have been used for storage and living (S. Chávez 1997); and at Huayllani, where there is evidence of a three-stage temple reuse that recycled stones from older structures (S. Chávez 2002b). Such variability in form and function in temple architecture shows local differences while conserving regional similarities, which (in conjunction with iconography, pottery pastes, and other variables) led us to propose that Yaya-Mama represents the first association of diverse groups of people from around the basin. Furthermore, these temples represent the earliest known public architecture in the region.

Characteristics of Yaya-Mama semi-subterranean temples continue into the Tiahuanaco Period, although some changes and modifications were made (S. Chávez 2004a:74, Figure 3.5). These modifications include larger pillars and slabs, a row of tenon heads in each of the four walls, a larger entrance situated in the middle of the south wall, and an increase in both the size and number of steps of the entryway. The following Yaya-Mama architectural attributes continue: foundation-less walls built over a leveled floor, stone walls punctuated by vertical pillars and rectangular slabs, and an entrance flanked by two larger pillars (Ponce Sanginés 1964:51, Lam. IX). To my knowledge, no structures or compartments have been reported above and surrounding Tiahuanaco's semi-subterranean court. However, excavations at Kerikala, west of the Putuni, show what appears to be a storage complex surrounding the stone-paved patio (Arellano 1991:265–266, Figure 20), similar to the peripheral compartments at Chiripa interpreted as storage facilities (K. Chávez 1989:19, Figure 2).

John Rowe's suggestion that the semi-subterranean temple at Tiahuanaco was an early shrine originally built by nearby people who were using Qalasasaya-style pottery and the Yaya-Mama–style Stela 15 (Figure 2, immediately left of the scale) is of particular interest. He argued that the temple was remodeled or rebuilt in the Middle Horizon, when the great Bennett monolith was erected next to Stela 15. This interpretation was motivated by Ponce's excavation of an early settlement associated with Qalasasaya-style pottery below the artificial Kalasasaya platform just west of the semi-subterranean temple (Rowe 1974:321–323; see also S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975:66). Rowe's interpretation infers direct continuity from Yaya-Mama to Tiahuanaco culture and is supported by the presence of three broad pillars that display poorly preserved carvings suggesting anthropomorphic images, situated at or near the middle of the west, east, and north walls of the semi-subterranean temple.[6] The best preserved of these, located in the east wall (Figure 2.15), shows faint and worn outlines of the lower portion of a front-faced personage with feet pointing to the sides (Ponce Sanginés 1964:Figure 24d), resembling a poorly preserved figure on the back of Stela 15 (Bennett 1934:41–42, Figure 32; Ponce Sanginés 2002:second plate between pp. 56 and 57).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 2.16. Photograph of one of the Pucara-style hunchbacked statues from the island of Titicaca, holding a conch shell. Photograph taken by Karen and Sergio Chávez at the National Museum in La Paz.

Figure 2.17. One of the four personages depicted on the Gateway of the Kalasasaya blowing a trumpet and holding a severed human head. Redrawn by Stanislava Chávez from Posnansky (1945:I:Plate XXXIX.3).

Ritual Paraphernalia

The corpus of ritual paraphernalia found in and around Yaya-Mama temple sites includes trumpets, ceremonial burners, fancy decorated vessels, decorated grinding slabs and pestles, miniature vessels, architectural models, and utilitarian vessels found in ceremonial contexts. Although the vast majority of excavated pottery, stone, and bone artifacts are highly fragmentary, those regarded as ritual paraphernalia may have been broken deliberately during ceremonies (e.g., S. Chávez 1992:102–103).[7] Thousands of excavated pottery fragments have been subjected to detailed study in keeping with our early emphasis on individual artifact attributes instead of typological classifications (e.g., K. Chávez 1977, 1982a, 1982b, 1983; see also S. Chávez 1992; Steadman 1995). We identified a series of decorative styles, shapes, surface finishes, and paste groups, at least 14 of which are from Yaya-Mama sites on the Copacabana Peninsula alone (K. Chávez 2002). We identified diverse pre-Pucara and Pucara styles in the northern basin, and many Chiripa, Chiripa-related, and Qalasasaya styles in the southern basin (the latter corresponding to Tiahuanaco Epoch I, proposed by Ponce Sanginés, 1971). We infer that this diversity of styles reflects the initial association of different groups around the basin (e.g., Burger et al. 2000:311; K. Chávez 2002; see also K. Chávez and S. Chávez 1975).

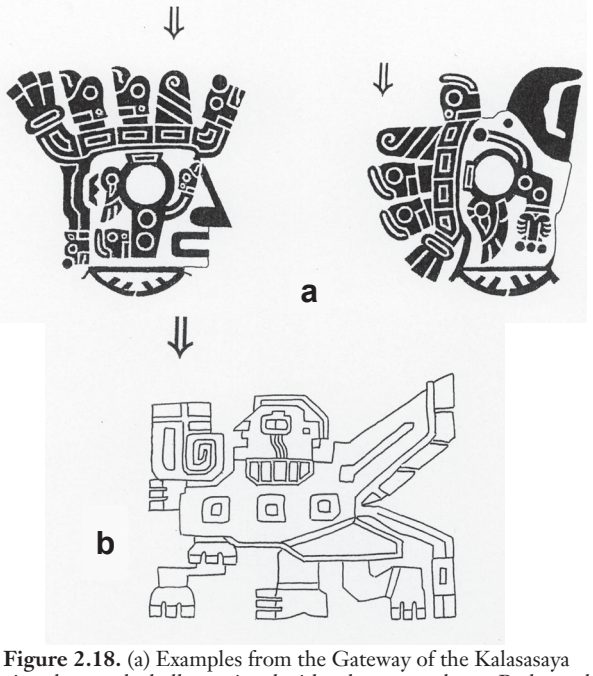


Figure 2.18. (a) Examples from the Gateway of the Kalasasaya showing the conch shell associated with other appendages. Redrawn by Stanislava Chávez from Posnansky (1945:I:Plate XLIII.2–3). (b) One of two winged personages on a Provincial Pucara textile carrying what appears to be a conch shell. Drawn by Stanislava Chávez from a color photograph of the textile provided by William Isbell.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 2.19. Photograph of Qalasasaya-style vessels and a fragmented bone implement from a burial recently excavated at the site of Cundisa, Copacabana. Photograph by Sergio Chávez.

Pottery and Strombus Shell Trumpets. Pottery trumpets are relatively rare in both surface and excavation contexts in and around Yaya-Mama temple sites. Those from excavated contexts around the basin (e.g., Qaluyu, Pucara, Taraco, Titimani, Cundisa, Kusijata, Mallku Pukara, Ch'isi, Muruqullu, Kenasfena, Pallat'i, and Chiripa, as well as the other temple sites identified recently on the Taraco Peninsula) are highly fragmentary but show a consistent manufacturing technique. The slightly outflaring tube of the trumpets was formed over a bundle of grass tied with a string. A wider, bell-shaped end was added to this tube, and the entire trumpet reached an approximate length of 30 cm. There is also a small handle near the bell portion, which was probably used to suspend and carry the trumpet on a string (K. Chávez and S. Chávez 1999; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1998). Although trumpets share the same basic construction, size, form, and iconography, they are made from diverse pastes (at least 11 on the Copacabana Peninsula; K. Chávez 2002) and display variations in decorative styles, suggesting different locations of manufacture. For example, trumpets from Pucara in the northern basin are polychrome incised with complex iconography (K. Chávez 1989:Figure 11; S. Chávez 1992:489–491, 515–517, Figures 234–235, 258, 398–399, 405–406, 418; Rowe and Brandel 1971:Plate XVIII), while those from Chiripa in the south are usually black/dark brown, red, or cream with grooving, punctations, felines in relief, and postfire paint in grooves and punctations (Mohr 1966:100–101, Figures 42e, 43–56; see also S. Chávez 2004a:81, Figure 3.12). As we argue above, this variation is consistent with diverse groups of people integrating into a new regional tradition.

Another likely Yaya-Mama musical instrument is the *Strombus* (conch) shell, which was probably used as a shell trumpet along with pottery trumpets in temple ceremonies and feasts. Documentation for the presence of *Strombus* shells is indirect and consists of at least three Pucara-style anthropomorphic statues recovered on the island of Titicaca.[8] Each anthropomorphic personage is hunchbacked, is portrayed in a seated position, and holds a clear representation of one of these large shells (Figure 2.16).

Actual pottery or *Strombus* shell trumpets are very rare in Tiahuanaco. Posnansky illustrates one possible fragment, which he describes as a panpipe (Posnansky 1958:121, Plate LXXIII.i). The only known representation of a trumpet is associated with four profile personages on the lower band of the Gateway of the Kalasasaya, which Posnansky (1945:I:149, Figure 1 and Plate XXXIX.3) calls the "Bugle Player" (Figure 2.17). Representations of conch shells appear most often as parts of "crowns," rather than instruments, on several profile personages on the Gateway of the Kalasasaya, the Bennett and Kochamama monoliths (Figure 2.18a), and the Ponce monolith.[9] I also propose that at least one textile, classified by Haeberli as Provincial Pucara Group B (e.g., Young-Sanchez 2004b:Figure 1.9), includes two personages holding what appears to be a conch shell (Figure 2.18b).

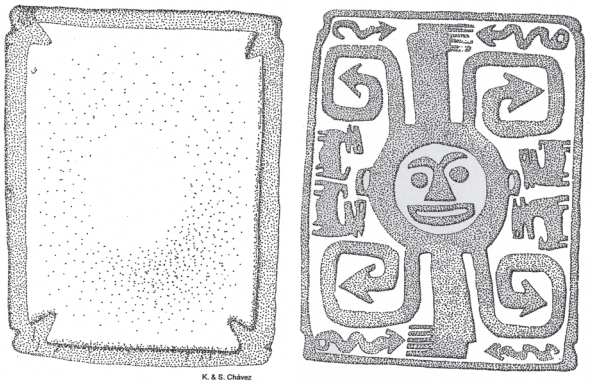


Figure 2.20. The grinding slab from Chiripa (53 × 37.5 cm) of the southern "early" version of the Yaya-Mama style, showing the obverse a head with volutes and foot appendages and a cross formée on the reverse. Drawing based on photographs and rubbing by Sergio Chávez.

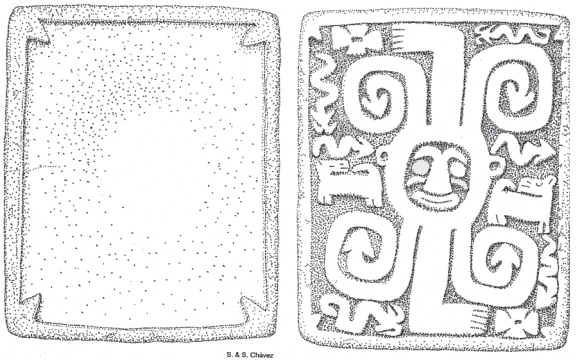


Figure 2.21. The grinding slab from Copacabana (36 × 29.2 cm) of the southern "early" version of the Yaya-Mama style, showing motifs and designs similar to those on the Chiripa grinding slab. Drawing by Sergio Chávez from photographs provided by Margaret Young-Sánchez and the Museum für Völkerkunde.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Ceremonial Burners. These vessels frequently preserve traces of burning on the interior of the bowl. We prefer "ceremonial burner" rather than "incense burner" because we are reluctant to assume the use of incense (K. Chávez 1985, 1986a:144; S. Chávez 1992:110–118; see also Bermann 1994:101–102). The vessels are bowls with an annular or pedestal base, frequently with two tabs at opposite sides of the rim or with double handles at, or near, the rim. Ceremonial burners at the temple site of Pucara are polychrome with incised motifs and designs, polished red, black with incised motifs, and plain undecorated (S. Chávez 1992:110–121, Figures 5–21; S. Chávez 2004a:81, Figures 3.11, 3.26). Furthermore, burners have been retrieved from excavations at several temple sites on the Copacabana Peninsula; in pre-Pucara levels near the town of Taraco, at Qaluyu, and Pucara; and with the Qalasasaya (including flat-based bowls) and Chiripa-style sherds in the southern basin (K. Chávez 2002) (Figure 2.19, center).

During the Tiahuanaco Period, the general shape of pedestal-based burners remained the same, but their decoration became more elaborate, incorporating modeled and polychrome painted representations of felines, camelids, and raptorial birds. Of particular interest are the Pucara three-dimensional feline jars (including miniature ones) that can be seen as an antecedent of Tiahuanaco feline-shaped ceremonial burners (S. Chávez 1992:Figures 415–417; S. Chávez 2004a:82, Figures 3.18–3.19). Such continuities have been documented in different sites in and around Tiahuanaco, such as the Akapana at Tiahuanaco (Alconini Mujica 1995:141, 173, Table 2, Figure 45) and at Lukurmata (Bermann 1994:147, Figure 10.6).

Fancy Decorated Vessels. Since the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition was widespread in both time and space, it includes pottery styles (such as Chiripa, Qalasasaya, Taraco, and Pucara) incorporating a wide range of techniques, shapes, and sizes. For example, in the northern basin, the Pucara style (ca. 200 BC to AD 200) includes highly decorated fancy vessels without fiber temper, which are associated with undecorated red-slipped pottery (e.g., S. Chávez 1989:Figures 3–4; S. Chávez 2004a:90, Figures 3.13, 3.25). In contrast, Chiripa fancy vessels, widespread in the southern basin, are fiber-tempered, with cream geometric designs on red slip and stylized felines in relief (Mohr 1966:Figures 5, 37b; S. Chávez 2004a:82, Figure 3.15). Near the end of the Late Chiripa Period (ca. 200–100 BC) but partially contemporaneous with fancy Chiripa pottery, the Qalasasaya style emerged with a new technology of manufacture that emphasized new shapes, surface finish, and polychrome incised decoration, while abandoning fiber temper (e.g., Ponce Sanginés 1971; Steadman 2007) (see also Figure 2.19).

Some of the basic forms in the Yaya-Mama tradition continue, with some modification, into the Tiahuanaco Period (cf. S. Chávez 1992:Figures 4, 86–87 with Bermann 1994:Figure 7.1; Bennett 1934:Figures 12–13;

Figure 2.22. Photograph of the only excavated and dated decorated pestle from the Achachi Coa Khollu sector of Kala Uyuni in the Taraco Peninsula (Cohen and Roddick 2007:57, Figures 6.15–6.16). Photograph courtesy of Christine Hastorf.

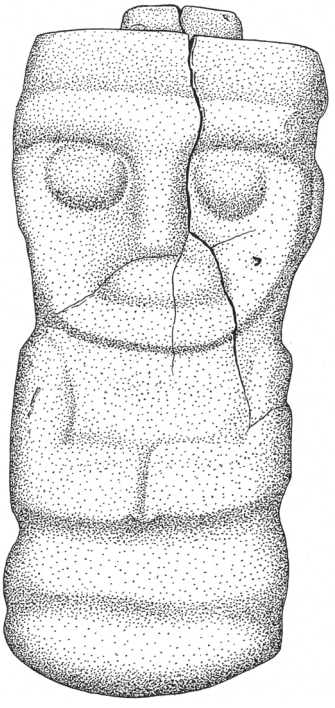


Figure 2.23. Pucara-style pestle from Pucara, resembling an anthropomorphic statuette. Drawn by Manuel Chávez Ballón.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

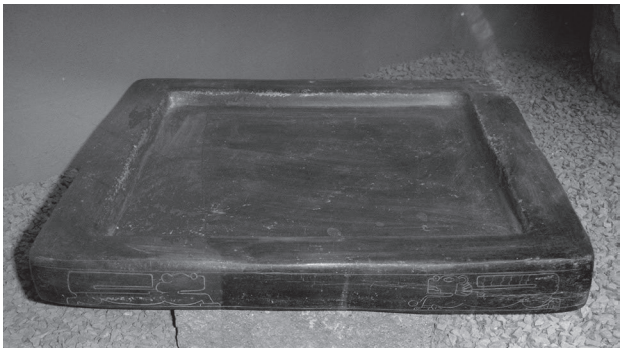


Figure 2.24. A rectangular grinding implement from unknown provenience, containing on the narrow side two feline motifs in fine incision (one is unfinished), resembling those of "Classic" Tiahuanaco style. Photograph by Stanislava and Sergio Chávez at the Museum in Tiahuanaco.

Janusek 2003:Figure 3.27; see also Arellano 1991:279 for Chiripa continuities into Tiahuanaco IV). Furthermore, the antecedent of the Tiahuanaco *qero* (or *kero*) shape may be found in Pucara-style beakers with a raised band near the rim (Rowe and Brandel 1971:Plate 1a–b; S. Chávez 1992:Figures 68–69, 71–73). The Qeya style (partially contemporaneous with the late Pucara style but usually associated with the southern basin) and issues related to its origins and distribution (which includes the Puno and Cuzco regions) are too complex to be discussed here. Readers are referred to discussions by K. Chávez (1985, 1986a) and Bermann (1994:101).

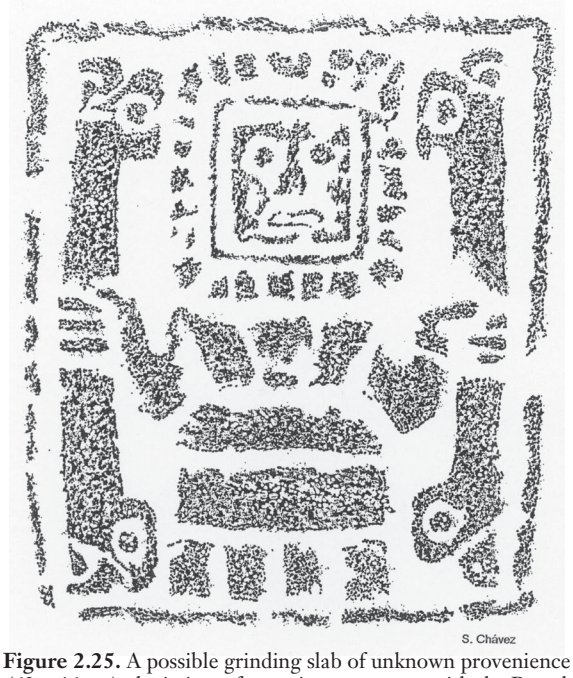


Figure 2.25. A possible grinding slab of unknown provenience (62 × 46 cm), depicting a front-view personage with the Rayed Head Motif and a rectangular border frame. Redrawn by S. Chávez with the same rubbing effect in the original illustration by Anton (1972:Figure 41 on p. 351).

Decorated Grinding Slabs and Pestles. Rectangular-shaped and relatively thin slabs are sometimes found at or near Yaya-Mama sites. Slabs from Chiripa, Copacabana (Figures 2.20–2.21), and other sites in the southern basin are decorated on one side with variations of the head with rayed appendages surrounded by serpentiform animals and quadrupeds (probably dogs) in low relief. An additional diagnostic attribute for Yaya-Mama slabs is a raised border forming a cross formée, which is sometimes found on both sides (S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975:54–55, Figures 9, 10). Another variation lacks elaborate decoration and shows only the cross formée frame on one of its sides; this group is represented by a grinding slab identified by Karen Chávez from Kidder's Chiripa excavation notes (K. Chávez 1989:20–21, Figure 6). A few others with only the cross formée are known from sites in the basin, including one at the Pucara Museum and another in the Cuzco region

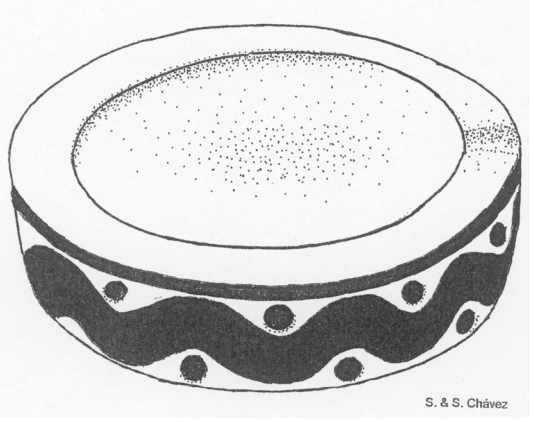


Figure 2.26. Circular grinder (63 cm diameter × 16 cm thick) excavated by Bennett in the semi-subterranean temple of Tiahuanaco (west of the Bennett monolith). Drawn by Stanislava Chávez based on photographs taken at the Museum in Tiahuanaco.

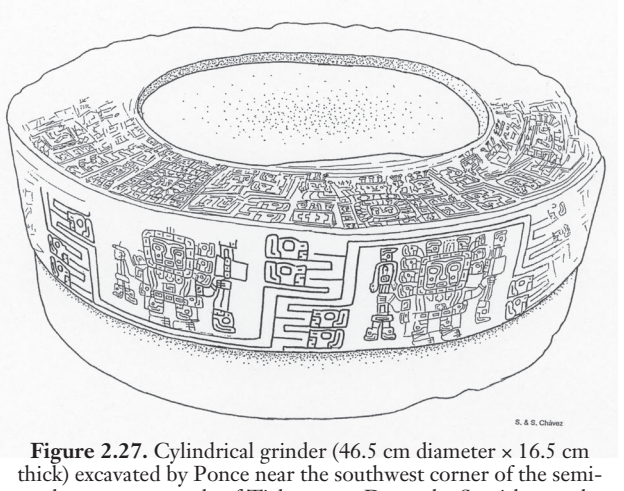


Figure 2.27. Cylindrical grinder (46.5 cm diameter × 16.5 cm thick) excavated by Ponce near the southwest corner of the semi-subterranean temple of Tiahuanaco. Drawn by Stanislava and Sergio Chávez based on photographs and illustrations by Ponce (1964:Figures 15, 23, and Lámina 11).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

associated with Pucara-style stone sculpture (S. Chávez 2007) (Figures 2.2–2.3).

Following Karen Chávez's description of the grinding slab with a cross formée from Chiripa, I undertook a close examination of those that are decorated with the cross formée and found that all of them show a gentle concave depression in the center of their reverse sides, polished through use-wear. This wear suggests two different functions for these objects: as portable religious objects (some have supernatural images) and, at the same time, as practical implements used to grind or prepare ritual substances—perhaps psychoactive powders consumed during the ceremonies conducted within the temples (S. Chávez 2004b:88–89).

I propose that complementing the grinding slabs, there are pestles, and some may be represented by the so-called lightning stones,[10] decorated with similar volute designs and crosses on their sides but a worn, convex pattern (as from grinding) on the distal end (S. Chávez 1976:8, Figures 7–8; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975:60). Cohen and Roddick (2007:57, Figures 6.15–6.16) report a stone of this type from excavations in the Achachi Coa Khollu sector of Kala Uyuni. This is the only excavated and dated example of a "lightning stone" (Figure 2.22). Although decorated pestles are rare in the northern basin, a possible Pucara-style pestle is carved to resemble an anthropomorphic statuette (Figure 2.23). Recently, I identified the cultural affiliation and gender of another small Pucara statuette which also has a worn base used as a pestle (S. Chávez 2014).

Grinding slabs and pestles have not been reported from Tiahuanaco-style contexts and/or associated with Tiahuanaco-style motifs. However, the collections of the Tiahuanaco Museum include a rectangular grinding implement of unknown provenience. It has a raised rectangular frame and fine incised sketches (unfinished) of feline-like motifs, similar to those on "Classic" Tiahuanaco–style pottery (Figure 2.24). Another possible Tiahuanaco-style grinding slab or pestle, also of unknown provenience, has a rectangular frame containing a front-facing personage incorporating the Rayed Head Motif, holding in each hand a staff terminating in profile bird heads (Figure 2.25). This motif is like those of "Classic" Tiahuanaco; unfortunately, neither thickness nor wear on the opposite side is discussed with the published illustration (Anton 1972:324, Figure 41 on p. 351).

The only excavated and decorated grinding stones from Tiahuanaco are two circular specimens from the semi-subterranean temple. The first (Figure 2.26) was excavated slightly west of the Bennett monolith and has a series of circles above and below a continuous wavy band (Bennett 1934:444, Figure 34; see also Bennett 1956:121, Figure 34). This piece was described by Posnansky (1958:121, Plate LXXIIIm), who wrote that "perhaps it served to grind narcotic herbs with water, after which the liquid came out through a shallow canal." The second grinding stone (Figure 2.27) was excavated near the southwest corner of the same temple and portrays finely incised "Classic" Tiahuanaco–style motifs encircling the top and low sides (Ponce Sanginés 1964:66–67, Figures 15, 23, and Lámina 11).

Miniature Vessels. Miniature vessels associated with Yaya-Mama temples seem to have fulfilled some public ritual function. They are identical in form to some of the regular-sized vessels, and at the Pucara temple complex, there are plain, polychrome-incised, and effigy and portrait pots representing human heads and felines in tiny size (S. Chávez 1992:105–106, 189–191; e.g., Figures 199–201, 296, 301, 373–374). Some of these vessels contain remnants of calcium carbonate (lime), a substance still used to enhance the effects of coca chewing (S. Chávez 1992:491–492; see also Bermann 1994:73, Figure 5.6 for a similar vessel from Lukurmata, contemporaneous with Pucara). The inference of coca from lime containers might also suggest that such vessels were used in temple activities and constitute indirect evidence for the earliest use of coca leaves in Yaya-Mama times (S. Chávez 200a:82). To my knowledge, there is no direct evidence for coca chewing in the Tiahuanaco Period, but I identify at least three human effigy vessels with a protrusion on the left cheek—similar to the wad of coca leaves positioned there by chewers today. All three vessels come from recent excavations on the island of Pariti (Pärssinen and Korpisaari 2005:53–54, Figures 12–13, 15; see also Sagárnaga Meneses 2008:Figure 25).

During the Tiahuanaco Period, miniature vessels were relatively rare but do occur in excavation contexts. Berman

Figure 2.28. A "Classic" Tiahuanaco-style *kero* associated with the lower portion of a plain/utilitarian vessel, from a burial recently excavated at the site of Cundisa, Copacabana. Photograph by Sergio Chávez.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

(1994:168, Figure 11.8) documents one vessel in a domestic context at Lukurmata, and Alconini Mujica (1995:197, Table 5, Figure 75 lower row) recorded another from an offering context at Chiji Jawira. Diez de Medina also illustrated miniatures along with other Tiahuanaco forms (Querejazu Lewis 1983:182–184).

Architectural Models. Baked clay models have been recovered from Yaya-Mama excavations, but they are highly fragmentary. They have trapezoidal doorways, some with a double-jam with a double-step fret at the top, like those preserved on windows of actual buildings at Chiripa (K. Chávez 1989:19, Figure 2b; K. Chávez 2002). A complete whistle (9 cm high) representing a thatched house with fancy door and window was discovered in a Qalasasaya-style context during excavation of the Kalasasaya monument (Ponce Sanginés 1971:7, 1972:Figure 81).

No three-dimensional models have been reported from Tiahuanaco Period contexts, but they may have looked like the one illustrated by Kolata (1993:153, Figure 5.38), "a ceramic representation of a Tiwanaku house," with a dome-shaped roof and a head with two lateral appendages painted above the door (see also Berenguer Rodríguez 2000:Figure on p. 25), or like the one excavated by Isbell from a burial cist at the site of Conchopata in Ayacucho (Isbell and Knobloch 2001:33–34, Figure 20). It is possible that three-dimensional clay models were replaced by plan-view models in stone, which show what appears to be a semi-subterranean court surrounded by rectangular structures (e.g., Goldstein and Owen 2002:Figure 18c). Similar stone models were found in disturbed Tiahuanaco levels during our recent excavations at Cundisa in Copacabana (S. J. Chávez and S. R. Chávez 2011).

Utilitarian Vessels in Ceremonial Contexts. Excavations conducted within Yaya-Mama temple structures often yield large quantities of plain/utilitarian sherds, many with black/sooty exteriors and interior burnt residues, associated with fancy sherds. They were probably used for cooking, storing, and serving food, drinks, and other substances during feasting and similar temple activities. Tall plain/utilitarian jars with short outflaring necks, a shape that is also associated with special polychrome jars depicting the Feline Man theme, have been recovered from excavated contexts at Pucara (S. Chávez 1992:173–176, Figures 116, 206). Likewise, Lee Steadman (2007:68–75) reports large numbers of plain/utilitarian sherds from Early, Middle, and Late Chiripa contexts at Kala Uyuni and Chiripa.

Discovery of plain/utilitarian pottery in temple contexts prompted us to consider pottery attribute and paste analyses as an additional and/or indirect component of ritual paraphernalia, leading us to call it "utilitarian-ceremonial" vessels (K. Chávez 2002). Our examination of utilitarian pottery and comparisons with those from household/residential contexts is still in progress, but specimens from temple sites have been shown to contain phytoliths preserved in food residues, so more will soon be learned about ceremonial foods in Yaya-Mama times (S. Chávez and Thompson 2006).

The study of plain/utilitarian vessels from Tiahuanaco-style contexts is still in its infancy. However, based on a few publications and general observations of good Tiahuanaco contexts, shapes that continue from Yaya-Mama into Tiahuanaco times, such as tall plain/utilitarian jars with short outflaring necks, have been identified. For example, Burkholder (2002:226, Figure 9) describes the Huchani style, consisting of jars or *ollas* with a long temporal (300 BC to AD 1100) and geographical distribution, extending over Iwawi, the Taraco Peninsula, Tiahuanaco, and beyond. We found fragments of similar jars during our recent excavations at the multicomponent site of Cundisa, where plain/utilitarian pottery frequently co-occurs with fine Tiahuanaco-style vessels (usually *qero* or jar shapes) in undisturbed burials (Figure 2.28). This suggests that plain/utilitarian pottery may have had important meaning in burial contexts (S. Chávez 2008b:52; S. J. Chávez and S. R. Chávez 2011).

Iconography and Iconology

Four important considerations were taken into account when dealing with Yaya-Mama iconography and its interpretation in the Cuzco and Titicaca Basins: the diversity of media used, differential preservation of details, reliance on firsthand personal observation, and the distinction between southern "early" and northern "late"/Pucara varieties of sculpture (based on technique, seriation, and associated dates). Furthermore, the exceptional preservation of three carved stone objects, two excavated at Pucara (Mujica 1990:Figures 125–126) and one with "Tiwanaku twins" known as "anticephalic idols" (Conklin 2009:118, n. 1; Eisleb and Strelow 1980:86, Figure 268) from Tiahuanaco, suggests that sculptures may have been painted.

Yaya-Mama iconography is preserved on stone sculpture (which can also be part of architecture) and fragmentary pottery vessels, but imagery on textiles, basketry, and wood is not preserved in the Titicaca Basin. These perishable media may have been more important for iconographic depictions during some periods than stone or pottery (cf. S. Chávez 1992:8–9; Conklin 1985), which might explain the marked differences between iconography in stone and pottery, not just within the southern "early"

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

variation of the tradition but also compared to the more complex, diverse, and elaborate iconography of the northern "late"/Pucara. With these caveats, I present a summary of Yaya-Mama iconography in stone and pottery, their supernatural attributes, and likely interpretations, following the discussion of the noniconographic attributes of the Yaya-Mama tradition above.

Yaya-Mama Iconography in Carved Stone. Some of the diagnostic motifs of the "early" version are (Figure 2.2) face or head element with volutes or star-like or recurved peripheral appendages (such as on the Yaya-Mama stela from Taraco, the Mocachi stela, and the Santiago de Huata stela, as well as the grinding slabs from Chiripa and Copacabana); undulating, eared serpents (chimeras), sometimes double-headed; checkered and formée crosses; quadrupeds in profile (camelids and probably dogs, felines, and foxes); frogs/toads and other herpetological fauna; and anthropomorphic figures.

The anthropomorphic figures are represented either full length with short legs or with only the head and torso. They have circular eyes (either ringed or solid), an open mouth represented by an oval band, a mouth mask, and possibly also a labrette. The arms are bent at the elbow and usually positioned one above the other, across the torso. The head is adorned with zigzags or undulating serpents and sometimes with a headband or turban-like hat. Among all the Yaya-Mama iconographic figures, anthropomorphic ones use the most space and are usually found in pairs, including one clear instance of male-female duality preserved on the Yaya-Mama stela from Taraco. Symmetry and pairing also occur in zoomorphic and geometric designs, which are organized to avoid large areas of empty space. Images of human heads in profile and of birds (including raptors) are relatively rare. Although all these examples show a common conceptual motivation and similarities at the regional level, local differences appear in minor iconographic details, composition, sizes, and shapes, as well as in type of stone employed for the sculpture (S. Chávez 1998, 2004a:75; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975).

Some of the early elements that continue into and/or resemble the "late"/Pucara version (although "late" Pucara iconography tends to be more elaborate, realistic, and three-dimensional) include (Figure 2.3) the following: a head with peripheral appendages, eared serpents (some with bifurcated tongues), quadrupeds in profile (e.g., camelids and felines), realistic and stylized frogs/toads, birds, headbands or turban-like hats, and checkered crosses, and some smaller versions of these are used as space fillers within a series of well-established symmetrical panels (e.g., the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela). Features that become rare in later sculpture are carving on all four sides of a flattish stela and labrettes on some human faces (e.g., Posnansky 1945:II:Figure 92). Attributes that disappear during the "late"/Pucara Period include double-headed serpents, the mouth-mask element, and paired anthropomorphic figures on a single stela.

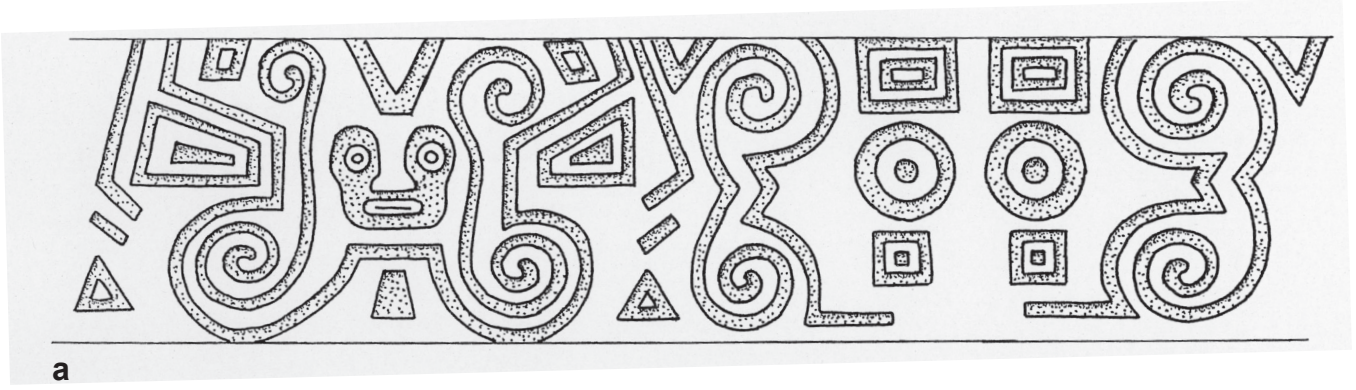


Figure 2.29. (a) Rollout drawing of decorations on a rare annular-based globular vessel excavated as part of an offering at Akapana. Redrawn and adapted by Stanislava and Sergio Chávez from an illustration by Alconini (1995:Figures 7–8). (b) Circular head with appendages recurving at right angles on the headband of a human head effigy vessel in "Classic" Tiahuanaco style. Redrawn by Stanislava Chávez with the right side appendages reconstructed, from Querejazu (1983:Figure on p. 187).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

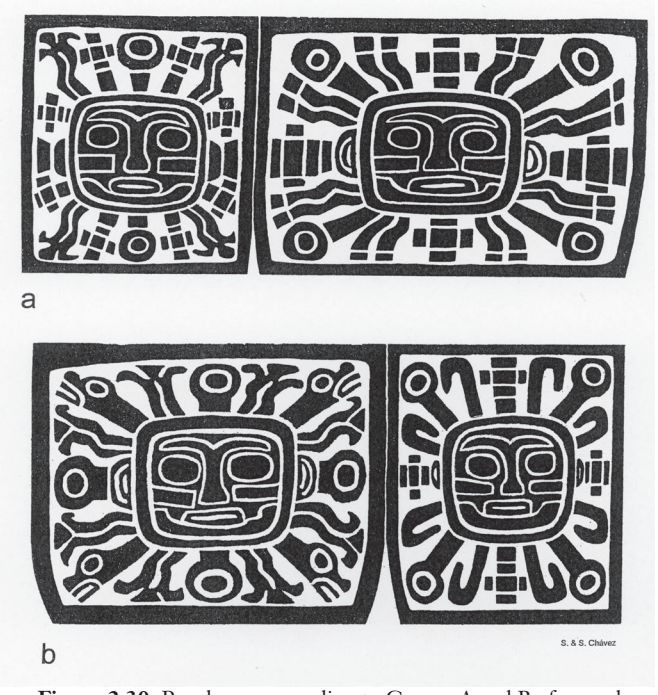


Figure 2.30. Panels corresponding to Groups A and B of several Pucara-style rectangular and double-chambered stone vessels. Drawn by Stanislava Chávez on the basis of rubbings by Karen and Sergio Chávez.

Interestingly, the corpus of attributes appearing on the proposed "transitional" Yaya-Mama to "Classic" Tiahuanaco sculptures (from Khonko Wankane and Tiahuanaco, Figures 2.4–2.7) are not all derived from "early" and "late" Yaya-Mama. Some important characteristics were omitted while others were combined and elaborated with new associations that became integral parts of the "Classic" Tiahuanaco style. For example, on Stela 13 (Figure 2.7), there are a large number of right-angle appendages terminating in profile heads of birds and "fish" and designs within a square frame (sometimes with minor modifications). They appear on the Bennett (repeated 22 times) and Ponce (six times) monoliths and the preserved body portion of the Kochamama monolith. So important were these designs or symbols that simplified versions were represented on the chest of many other anthropomorphic front and profile sculptures, as well as the pedestals of rayed heads in the lowest band of the Gateways of the Kalasasaya and Pumapunku.

Although no "fish" heads are known or preserved in Yaya-Mama/Pucara stone carving, their direct antecedents are present in two- and three-dimensional depictions on Pucara-style pottery (e.g., Rowe and Brandel 1971:Figures 26, 27, 37, and Plate XVIII, see also Figure 2.10 for the winged "fish" and bird association). Likewise, the three additional geometric components of the two symbol panels in Stela 13 were also already present in Pucara-style iconography: the interlocking "L" in the neck of the "fish" (Figure 2.10) and the general layout of the square and bifurcated band terminating in animal heads (Figure 2.9).

The "transitional" stela, from Chunchu Kala (Figure 2.11), can be regarded as one of the first examples in which the Rayed Head Motif becomes the head of the main personage. Another antecedent for the front-view personage with Rayed Head Motif is a small sculpture of a winged humanoid illustrated by Rowe (1977:Figures 15–19). The portrayal of a single personage in frontal view, with three-toed feet and nails in profile, is diagnostic of "Classic" Tiahuanaco.

The southern "early" head motif with volutes and foot appendages, seen on the Chiripa and Copacabana grinding slabs (Figures 2.20–2.21), is absent and/or may have been replaced by the Rayed Head Motif (see below) in northern "late" Pucara times. However, there are two exceptional examples in "Classic" Tiahuanaco with slight resemblances to the "late" head motif. One is an unusual annular-base globular vessel found as part of an offering at the Akapana (its similarity with Chiripa and Yaya-Mama iconography was also noted by Alconini Mujica 1995:80–81, Figures 7–8) (Figure 2.29a). The second is a human face effigy vessel with remains of a circular head with lateral recurving appendages at right angles (Querejazu Lewis 1983:Figure on p. 187) (Figure 2.29b).

Motifs on the panels of rectangular double-chambered stone box–like vessels that are similar to the iconography of Pucara-style pottery also constitute a clear "missing link" to Tiahuanaco and Huari heads with peripheral appendages. Using fragments from Kidder's excavations at the semi-subterranean Pucara temple, Karen Chávez and I were able to reconstruct five such stone boxes, which employ two sets of designs (K. Chávez 1986b) (Figure 2.30). The designs contain a number of elements that derive directly from the Woman with Alpaca theme portrayed on pottery vessels. These associations are presented and discussed below.

Yaya-Mama Iconography Depicted on Pottery. Pottery and its iconography are more sensitive to cultural changes in time and space than the much less common and more enduring stone sculptures. Indeed, analyses of pastes, shapes, iconography, and other attributes show considerable local diversity, as well as regional similarities, throughout the Yaya-Mama tradition. For example, in the southern Titicaca Basin, there is an overwhelming distribution of styles like Chiripa (e.g.,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

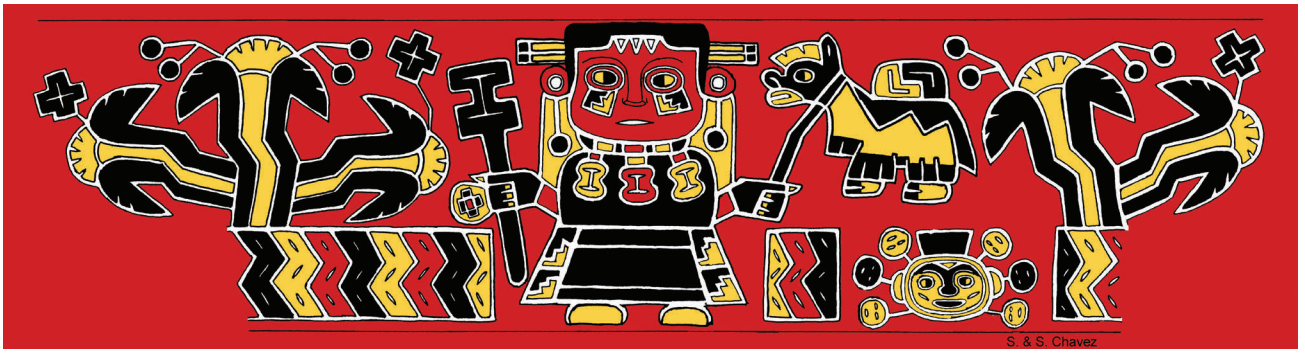


Figure 2.31. Rollout drawing of the Woman with Alpaca theme portrayed on Pucara-style polychrome and incised pottery vessels excavated at the Pucara temple complex. Reconstructed by Stanislava Chávez based on drawings by Sergio Chávez of several glued fragments pertaining to two similar versions of the same theme on pedestal-based bowls.

Bennett 1936; Mohr 1966) and Qalasasaya (documented for the first time by Ponce in 1971 as part of his Epoch I of Tiahuanaco) and others (e.g., Bermann 1994:63–65), while in the north basin, the Pucara style, dated to "late" Yaya-Mama times, appears (e.g., Franquemont 1990; S. Chávez 1992), along with other styles that are still being defined (K. Chávez 2002). Influences from both north and south have been described in the western basin by Steadman (1995), and what appears to be a strong Chiripa presence has been identified in the eastern basin (e.g., Faldín 1985:57, 59–60, Figure on p. 70; Portugal Ortíz et al. 1994). Some of these styles were at least partially contemporaneous with each other, such as Late Chiripa with Qalasasaya and Qalasasaya with Pucara.

In the southern basin, the iconography on pottery is restricted to a few elements that are rarely found in stone. The most widespread motif is a feline, which is usually portrayed with a spotted body in profile and the head facing front. In Chiripa-style pottery, the whole body is shaped in relief and is associated with painted stepped geometric designs (Mohr 1966:Figure 45); in Qalasasaya, only the head is shaped in relief or the entire feline is two-dimensional, painted, and incised (Ponce Sanginés 2002:Figure 11.2). Geometrical Qalasasaya-style designs consist of stepped blocks (Ponce Sanginés 2002:Figure11.5). In Chiripa-style pottery, less frequent motifs are birds, ducks (Mohr 1966:Figure 44a), camelids or other mammals (including effigy vessels; Mohr 1966:Figure 30), and a modeled serpent-like creature (S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975:Figure 28; Mohr 1966:Figure 42c). One particularly important piece is a modeled appliqué anthropomorphic face we identified while studying Bennett's materials excavated from Chiripa levels at Chiripa. This piece is characterized by typical Chiripa grass temper and depicts the earliest representation of a vertically divided eye and "tear" band, which became so prevalent in later "Classic" Tiahuanaco and Huari iconography (K. Chávez 1989:21, Figure 10). The face of this piece also has remains of emanating grooves, which may represent the appendages or volutes characteristic of the Copacabana and Chiripa grinding slabs, the Yaya-Mama stela, and others.

Pottery from the northern portion of the basin, mainly of the Pucara style from the temple context at Pucara, is highly fragmentary and very elaborate. Decoration on these pieces includes a combination of modeling, fine and regular incision (sometimes with postfire paint preserved), excision, fine polychrome paint and polishing, complex themes, motifs, and designs, as well as vessels with decoration on the interior and exterior portions of the base. I have identified two iconographic themes and a series of motifs and designs that are directly or indirectly associated and/or related to two personages distinguished by sex and/or gender.

The identification, definition, and interpretation of two major Pucara themes (the Woman with Alpaca and the Feline Man), as well as their related motifs, associated shapes and pastes, excavated contexts, and interpretations, have been presented and discussed extensively in previous publications and presentations (S. Chávez 1993, 1998, 2002c, 2004a:91–92, 2007; see also S. Chávez 1992). Therefore, I provide only a summary of their major attributes and selected elements to contextualize the Rayed Head Motifs on the rectangular stone vessels or boxes, as well as their continuities in time and space.

Among the most important attributes in the Woman with Alpaca theme (Figure 2.31) is her pose, which is a front-facing passive standing position, with arms spread and bent at the elbows. Her hands are also bent at the wrists; the right holds a staff and a rounded "bag" or ball of yarn, while the left leads an alpaca by a rope. The

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 2.32. Rollout drawing of the Feline Man theme portrayed on Pucara-style polychrome and incised pottery vessels excavated at the Pucara temple complex. Reconstructed by Stanislava Chávez on the basis of drawings by Sergio Chávez of several glued fragments pertaining to two similar versions of the same theme on pedestal-based bowls.

woman's feet lack toes and instead appear to be covered with shoes. She has protruding ears, and her mouth is closed and marked by a horizontal incision. A pair of "feathers" emanates from both sides of her head, and she is flanked by a series of plant-like motifs, some in bloom with nested crosses or round fruits. A wide horizontal band containing a series of vertical zigzags alternating in three colors extends on either side of her, as high as her waist.

The Woman with Alpaca is represented only once on each pedestal-based burner, and the details of each representation differ. For example, in one instance, she has circular pendant earrings and/or similar pendants extending from her necklace. Her face and "bag" may be marked with the checkered cross motif. Other variations in her face markings include black rectangles or a band surrounding her face. This marking was found on a figurine with obvious breasts and was used initially to determine the sex and/or gender of the Woman with Alpaca personage (S. Chávez 1992:196–215, Figures 140–175; S. Chávez 2002c:41–48; S. Chávez 2004a:91–91, Figures 3.24a, 3.26).

The same associated motifs, elements, and designs also serve to identify the female gender of the Rayed Head Motif present on the panels of both sets of designs of the rectangular stone box–like vessels (K. Chávez 1986b; S. Chávez 2004a:90, 92, Figure 3.23). The key associated elements include the following (cf. Figures 2.30a–b, 2.31):

(a) Band immediately surrounding the head (also present on the female figurine used to identify the sex/gender of the Woman with Alpaca; S. Chávez 2002c:Figure 2.2a)

(b) Protruding ears, which are pierced in the figurine and excised with earrings in the Woman with Alpaca

(c) Closed mouth

(d) Horizontal rectangle designs under the eyes, which also appear on a version of the Woman with Alpaca (S. Chávez 2002c:Figure 2.4c)

(e) Four pairs of zigzagging bands terminating in rectangles on the wide panels, which resemble the straight "feathers" at the sides of the Woman with Alpaca's head, as well as the pair of stepped or zigzagging streamers on the female-related Owl Motif (S. Chávez 2002c:Figure 2.6)

(f) Checkered cross element present on most panels, which also appears on the woman's "bag" and as face markings under her eyes (S. Chávez 2002c:Figure 2.4a)

(g) Next in frequency on the stone vessels is the plant element, which is also consistently associated with the Woman with Alpaca theme

(h) A straight appendage terminating in a ring, which is present as a neck pendant on felines associated with female themes, including anthropomorphized ones (S. Chávez 2002c:Figures 2.15–2.16)

(i) Earless profile animal heads attached to a straight appendage (seen on four corners in wide panels, Figure 2.30b), which resemble those in alpacas and feline streamers associated with female themes (e.g., S. Chávez 1989:Figure 12; S. Chávez 1992:Figures 182, 370)

(j) A variation of the Rayed Head Motif also appears on vessels representing the Woman with Alpaca theme

Since all the elements of the Rayed Head Motif are found with features of the Woman with Alpaca (and none with the Feline Man; see below), I argue that the Pucara Rayed Head Motif represents the face of a woman and/or is a female-related image. However, the Rayed Head Motif remains disembodied in Pucara iconography and is never found in the place of the head of a female personage.

The other theme identified in Pucara pottery iconography is the Feline Man (Figure 2.32), whose

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

iconography is in clear contrast to the elements and designs associated with the Woman with Alpaca theme and her related motifs. The Feline Man is named in recognition of the cat-like fangs he possesses, as well as instances where he wears the pelt of a spotted feline with a long bent tail and a ring nose. The sex/gender of the Feline Man was determined by ear and face markings as well as his crown, which all differ from the Woman with Alpaca, and by secondary male sex characteristics on miniature and regular-sized effigy vessels (facial hair; S. Chávez 1992:232–254, Figures 200–226; S. Chávez 2002c:Figures 2.7a–d, 2.9a–b). He is portrayed on tall jars and unrestricted vessels as well as ceremonial burners. The Feline Man is presented in profile with his chest facing front, and his running stance is asserted by a forward-lunging torso and the position of the legs and bare feet. The head is tilted upward, and a pair of long bands emanate from the mouth. The arms are bent at the elbows and wrists. The hand in front of the body holds a zigzagging and segmented staff, which usually terminates in a severed head, while the hand behind the back holds an axe and a severed head (or a headless body; S. Chávez 1992:Figure 206a). The lips are thick and the mouth usually shows teeth and fanged canines. The ears are simple protrusions, sometimes with natural folds.

The Feline Man also wears a garment resembling a collar or bib around the neck. His face markings are far more complex than those of the woman and include long zigzagging bands with rings or branching appendages. He is also portrayed with several kinds of crowns, which usually have a lower portion that contains a long body terminating in an animal head on the front and a stepped element on the back. The crowns are capped by vertical and trapezoidal segments and projections terminating in different elements. Unlike the Woman with Alpaca, the Feline Man is always represented in pairs, either facing or chasing one another. Rare variations include the Winged Man Motif (S. Chávez 1992:504–507, Figures 449–452; S. Chávez 2002c:59, Figure 2.19a), the anthropomorphized Winged Feline with single foot and arm (S. Chávez 1992:Figure 39), and possibly also the anthropomorphized Winged "Fish" with outstretched legs as though running and the anthropomorphized bird with a single arm and foot (Figure 2.10).

When Constantino Torres and Joerg Haeberli began documenting northern Chilean snuff trays and the late Pucara-related textiles of Arequipa, respectively, Karen Chávez and I shared information with them on the Yaya-Mama iconography of the Cuzco and Titicaca Basins. I became interested in determining how some of the Yaya-Mama/Pucara motifs and designs were modified and resurfacing in distant coastal regions (including Conklin's discussion of a Pucara style tapestry, published in 1983). Subsequently, in a coauthored presentation with Torres (S. Chávez and Torres 1986; see also Torres 2002:436, 441), I presented a list of attributes from a group of snuff trays that closely resemble two- and three-dimensional motifs in Pucara-style stone and pottery imagery (the "Sacrificer" statues and the Feline Man wearing a feline pelt), as well as their continuities (with modifications, replacements, and/or omissions of some elements) in "Classic" Tiahuanaco and Huari imagery. At that time, I proposed identifying this group of trays as transitional between Pucara and "Classic" Tiahuanaco, based on some newly introduced elements, including the stepped pedestal-like composite element (with additional branching designs or profile animal heads) placed under most of the personages and Rayed Head Motifs. I also observed that some of the profile personages (similar to the Feline Man and Winged Man of Pucara art) retained only one arm, were missing the middle portion of the crown, and had an additional long segmented band added along the back, and in addition to arms and legs with internal structure and wrist or ankle bands, new elements appear that terminate in profile animal heads, including examples where profile heads emanate from wings.

Some major conclusions derived from our study of the selected snuff trays (e.g., Torres 1987:Plates 79, 81, 83, 91), two coastal textiles (Young-Sánchez 2004b:Figure 1.9, 2004c:Figure 2.26b; see also Haeberli 2002 for his identification of Provincial Pucara Group B), and the small winged personage illustrated by Rowe (1977:Figures 15–19)[11] include the following:

(a) Personages, derived from the Pucara Feline Man and Woman with Alpaca themes (including their related motifs, elements, and designs), show changes and/or modifications that I consider to be significant enough to represent temporal, rather than simply local, variations.

(b) Although each tablet depicts only one personage while textiles depict multiples, these changes can be understood in terms of the traditional and sharply distinguished male and female domains of Pucara. I believe this change reflects gender role reversals, with the woman assuming many aspects of the male's domain. In art, this meant that the female image became associated with severed heads, visible teeth (including the Rayed Head Motif, which also sometimes replaces her head but with segments or the interlocking "L" around the face band), borrowing and/or modifying male face markings, wearing appendages similar to those in crowns and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

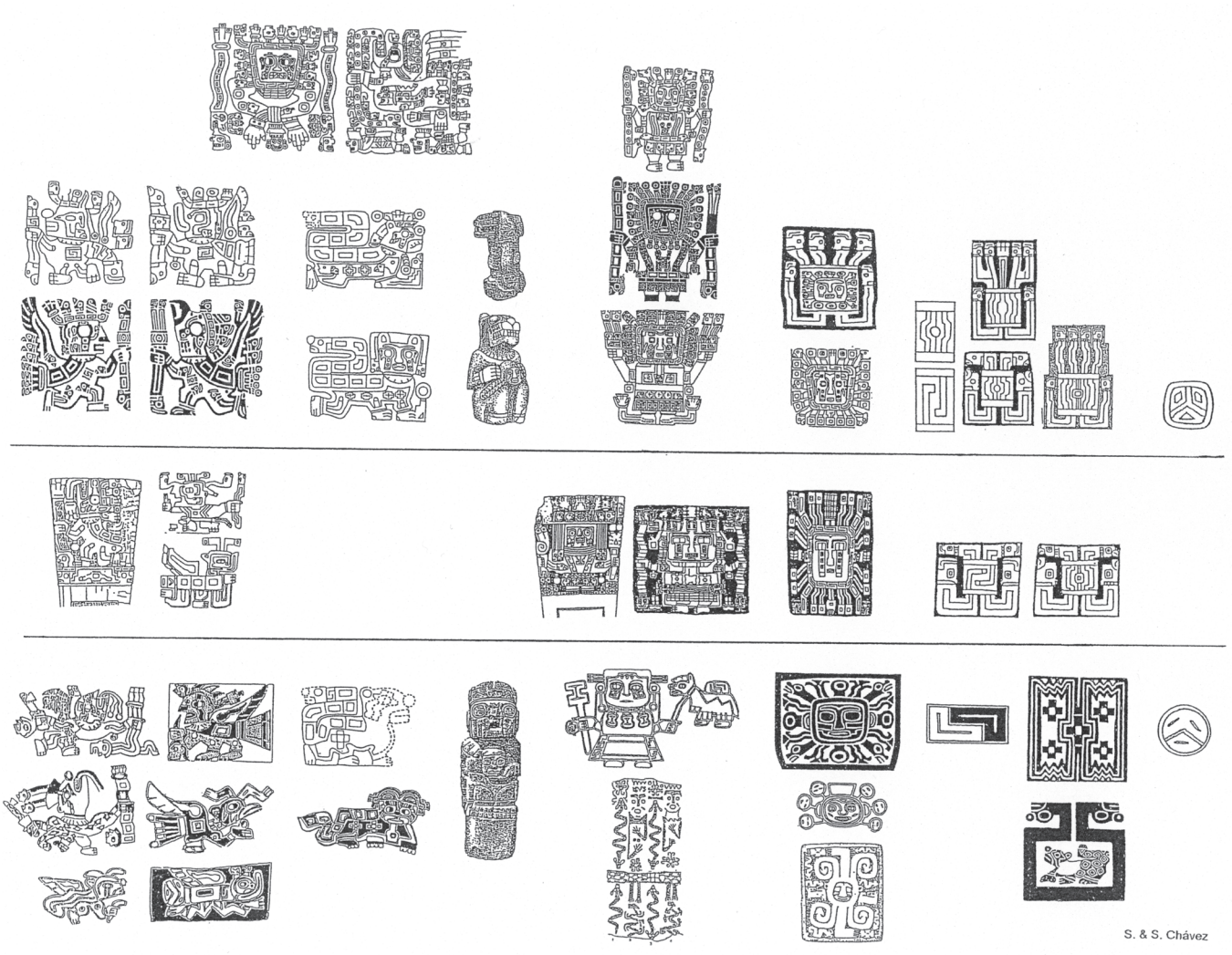


Figure 2.33. Continuities in a selection of Yaya-Mama style iconography as it develops into "Classic" Tiahuanaco style. Line drawings by Sergio and Stanislava Chávez.

staffs, and carrying staffs terminating in animals heads, many of which zigzag and are segmented like the male's. Furthermore, on the stela from Chunchu Kala and the small winged sculpture reported by Rowe, the rayed head replaces the woman's face, and the small winged sculpture displays the very rare occurrence of a pair of wings resting on her back.

(c) On the spectacular Gateway Textile (Young-Sánchez 2004b:Figure 1.9, 2004c:Figure 2.26b), the woman and the Rayed Head Motif are prominently positioned, and a smaller version of her is repeated many times. Also, for the first time, male and female personages occur together in one textile, but males are much smaller in size and number and occupy a secondary position as "gatekeepers" or carriers of the conch shell. They are also devoid of their traditional association with severed heads and legs, headless bodies, axes, and complete crowns. Those depicted on snuff tablets do retain these "life-taking attributes" but with some modifications and/or new elements.

By tracing Yaya-Mama iconography appearing in stone and pottery, while focusing on the male (Feline Man) and female (Woman with Alpaca) personages, the Rayed Head Motif, and other selected designs, it is possible to determine both the continuities as well as the changes and modifications they went through in becoming "Classic" Tiahuanaco. Beginning with the proposed "transitional" iconography, it is clear that imagery in textiles is more elaborate and characterized by more complex depictions than stone sculpture and carved wooden trays. However, the most important traditional attributes (e.g., stance, attire, collar vs. necklace, pendant earrings, wrist and ankle bands with internal structure, and the general outline of rayed heads) are retained to identify the male and female

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

personages. Likewise, key geometric designs are still identifiable as derivations from Pucara (the divider cross, bifurcated band, and interlocking "L"). Therefore, it is the rearrangement and modifications of these attributes, as well as changes in the male and female domains, that leads me to propose a gender role reversal at the ideological level. Moreover, the ample space furnished by textiles (seldom seen in other media) provides an opportunity to see for the first time an emphasis on and repetition of female or female-derived personages, where the rayed head (along with two large versions of a front-face female personage with teeth and holding staffs of various kinds) occupies a prominent position. Correspondingly, male or male-derived personages are reduced in size and number and are relegated to a secondary role of "gatekeepers" or carriers of the conch shell, as well as devoid of their older "life-taking" qualities.

Some of the changes seen in the "transitional" art became firmly established while others were further rearranged, modified, and standardized in the Tiahuanaco Period. However, perhaps due to close proximity within the Titicaca Basin and/or continuities within the same media, Tiahuanaco iconography shows a close linkage with Yaya-Mama/Pucara iconography—despite modifications and further elaborations (Figure 2.33). Looking at the well-known "Classic" Tiahuanaco sculptures in and around Tiahuanaco (cf. Figures 2.12 and 2.33), we can see that almost all of the iconography derives from and/or has antecedents in about a dozen Yaya-Mama/Pucara style themes, motifs, and designs, including the following:

(a) The four kinds of profile personages (anthropomorphic [also known as "angels" or "attendants"], feline, avian, and "fish") retain the barefoot stance, collar, and wrist and ankle bands with internal structure of the Feline Man. However, their mouths are closed; those with human, feline, and "fish" heads face forward, while only the bird heads face upward; and they lack several Feline Man features, including teeth with fangs, complete crowns, axes, severed heads, and details of the segmented staff. On the other hand, I believe the different kinds of heads with simplified crowns, spread wing (with the characteristic wing symbol), single arm, segmented band along the back, and the association with bird and "fish" head appendages were borrowed and/or rearranged from the Bird Man, Feline Man (including the one wearing a feline pelt), and the anthropomorphized bird, feline, and "fish" motifs of Pucara.

(b) Tiahuanaco's felines with head in profile or front view, body in profile with recurved tail over the back, legs similar to the Feline Man stance, and other details have strong antecedents in Pucara-style (as well as Qalasasaya and Chiripa) felines.

(c) The so-called *chachapuma* statues in Tiahuanaco are reminiscent of the "sacrificer" and similar Pucara-style standing or seated statues holding a knife or ax and a severed human head, teeth and fangs, and other details similar to the Feline Man.

(d) Variations of the so-called Staff God, less frequently portrayed in Tiahuanaco and often with the Rayed Head Motif as part of the head, retain the pose, attire, and some designs and details from the Woman with Alpaca. Most of the new elements and characteristics are borrowed and rearranged from the Feline Man and related motifs, including severed heads (or circles) hanging from the elbows and feet with three toes (sometimes in profile). The association of bird and "fish" head, stepped block, nested cross, and interlocking "L" are also characteristic of Pucara iconography.

(e) The general arrangement and some specific appendages of the Pucara Rayed Head Motif can be recognized as direct antecedents or a source for further elaboration for appendages associated with rings, as well as profile bird, "fish," and feline heads. On the other hand, on textiles (Haeberli 2002:Figure 30; Young-Sánchez 2004c:Figure 1.9), the following are relatively common: use of "feathers" in pairs (reminiscent of those on the head of the Woman with Alpaca), wavy segmented appendages, ovoids terminating in three zigzag segments (almost identical to those in Feline Man staffs), and vertical bands under the eyes. The Rayed Head Motif in Tiahuanaco sculpture lacks "feathers," the appendages are straight, and a winged element surrounds the eyes. Interestingly, unlike "Classic" Tiahuanaco, the prominent personages in front view and the Rayed Head Motif in Provincial Pucara textiles (and the unique stela from Chunchu Kala) have visible teeth, as do most of the Huari metal "plumes" from Cuzco, including some with fangs (S. Chávez 1987:Figures 2–10, 12–19).

(f) The three Pucara designs and one association (interlocking "L," divider cross, bifurcated band, and the bird-"fish" association) are sometimes repeated to fill empty space and become hallmark symbols in almost all Tiahuanaco anthropomorphic stelae, particularly on the entire body of the Kochamama stela. Likewise, the Pucara stylized circular face motif with the mouth within a triangle (characteristic of the Feline Man and related motifs and designs) is repeated (alternating with rings) on the lower-body clothing, finger joints, and the wrist bone of the Ponce monolith.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Conclusions

Four major material indicators (semi-subterranean temples, ritual paraphernalia, stone sculptures, and iconography) define the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition that provided major antecedents for "Classic" Tiahuanaco in the Titicaca Basin. Yaya-Mama participated in a greater sphere of ideological and iconographic exchange that included northern Chilean snuff paraphernalia and Tiahuanaco's contemporary, the Huari Empire, that together have been newly termed the SAIS. This is consistent with my previous conclusions (S. Chávez 2004a:93) that "a substantial number of attributes [of the Yaya-Mama Tradition] show strong continuities into Tiwanaku. It is this fact, therefore, that leads me to propose Tiwanaku as a late phase of a single tradition."

I believe this chapter has shown that Yaya-Mama stone sculpture (either as independent sacred objects or as architectural components) continued to be an important medium even as it evolved. This is confirmed by my proposed "transitional" statues, as well as Stela 15 (Figure 2.2, immediately left of the scale) and the architectural pillars with badly preserved early images that accompanied later sculpture in Tiahuanaco's semi-subterranean temple. The Arapa-Thunderbolt stela provides compelling evidence of long-distance cultural interaction and continuity; its partial removal to Tiahuanaco confirms enduring ideological stability as well as the continued sacred importance of ancient religious images. However, the restricted presence of "Classic" Tiahuanaco-style sculptures, in and around Tiahuanaco only, contrasts significantly with the older Yaya-Mama/Pucara circum-lacustrine distribution that reached even into the Cuzco region.

Temples with semi-subterranean courts represent the earliest known public architecture in the Titicaca Basin, while formal variability in the peripheral structures surrounding temples, use and reuse of local stones, and other lines of evidence imply that Yaya-Mama was the first widespread social unification of diverse groups of people in the basin. Some characteristics of these temple structures were modified in the Tiahuanaco Period, but others were retained, including the absence of foundations, use of vertical pillars between sections of stone blocks, and great slabs flanking the entrance. These features characterize the semi-subterranean temple at Tiahuanaco, which is actually an earlier Qalasasaya Period structure that was rebuilt during its long and continuous use. No peripheral structures were found around this semi-subterranean temple, but the Kerikala seems to have had a storage complex similar to Chiripa.

I have also demonstrated continuities between Yaya-Mama and Tiahuanaco ritual paraphernalia and iconography, including depictions of a trumpet player on the Gateway of the Kalasasaya and conch shells on the crowns of many profile personages in a running position on the Kalasasaya Gateway, and the Bennett, Ponce, and Kochamama monoliths. Likewise, antecedents of "Classic" Tiahuanaco ceremonial burners, human and feline effigy vessels, the *qero* shape, and other basic ceramic forms are documented in Yaya-Mama, Qalasasaya, Chiripa, and Pucara styles.

The proposed double ceremonial and practical function of grinding slabs, like those from Chiripa, Copacabana, and others with the cross formée frame, may have continued with the circular grinders excavated at Tiahuanaco's semi-subterranean temple. Miniature representations of regular-sized forms, effigy vessels, and lime containers have also been excavated in Tiahuanaco contexts, such as at Lukurmata and Chiji Yawira. Yaya-Mama–style three-dimensional architectural models are very rare in Tiahuanaco contexts, although they may have been replaced by stone models in plan view. The recognition of plain/utilitarian vessels as a component of Yaya-Mama ritual paraphernalia is based on their abundance within excavated temple structures and in graves. Such vessels, especially tall jars or *ollas*, are common in Tiahuanaco contexts, including those associated with burials containing the "Classic" Tiahuanaco *qero*.

Yaya-Mama stone iconography does not always replicate that of pottery; pottery icons are very fragmentary, perhaps the result of "ritual smashing." Based on close examination of three examples from Pucara and Tiahuanaco, it is possible that sculptures were painted in polychrome colors, like pottery imagery. Many sculptural characteristics continue, in differing degrees, from Yaya-Mama to Tiahuanaco times. These include both "early" and "late" variations of Yaya-Mama sculpture (with modifications, further elaborations, and new associations) in "transitional" and "Classic" Tiahuanaco statuary. For example, the interlocking "L," divider cross, bifurcated band, and association of bird-"fish" in Pucara designs are sources for the two most widespread symbols repeatedly depicted on Tiahuanaco sculptures. For instance, they are present on the Bennett, Ponce, and Kochamama stelae; the headless statue from the Putuni; and the chests of profile running and front-view personages (and nested crosses below the belt and eyes on the Bennett monolith), and they are associated with the Rayed Head Motifs on gateways.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Although the circular head with volutes, like those on the Chiripa and Copacabana grinding slabs, are very rare on "Classic" Tiahuanaco vessels, it is the Pucara-style Rayed Head Motif (directly derived from the Woman with Alpaca Theme and related elements) that provides the "missing link." Different versions of this motif became one of the most important and recognizable hallmarks of "Classic" Tiahuanaco and Huari. The first use of the Rayed Head Motif to replace the traditional head of front-view personages, with the interlocking "L" designs around the face, occurred in the "transitional" stela from Chunchu Kala and on the small winged sculpture described by Rowe.

Early examples of the spotted cat, ubiquitous in Pucara and Tiahuanaco, go back to Chiripa- and Qalasasaya-style felines. Similarly, the vertically divided eye, used for all Pucara and most Tiahuanaco and Huari anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images, first appears on a modeled appliqué face with typical grass temper from Chiripa.

As summarized in Figure 2.33, the antecedents for most of Tiahuanaco iconography are found in about a dozen Yaya-Mama/Pucara themes, motifs, elements, and designs. If we isolate and remove all designs that derive from Yaya-Mama/Pucara, most "Classic" Tiahuanaco sculptures and stelae would become "naked," leaving only a handful of newly created designs and motifs.

Finally, based on inductive analysis and comparisons, I believe that in the Tiahuanaco Period, the male/yaya and female/mama gendered imagery, including the rayed head, directly or indirectly derives from the Woman with Alpaca and Feline Man themes and associated motifs, elements, and designs. Likewise, I have proposed that, despite subsequent transformation, their male and female natures are still recognizable. At the same time, however, I infer the late changes to be a reflection of gender role reversals at an ideological level—the woman takes many aspects of the traditional male domain (such as borrowing and modifying male face markings, carrying male-like staffs or their variations, becoming associated with human severed heads, and occupying a larger and prominent position),[12] while males are reduced in size and/or represented in multiple repetitions, devoid of their traditional life-taking attributes, and occupy a "lower rank," as seen especially on the Provincial Pucara Group B textiles such as the Gateway Textile.

Temporally, radiocarbon measurements suggest that the time between the end of Pucara/Provincial Pucara and late Yaya-Mama/Qalasasaya style and the beginning of "Classic" Tiahuanaco or Ponce's Tiwanaku epochs IV to V, although not well established, is in the range of 200 to 500 years.[13]

Astonishingly, the complex, rich, and long-enduring Yaya-Mama iconography disappeared at the end of the Middle Horizon, never to be seen again. A unique Huari tapestry presents what is perhaps a last attempt to portray the real or metaphorical conflicts that may have emerged around gender role reversals between the two important male and female personages. A total of 16 similar panels are described and illustrated by Isbell and Knobloch (2009:167–168, Figures 4–5, see also Figure 2.33, top two images) showing the female deity (only shoulders, arms, and rayed head with severed-head appendages, in addition to male-staff symbols) unable to grasp the staffs because her hands are tied. Facing her in eight panels (or away from her in alternatively oriented and colored panels) is a variation of the Winged Feline Man (with ears like the Feline Man wearing a feline pelt), depicted in full body but with only one arm and leg as though in a flying position. He grasps a single appendage emanating from his mouth (resembling the Pucara double-mouth appendages) with additional small curved appendages, profile "fish" heads, and ends terminating in a profile feline head. As noted by Isbell and Knobloch (2009), "The staff god [goddess] is captive!"

Last, and as demonstrated by Tiahuanaco offerings of silver foil and *Spondylus* shell at Mallku Pukara temple and Inca offerings of gold and silver figurines at the Ch'isi temple (K. Chávez 1997b; S. Chávez 1997), the sacred importance of Yaya-Mama semi-subterranean temples continued to be recognized in the Lake Titicaca Basin. The temples, the imagery, and the ideology constitute a highland core for a vast sphere of cultural interaction in the south-central Andes, identified in this volume as the SAIS. Evolving into several temporal and regional styles over two millennia, the ruined architecture and iconic symbols retain an association with ancestral roots and ancient powers even today.

Acknowledgments

Over the years, my late wife (Karen L. Mohr Chávez) and I have received generous support for the field and laboratory work upon which this chapter is based from the National Science Foundation, the National Geographic Society, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Foundation for Research and Conservation of Andean Monuments, and the Faculty Research and Creative Endeavors from Central Michigan University. I also

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

thank the Instituto Nacional de Cultura in Lima and Cuzco, as well as the Instituto Nacional de Arqueologia (now Unidad Nacional de Arqueología) in La Paz, for providing the official permits and administrative support. Acknowledgments are also due to Oswaldo Rivera Sundt, Javier Escalante, Eduardo Pareja Siñanis, and all our compadres, ahijados, and friends in Copacabana and the communities of Kusijata, Qupakati, Ch'isi, Khellay Belen, Kollasuyu, Huacuyu, Sampaya, Huayllani, Isla de Qoati, and Compi. Special acknowledgment is given to my wife and colleague, Stanislava R. Chávez, for her never-ending support in the elaboration of figures, editing, and comments on several drafts of this article. A version of this chapter was presented in 2007 during the Southern Andean Iconographic Series Symposium: A Colloquium in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology sponsored by Dumbarton Oaks, UCLA, Universidad de Chile, and SUNY-Binghamton, organized by William Isbell and Mauricio Uribe in Santiago de Chile. Acknowledgments are also due to William H. Isbell for his patience and editorial comments on the final version of this chapter, as well as to Anne Tiballi for her editorial assistance.

Notes

1 Dedicated to the memory of Karen L. Mohr Chávez, Manuel Chávez Ballón, John H. Rowe, and Alfred Kidder II. Also dedicated to William H. Isbell, Maxine and Ron Linde, and Georgia de Havenon. All of them helped, taught, and inspired me in more ways than they ever knew.

2 Yaya-Mama derives from Quechua words meaning "father" and "mother," respectively, and is based on the name "Tayta-Mama" related to me by a Quechua-speaking informant in Taraco (S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975:n. 2).

3 The name Asiruni and the Asiruni substyle of stone sculpture were suggested by S. and K. Chávez to identify a group of stelae containing representations of snake-like creatures, especially eared serpents, and other reptiles. The name was borrowed from Kidder's earlier description of a carving representing a snake-like creature found at a site called Asiruni, which means in Aymara "with snake" (S. Chávez 1976:8, n. 23–24). I became familiar with these styles by accompanying my father (Manuel Chávez Ballón) in several early surveys in the Puno region and seeing the rubbings and field notes he took while working with Julio C. Tello and Alfred Kidder II.

4 Many stone sculptures have been moved many times. Some are integrated into rituals and ceremonies by local Aymara- and Quechua-speaking people (e.g., Flores Ochoa 1971; Rowe 1958; Rowe and Donahue 1976). Furthermore, aspects of the extirpation of idolatries in Colonial times have resurfaced in the present (e.g., S. Chávez 2008a:263, n. 7), including breaking the Thunderbolt stela into pieces to recover the gold it was assumed to contain and destroying the "Sun Idol" with dynamite (Posnansky 1945:II:216, 229). Other pieces have been acquired by collectors and museums (e.g., S. Chávez 2004b:88) and even dug up and broken to be used as teaching aids in rural schools (S. Chávez 1982a:82, Figure 3).

5 This shrine may be a repository of diverse sculptures brought there in later times. Subsequently, Portugal Ortiz (1998:288–292) also presented conclusions about the development of stone sculpture iconography from Chiripa through Tiahuanaco IV or V.

6 Ponce was the first to assign these pillars to his Epoch III. His report designates the pillars as P-40, P-18, and P-6 (Ponce Sanginés 1964:61, Láminas 7–8, see also Figure 24d).

7 One example of deliberate breakage has been documented while gluing pieces of a Qalasasaya-style vessel from Cundisa, where a series of interior pecking marks were present (perhaps made with a pointed stone), likely to break the vessel. A similar situation has been noted for the special vessels excavated at the island of Pariti (Sagárnaga Meneses and Korpisaari 2005:45).

8 These three sculptures, along with three others in a very poor state of preservation, were recovered from below the current water level along the eastern edge of the island of Titicaca (Ponce Sanginés 1969:34–37, Figures 13–15, 18). Ponce goes on to identify the object held as a *caracola* (conch or snail shell trumpet), but Portugal Ortiz (1998:149, Figure 131) indicates an *ocarina*.

9 Posnansky (1945:I:121–122, 144–145, Plates XXXV.8, 10–11, and XXXVIII.B; II:Figures 99–102, 113–117) interpreted these images to be the small local lake snail, and he called the sign "Snail." The images, appearing in crowns, are omitted in the rollout drawing of the Ponce monolith by Clados (2009:Figure 11) and only occur on a few personages in the rollout by Makowski Hanula (2009:Figure 7). However, crown shells are frequent in the rollout by Oakland Rodman that Isbell and Knobloch (2009:Figure 20) published. This is probably the most accurate representation available.

10 In earlier publications (S. Chávez 1976:8; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975:60), "lightning stones" were described as all being similar in size, shape, and style, with some of the elements and designs shared by Yaya-Mama and Pucara styles of sculpture. No such pestles have been found in the northern Pucara region, so it would appear that they are characteristic of the "early"/southern Yaya-Mama variants but with designs that continued into Pucara.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

11 In March 2000, William Isbell invited Karen Chávez and me to participate in a two-day intensive "mini conference" organized by him in Binghamton. During that time, we presented the results of our studies of Yaya-Mama/Pucara iconography and their continuities into Tiahuanaco and Huari. Subsequently, following his request, I wrote two preliminary drafts, one dealing with an analysis of a coastal textile (Young-Sánchez 2004c:Figure 2.26a,b), and the other was an expansion of the observations made by John Rowe (1977:12, Figures 15–19) about a small stone sculpture of unknown provenience (see also Isbell and Knobloch 2009:172–173). The determination of male/yaya and female/mama domains and activities in the natural and supernatural worlds (i.e., the Feline Man and Woman with Alpaca themes) were inductively inferred from their associated and related motifs, elements, and designs (S. Chávez 1992:525–531, 2002c:60–66). I employ my earlier identification of relevant domains and attributes in Pucara iconography to compare, isolate, and identify the transformations I recognize regarding their role reversals in coastal snuff tablets and textiles, as well as in "Classic" Tiahuanaco–style stone and pottery.

12 The names and identity given to all the front-face personages as the "Staff God" (instead of Goddess to reflect her identity derived from Pucara) or "Sun God" are based on nineteenth-century speculative names and associations.

13 Haeberli (2002:Table 1) provides a range of AD 148 ± 62 to AD 225 ± 60 for three Provincial Pucara textiles lacking context (uncalibrated dates; his calibrated dates produce a much wider range, between AD 81 and 432). Hastorf (2008:Table 28.1) marks the end of the Qalasasaya style at AD 300 and the beginning of Tiahuanaco IV to AD 475 (uncalibrated dates). K. Chávez (1977:1144) provides a range of 58 ± 54 BC to AD 1 ± 52 for Pucara cultural levels at Qaluyu, thus coinciding with those Kidder obtained at the site of Pucara itself, that ranged within the last century BC (uncalibrated; S. Chávez 1992:45). Our radiocarbon dates obtained at the Ch'isi temple show it to be partially contemporary with Pucara: Ch'isi was in use from 220 BC to 10 BC (uncalibrated; K. Chávez 1997b; K. Chávez and S. Chávez 1997:6–7). Janusek (2003:37) shows AD 500 for the beginning of Tiahuanaco IV (calibrated dates).

For a discussion of problems in absolute dating using radiocarbon measurements in the Andes, see Silverman and Isbell (2008:XIX). The method devised by Rowe (the master sequence in a given area) was precisely to overcome the inaccuracies of radiocarbon dating, so that events and styles are determined to be either contemporary or sequential in relative time, regardless of absolute time determinations.

References

Alconini Mujica, Sonia

1995 *Rito, Símbolo e Historia en la Pirámide de Akapana, Tiwanaku; Un Análisis de Cerámica Ceremonial Prehispánica*. Editorial Acción, La Paz.

Anton, Ferdinand

1972 *The Art of Ancient Peru*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Arellano, L. Jorge

1991 The New Cultural Contexts of Tiahuanaco. In *Huari Administrative Structure; Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, pp. 259–280. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Washington, D.C.

Bennett, Wendell C.

1934 *Excavations at Tiahuanaco*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History Vol. XXXIV, part III, New York.

1936 *Excavations in Bolivia*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History Vol. XXV, part IV, New York.

1956 *Excavaciones en Tiahuanaco*. Traducción de Manuel Liendo Lazarte. Biblioteca Paceña–Alcaldía Municipal, La Paz.

Berenguer Rodríguez, José

2000 *Tiwanaku; Lords of the Sacred Lake*. Morgan Impresores, Santiago de Chile.

Bermann, Marc

1994 *Lukurmata; Household Archaeology in Prehispanic Bolivia*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Browman, David L.

1978 The Temple of Chiripa (Lake Titicaca, Bolivia). *III Congreso Peruano. El Hombre y la Cultura Andina. Actas y Trabajos*, Vol. II, edited by Ramiro Matos Mendieta, pp. 807–813. Editora Lasontay, Lima.

Burger, Richard, Karen L. Mohr Chávez, and Sergio J. Chávez

2000 Through the Glass Darkly: Prehispanic Obsidian Procurement and Exchange in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia. *Journal of World Prehistory* 14(3):267–361.

Burkholder, JoEllen

2002 La Cerámica de Tiwanaku: Qué Indica su Variabilidad? *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:217–249.

Chávez, Karen L. Mohr

1969 Excavations in the Cuzco-Puno Area of Southern Highland Peru. *Expedition* 11(2):48–51.

1977 Marcavalle: The Ceramics from an Early Horizon Site in the Valley of Cuzco, Peru, and Implications for South Highland Socio-economic Interaction. PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1982a The Archaeology of Marcavalle, an Early Horizon Site in the Valley of Cuzco, Peru. Part I. *Baessler Archiv*, Neue Folge, Band XXVIII, Heft 2 (1980), pp. 203–329. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

1982b The Archaeology of Marcavalle, an Early Horizon Site in the Valley of Cuzco, Peru. Part II. *Baessler Archiv*, Neue Folge, Band XXIX, Heft 1 (1981), pp. 107–205. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

1983 The Archaeology of Marcavalle, an Early Horizon Site in the Valley of Cuzco, Peru. Part III. *Baessler Archiv*, Neue Folge, Band XXIX, Heft 2 (1981), pp. 241–386. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

1985 Early Tiahuanaco-Related "Incense Burners" from Cuzco, Peru. Paper presented at the 45th International Congress of Americanists. Bogota.

1986a Early Tiahuanaco-Related Ceremonial Burners from Cuzco, Peru. *Diálogo Andino* No. 4 (1985):137–178.

1986b A Link from Pucara to Tiahuanaco: Carved Stone Bowls Excavated by Alfred Kidder II at Pucara, Puno, Peru. Paper presented at the 26th Annual Meeting of the Institute of Andean Studies. Berkeley, California.

1989 The Significance of Chiripa in Lake Titicaca Basin Developments. *Expedition* 30(4):17–26.

1997a Understanding the Pre-Tiahuanaco Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition in the Lake Titicaca Basin: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. Symposium organized during the 62nd Annual Meeting of the SAA. Nashville, Tennessee.

1997b The Temple Site of Ch'isi on the Copacabana Peninsula, Bolivia: A View of Local Differences and Regional Similarities within the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition. Paper presented at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the SAA. Nashville, Tennessee.

2002 Local Differences and Regional Similarities in Pottery of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition. Paper presented at the 67th Annual Meeting of the SAA. Denver, Colorado.

Chávez, Karen L. Mohr, Kwo-Ling Chyi, and Sergio J. Chávez

1988 Physico-Chemical Analysis and Archaeological Interpretation of Pottery from Pucara, Peru. Videotape produced by Central Michigan University. Mt. Pleasant.

Chávez, Karen L. Mohr, and Sergio J. Chávez

1969 Una Estela Monolítica de Taraco (Puno), Peru. *Arte y Arqueología* 1:119–123.

1975 Stamped Pottery from Cuzco and Puno (Peru), with Comparisons to Early Tiahuanaco, Bolivia. Paper presented at the 15th Annual Meeting of the Institute of Andean Studies. Berkeley, California.

1997 The Yaya-Mama Archaeology Project, Bolivia. *Willay: Newsletter of the Andean Anthropological Research Group* No. 44:5–7.

1999 Trumpets as Ritual Paraphernalia in the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition of the Lake Titicaca Basin. Paper presented at the 27th Midwest Conference on Andean and Amazonian Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.

Chávez, Sergio J.

1973 Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Province of Chumbivilcas, South Highland Peru. Paper presented at the 13th Annual Meeting of the Institute of Andean Studies. Berkeley, California.

1976 The Arapa and Thunderbolt Stelae: A Case of Stylistic Identity with Implications for Pucara Influence in the Area of Tiahuanaco. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:3–25.

1982a Notes on Some Stone Sculpture from the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin. *Ñawpa Pacha* 19:79–91.

1982b Notes on: Further Inquiries into the Case of the Arapa-Thunderbolt Stela. *Ñawpa Pacha* 19:189–191.

1984a La Piedra del Rayo y la Estela de Arapa: Un Caso de Identidad Estilística, Pucara–Tiahuanaco. *Arte y Arqueología* 8–9:1–27 (translated and reprinted from three original articles that appeared in *Ñawpa Pacha* 13, 18, and 19).

1984b Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Province of Chumbivilcas, Cuzco. Paper presented at the 12th Annual Midwest Conference on Andean and Amazonian Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Urbana, Illinois.

1987 Funerary Offerings from a Middle Horizon Context in Pomacanchi, Cuzco. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–3:1984–1985.

1989 Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Province of Chumbivilcas, South Highland Peru. *Expedition* 30(3):27–38.

1992 The Conventionalized Rules in Pucara Pottery Technology and Iconography; Implications for Socio-Political Developments in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin. PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

1993 The Identification of the Camelid Woman and Feline Themes in Pucara Style Pottery. A featured presentation paper at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Institute of Andean Studies. Berkeley, California.

1997 Preliminary Results of the Excavations of Two Sites within the Ch'isi Temple Domain and of a New Temple on the Copacabana Peninsula, Bolivia. Paper presented at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the SAA. Nashville, Tennessee.

1998 Iconography of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition in the Lake Titicaca Basin. Paper presented at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Seattle, Washington.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2002a The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition in the Lake Titicaca Basin: Interdisciplinary Perspectives in Honor of Karen L. Mohr Chávez. Symposium organized during the 67th Annual Meeting of the SAA. Denver, Colorado.

2002b Excavation of a New Temple Site Belonging to the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition: Preliminary Results. Paper presented at the 67th Annual Meeting of the SAA. Denver, Colorado.

2002c Identification of the Camelid Woman and Feline Man Themes, Motifs, and Designs in Pucara Style Pottery. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell. ePaper presented at the 51th International Congress of Americanists. Santiago de Chile.

2004a The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiahuanaco. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 71–75, 81–85, 90–93. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

2004b The Carved Slab of Copacabana. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 88–89. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

2006 The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Sociopolitical Complexity in the Lake Titicaca Basin of Peru and Bolivia. Paper presented at the 71st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology.

2007. Yaya-Mama/Pucara: The Establishment of a Long-Enduring Iconographic Tradition in the Titicaca Basin. Paper presented at The Southern Andean Iconographic Series Symposium, a Colloquium in Pre-Colombian Art and Archaeology, sponsored by Dumbarton Oaks, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology (UCLA), Universidad de Chile, and SUNY-Binghamton. Santiago de Chile.

2008a Integrating Local Communities in an Archaeological Project: Experiences and Prospects in Bolivia. In *Managing Archaeological Resources: Global Context, National Programs, Local Actions*, edited by Francis P. McManamon, Andrew Stout, and Jodi A. Barnes, pp. 257–275. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

2008b Resumen de Los Trabajos Arqueológicos del Proyecto Yaya-Mama en el Sitio de Cundisa, Copacabana. *Chachapuma December*, 2008, La Paz.

Chávez, Sergio J.

2014 *Comments on Cultural Provenience and Temporal Association of the Statuette Housed at the Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern, Switzerland.* Technical report submitted to Dr. Thomas Psota (Curator), Dr. Jakob Messerli (Director), and the Ambassador of the Plurinational State of Bolivia Elizabeth Salguero.

Chávez, Sergio J., and Karen L. Mohr Chávez

1970 Newly Discovered Monoliths from the Highlands of Puno, Peru. *Expedition* 12(4):25–39.

1971 Stylistic Similarities and Identity in Early Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia: Interpretations. Paper presented at the 36th Annual Meeting of the SAA. Norman, Oklahoma.

1975 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno, Peru, and the Definition of an Early Style of Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:45–83.

1998 Trumpets as Ritual Paraphernalia in the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition of the Lake Titicaca Basin. Paper presented at the Pre-Columbian Music Workshop held at Dumbarton Oaks. Washington, D.C.

Chávez, Sergio J., and Stanislava R. Chávez

2011 Tiahuanaco Funerary Patterns at the Site of Cundisa, Copacabana, Bolivia. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Midwest Conference on Andean and Amazonian Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Columbia, Missouri.

Chávez, Sergio J., and David B. Jorgenson

1981 Further Inquiries into the Case of the Arapa-Thunderbolt Stela. *Ñawpa Pacha* 18:73–80, Figures 1–7.

Chávez, Sergio J., and Robert G. Thompson

2006 Early Maize on the Copacabana Peninsula: Implications for the Archaeology of the Lake Titicaca Basin. In *Histories of Maize: Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Prehistory, Linguistics, Biogeography, Domestication, and Evolution of Maize*, edited by John E. Staller, Robert H. Tykot, and Bruce F. Benz, pp. 623–629. Academic Press and Elsevier, New York.

Chávez, Sergio J., and Constantino M. Torres

1986 Pucara Style Elements Present on Some Snuff Tablets from San Pedro de Atacama, Northern Chile. Paper presented at the 26th Annual Meeting of the Institute of Andean Studies. Berkeley, California.

Chyi, Kwo-Ling, Karen L. Chávez, and Sergio J. Chávez

1988 Physico-chemical Analysis of Pucara Style Pottery from Pucara, Peru. Paper and videotape presentation at the 16th Annual Midwestern Conference on Andean and Amazonian Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Clados, Christiane

2009 New Perspectives in Tiwanaku Art. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 101–114. Johnson Printing, Boulder, Colorado.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Cohen, Amanda, and Andrew Roddick
2007 Excavations in the AC (Achachi Coa Kkollu) Sector. In *Kala Uyuni: An Early Political Center in the Southern Lake Titicaca Basin—2003 Excavations of the Taraco Archaeological Project*, edited by Matthew S. Bandy and Christine A. Hastorf, pp. 41–65. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility No. 64. University of California, Berkeley.

Conklin, William J.
1985 Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition. *Ñawpa Pacha* 21:1–44 and Plate I.
2009 The Iconic Dimensions in Tiwanaku Art. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 115–132. Johnson Printing, Boulder, Colorado.

Dean, E., and D. Kojan
1999 *Santiago.* Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility Vol. 57. University of California, Berkeley.

Eisleb, Dieter, and Renate Strelow
1980 *Alteperuanische Kultures; Tiahuanaco III*. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

Erickson, Clark L.
1989 Raised Field Agriculture in the Lake Titicaca Basin; Putting Ancient Agriculture Back to Work. *Expedition* 30(3):8–16.

Faldín A., Juan
1985 La Arqueología de las Provincias de Larecaja y Muñecas y su Sistema Precolombino. *Arqueología Boliviana* 2:53–73.

Flores Ochoa, Jorge
1971 La Wak'a Awicha Anselma. *Allpanchis Phuturinqa: Orake-sajj Achucaniwa* 3:68–78 and photographs facing 69.

Franquemont, Edward M.
1990 The Ancient Pottery from Pucara, Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 24:1–30.

Goldstein, Paul S., and Bruce Owen
2002 Tiwanaku en Moquegua: Las Colonias Altiplánicas. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:139–168.

Hastorf, Christine A.
2008 The Formative Period in the Titicaca Basin. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 545–561. Springer, New York.

Haeberli, Joerg
2002 Tiempo y Tradición en Arequipa, Perú, y el Surgimiento de la Cronología del Tema de la Deidad Central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:89–137.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch
2001 Repensando el Horizonte Medio: El Caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Perú. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:9–68.
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer Science + Business Media, New York.
2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development, and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 165–210. Johnson Printing, Boulder, Colorado.

Janusek, John W.
2003 Vessels, Time, and Society: Towards a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization: Part 2. Urban and Rural Archaeology*, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 30–91. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Kolata, Alan L.
1993 *The Tiwanaku; Portrait of an Andean Civilization*. Blackwell, Cambridge.

Layman, Frederic G., and Karen L. Mohr
1965 Petrographic Analysis of Pottery from Chiripa, Bolivia. *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Academy of Natural Sciences* XXXIX:220–225.

Lynch, Thomas F.
1976 Current Research: Andean South America. *American Antiquity* 41(2):229–232.

Makowski Hanula, Krzysztof
2009 Royal Statues, Staff Gods, and the Religious Ideology of the Prehistoric State of Tiwanaku (translated by Rose Vekony). In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 133–164. Johnson Printing, Boulder, Colorado.

Menzel Dorothy, John H. Rowe, and Lawrence E. Dawson
1964 *The Paracas Pottery of Ica: A Study in Style and Time*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 50. University of California, Berkeley.

Mohr, Karen L.
1966 An Analysis of the Pottery of Chiripa, Bolivia: A Problem in Archaeological Classification and Inference. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Mujica B., Elias
1990 Pukara: Une Societe Complexe Ancienne du Basin Septentrional du Titicaca. In *Inca—Perú; 3000 Ans D'Histoire*, Coordination et Rédaction Sergio Purin, pp. 156–177. Imschoot, Uitgevers, Belgium.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Núñez del Prado Béjar, Juan V.
1972 Dos Nuevas Estatuas de Estilo Pucara Halladas en Chumbivilcas, Perú. *Ñawpa Pacha* 9:23–32.

Pärssinen, Martti, and Antti Korpisaari
2005 Textos de la Fotos (fotos de A. Korpisaari). In *Pariti: Isla, Misterio y Poder; El Tesoro Cerámico de la Cultura Tiwanaku*, edited by Antti Korpisaari and Martti Pärssinen, pp. 53–54, Fotos 1–45. Prucciones CIMA, La Paz.

Pollard, Gordon C.
1982 Current Research; Southern Cone. *American Antiquity* 47(1):214–223.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos
1961 *Informe de Labores Octubre 1957–Febrero 1961*. Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Tiwanaku, Publicación 1, La Paz.
1964 *Descripción Sumaria del Templete Semisubterráneo de Tiwanaku*. Publicación No. 2. Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Tiwanaku, La Paz.
1969 *Tunupa y Ekako; Estudio Arqueológico Acerca de las Efigies Precolombians de Dorso Adunco*. Publicación No. 19. Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, La Paz.
1971 *La Cerámica de la Epoca I de Tiwanaku*. Publicación No. 28. Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, La Paz.
1972 *Tiwanaku: Espacio, Tiempo y Cultura*. Publicación No. 30. Academia Nacional de Ciencias, La Paz.
2002 *Tiwanaku y su Fascinante Desarrollo Cultural*. Producciones CIMA, La Paz.

Portugal Ortiz, Max
1985 Excavaciones Arqueológicas en Titimani (Tercera Parte). *Arqueología Boliviana* 2:41–52.
1998 *Escultura Prehispánica Boliviana*. Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, La Paz.

Portugal Ortíz, Max, Huber Catacora, Jorge Inchausti, Alvaro Murillo, Gustavo Suñavi, Rodrigo Gutiérrez, Victor Plaza, Wilma Winkler, Sonia Avilés, and Jimena Portugal
1994 Excavaciones en Titimani (Temoprada II). *Textos Antropológicos* 5:11–191.

Portugal Zamora, Maks
1941 Las Ruinas de Jesús de Machaca. *Revista Geográfica Americana* XVI(98):291–300.

Posnansky, Arthur
1945 *Tihuanacu; La Cuna del Hombre Americano. Tihuanacu; The Cradle of American Man*. Vols. I and II. J. J. Augustin, La Paz.
1957 *Tihuanacu; La Cuna del Hombre Americano. Tihuanacu; The Cradle of American Man*. Vols. III and IV. Ministerio de Educación, La Paz.

Querejazu Lewis, Roy
1983 *El Mundo Arqueológico del Cnl. Federico Diez de Medina*. Editorial Los Amigos del Libro, La Paz-Cochabamba.

Rautman, Allison E.
1998 *Petrographic Description of Ceramic Sherds from Three Archaeological Sites Near Lake Titicaca, Bolivia*. Submitted to the Yaya-Mama Archaeology Project and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

Rowe, John H.
1958 The Adventures of Two Pucara Statues. *Archaeology* 2(4):255–261.
1974 Kunst in Peru und Bolivien. Das Alte Amerika von Gordon R. Willey. *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 18:285–350.
1976 Papers on Early Sculpture from the Lake Titicaca Basin. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:1–2.
1977 El Arte Religioso del Cuzco en el Horizonte Temprano. *Ñawpa Pacha* 14:1–20 and Plates I–X.

Rowe, John H., and Catherine T. Brandel
1971 Pucara Style Pottery Designs. *Ñawpa Pacha* 7–8:1–16 and Plates I–XVIII.

Rowe, John H., and J. M. Donahue
1976 The Donahue Discovery, an Ancient Stela Found near Ilave, Puno. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:35–43 ff.

Rydén, Stig
1947 *Archaeological Researches in the Highlands of Bolivia*. The Humanistic Fund of Sweden and the Längman Culture Fund, Göteborg.

Sagárnaga Meneses, J. Antonio
1987 *Fritz Buck: Un Hombre—Una Colección*. Editorial Los Amigos del Libro, Werner Guttentag. La Paz—Cochabamba, Bolivia.
2008 Alianza y Ritualidad en Tiwanaku; Las Vasijas Pares de Pariti. *Chachapuma* 4:5–25.

Sagárnaga Meneses, J. Antonio, and Antti Korpisaari
2005 Pariti: La Isla que Asombró al Mundo. In *Pairiti: Isla, Misterio y Poder; El Tesoro Cerámico de la Cultura Tiwanaku*, edited by Antti Korpisaari and Martti Pärssinen, pp. 39–51. Prucciones CIMA, La Paz.

Silverman, Helaine, and William H. Isbell
2008 Preface. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. XI–XX. Springer, New York.

Steadman, Lee
1995 Excavations at Camata: An Early Ceramic Chronology for the Western Titicaca Basin, Peru. PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
2007 Ceramic Analysis. In *Kala Uyuni an Early Political Center in the Southern Lake Titicaca Basin: 2003 Excavations of the Taraco Archaeological Project*, edited

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

by Matthew S. Bandy and Christine A. Hastorf, pp. 67–112. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility No. 64. University of California, Berkeley.

Torres, Constantino M.

1987 *The Iconography of South American Snuff Trays and Related Paraphernalia*. Etnologiska Studier 37. Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Göteborg.

2002 Iconografía Tiwanaku en la Parafernalia Inhalatoria de los Andes Centro-Sur. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:427–454.

Young-Sanchez, Margaret

2004a Pucara Stone Sculpture. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 76–78. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

2004b Introduction. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 10–23. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

2004c Tapestry Tunic. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 46–49. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 3: Introduction

Late Formative Period Ceramics from Pukara
Insights from Excavations on the Central Pampa

William H. Isbell

The monumental ruins of Pucara represent the major center of Late Yaya-Mama art and cultural development. Celebrated for its distinctive style of ceramics, stone carving, and megalithic architecture, the Pucara monuments lie against the base of a great reddish-colored rock outcrop visible for kilometers around that is shaped like a puma reclining on its side, at least when seen from the right direction. This natural anomaly surely figured prominently in the ancient ritual importance of the location and promoted the emergence of the Pucara site as the first multicommunity ceremonial capital in the Titicaca Basin, located 80 km north of the lakeshore.

Elizabeth Klarich and Cecilia Chávez describe the Pukara center, offering a micro-scale analysis that contrasts with Sergio Chávez's (Chapter 2, this volume) macro-regional perspective on Yaya-Mama art. The authors provide a valuable summary of research at the type site, which contextualizes the "Pampa," where their excavations were conducted. This relatively public space is located immediately in front of and below Pukara's monumental terraced platform that was constructed against the torso of the reclining feline, between its front and back legs. The more restricted top of this terraced mound is crowned by three semi-subterranean temple complexes, perhaps suggesting that the Pucara polity was more of a religious confederation than a centralized polity.

Excavations support a three-phase stratigraphy-based site chronology and provided associated materials for absolutely dating, although the radiocarbon results are not republished here (see Klarich 2005). Rather, the new chronology is compared with former site chronologies and dates. This new Pucara chronology consists of Initial Pukara, cal. 500 to 200 BC; Middle or Classic Pukara, cal. 200 BC to 200 AD; and Late Pukara, cal. AD 100 to 300. Details of ceramic analysis are described and discussed, questioning some conclusions proposed earlier by Sergio Chávez (1992) that Pukara's fancy pottery was highly standardized and therefore probably the product of specialized craft workers supervised by elites. The ceramics recovered by Klarich and Chávez were very fragmentary but highly variable. Sherds also documented several utilitarian vessel shapes not formerly recorded as well as some probable fragments of key icons of Pukara's ancestral Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) imagery that appear to have been present in the earliest, Initial Pukara Phase at the site.

Perhaps most fascinating from the new excavations at Pukara is the documentation of activity diversity, including changes in activity emphasis over time, that begins to reveal quotidian life in the Pukara community for the first time. Feasting and probably brewing, identified in the earliest levels of former excavations on the "Pampa," seem to correlate with concentrations of remains from food preparation and disposal in the bottoms of the new cuts. During the major site occupation, Classic Pukara, residential activities are

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

documented in the first excavation area, a relatively elaborate structure with concentrations of ceremonial incensario fragments dominates the second excavation area, and the third includes a small space with remains from ceramic production. However, no evidence has been found for specialized craft production in hierarchically managed workshops.

Pucara played an influential role in the development of SAIS iconography and other aspects of southern Andean cultural complexity, but past interpretations have drawn excessively on iconography and art that tell us little about quotidian life at the presumed capital. Most research has concentrated on the mount top, among the semi-subterranean courts. Consequently, this discussion of new excavations, with its analysis of ceramics and other artifacts from refuse on the "Pampa," provides a much-needed perspective on more common activities. Significantly, the lifestyle revealed seems to have been surprisingly preoccupied with feasting, although more excavations in the future will provide better understandings of social and cultural variations across the large and influential Early SAIS center of Pucara.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Chávez, Sergio Jorge
1992 The Conventionalized Rules in Pucara Pottery Technology and Iconography: Implications for Socio-Political Development in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University, Ann Arbor.

Klarich, Elizabeth
2005 From the Monumental to the Mundane: Defining Early Leadership Strategies at Late Formative Pukara, Peru. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Santa Barbara.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 3

Late Formative Period Ceramics from Pukara[1]

Insights from Excavations on the Central Pampa

Elizabeth A. Klarich and Cecilia Chávez Justo

The site of Pukara is located in the northwestern Lake Titicaca Basin of Peru, approximately 80 km from the lake edge and at an elevation of approximately 3,900 m above sea level (Figure 3.1). It was the center of an influential regional polity during the Late Formative Period (500 BC to AD 400), reaching its greatest extent during the Classic Pucara Period (200 BC to AD 200) (Klarich 2005a, 2005b, 2009; Stanish 2003) (Table 3.1). Mention of Pukara evokes images of polychrome feline *incensarios*, intricately carved monoliths, and stone-lined sunken court complexes nestled at the base of the massive pink sandstone outcrop known as the *Peñon* (Figure 3.2).

The site was first recorded by Pedro Cieza de León after a visit in the mid-sixteenth century: "What I saw at Pucará were great buildings in ruin and decay and many statues of stone in the shape of human figures and other noteworthy things" (1959:277–278 [1553]). Unlike the site of Tiahuanaco, Pukara went relatively unnoticed by explorers of the late 1800s; it was not until the 1920s that Julio C. Tello and Luis Valcárcel visited Pukara and initiated their investigations of its stone sculptures and polychrome pottery (Valcárcel 1925, 1932, 1935). Valcárcel visited the site at least three times (Kidder 1942), and Tello is credited with first documenting the extent of the site periphery in 1937 (Chávez Ballón 1950). It was during a 1935 site visit that Tello and Valcárcel defined the "Pucara" pottery style and dated it to the Early Intermediate Period based on similarities to Nasca 1 to 3 pottery (Rowe and Brandel 1971). Since those early reports, Pukara pottery and stone sculpture have captured the attention of many researchers, particularly for the complex iconographic elements that continue within the Southern Andean Iconographic Series into the Middle Horizon (Chávez 2004; Conklin and Moseley 1988; Cook 1994; Isbell and Knobloch 2006; Wallace 1957).

Since the site visits by Tello and Valcárcel, there have been a number of archaeological projects at Pukara (Figure 3.3). Excavations have been conducted at the site by the following researchers: Alfred Kidder II and José María Franco Inojosa in 1939 in Areas I through VI (Franco Inojosa 1940; Kidder 1942, ms; see also Chávez 1992; Mujica 1979, 1988); Manuel Chávez Ballón in 1949 (Chávez Ballón 1950); Kidder and Chávez Ballón in 1955 in Huayapata (Franquemont 1986:Figure 2; Kidder 1956a, 1956b; Lumbreras and Amat 1968); Máximo Neira Avedaño and Jorge Flores Ochoa in 1964 also in Huayapata, Plan COPESCO in the 1970s and early 1980s on the Qalasaya complex (Mujica 1996; Paredes 1985; Wheeler and Mujica 1981); and Proyecto de Arqueología Doméstica de Pukara in 2001, directed by the authors and Leny Portilla Pinto on the Central Pampa (Klarich 2005a, 2005b, 2009). In 2006, Klarich and Nancy Román Bustinza completed an intensive survey to further define the site boundaries and record visible and semi-buried surface remains in four major areas across the site

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

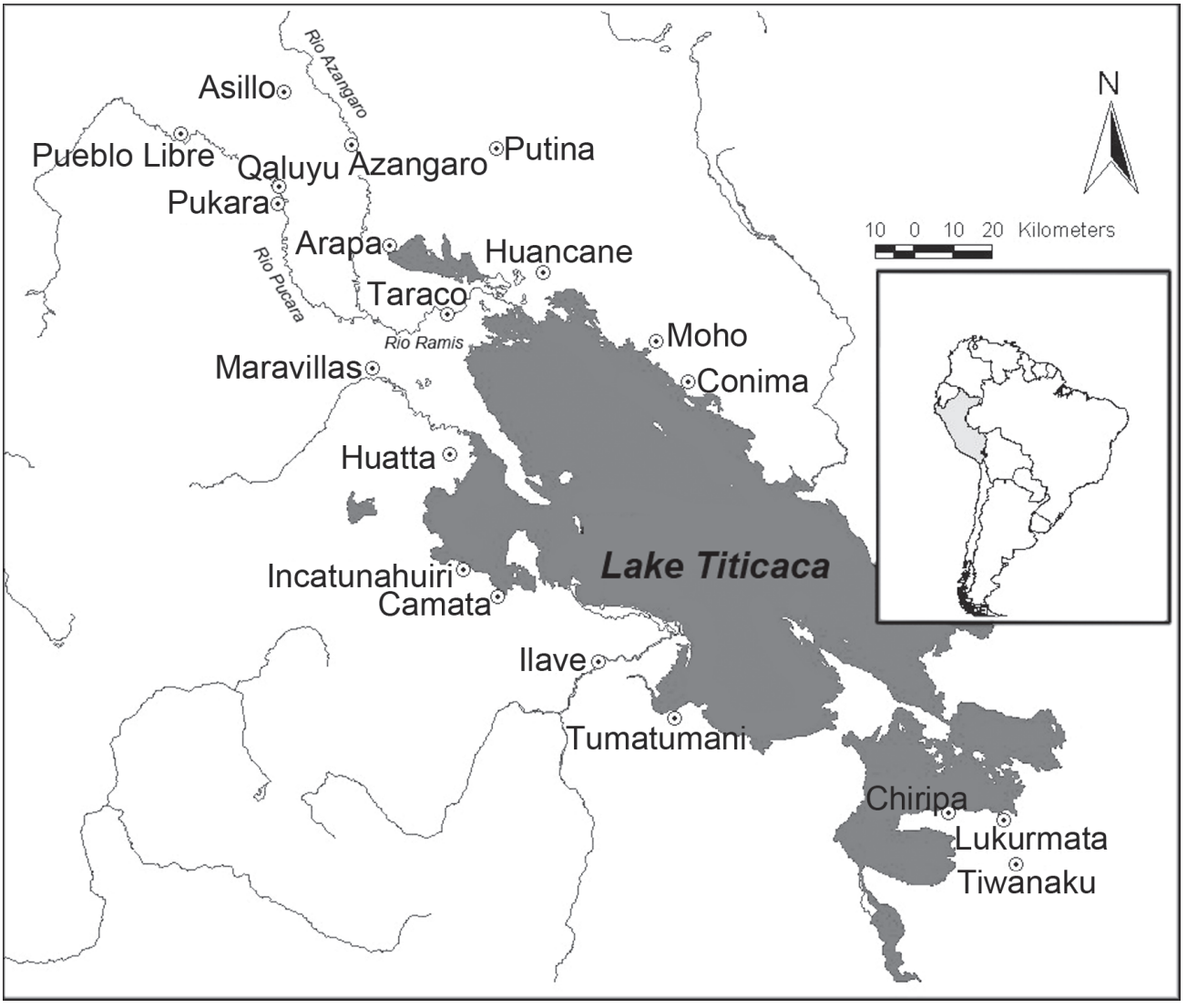


Figure 3.1. Map locating Pukara in the northwestern Lake Titicaca Basin. Also shown are select sites of the Late Formative period.

Table 3.1 Pukara occupation phases

Phase	Klarich (2005)	Mujica (1988)	Steadman (1995)
Initial Pukara	500–200 BC	500–200 BC	400–300 BC
Middle/Classic Pukara	200 BC–AD 200	200 BC–AD 100	300–100 BC (Pucara 1) and 100 BC–AD 100 (Pucara 2)
Late Pukara	AD 100–300	AD 100–300	AD 100–350

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 3.2. Peñon of Pukara and the Qalasaya complex. Photo by Matthew S. Wilhelm, 2006.

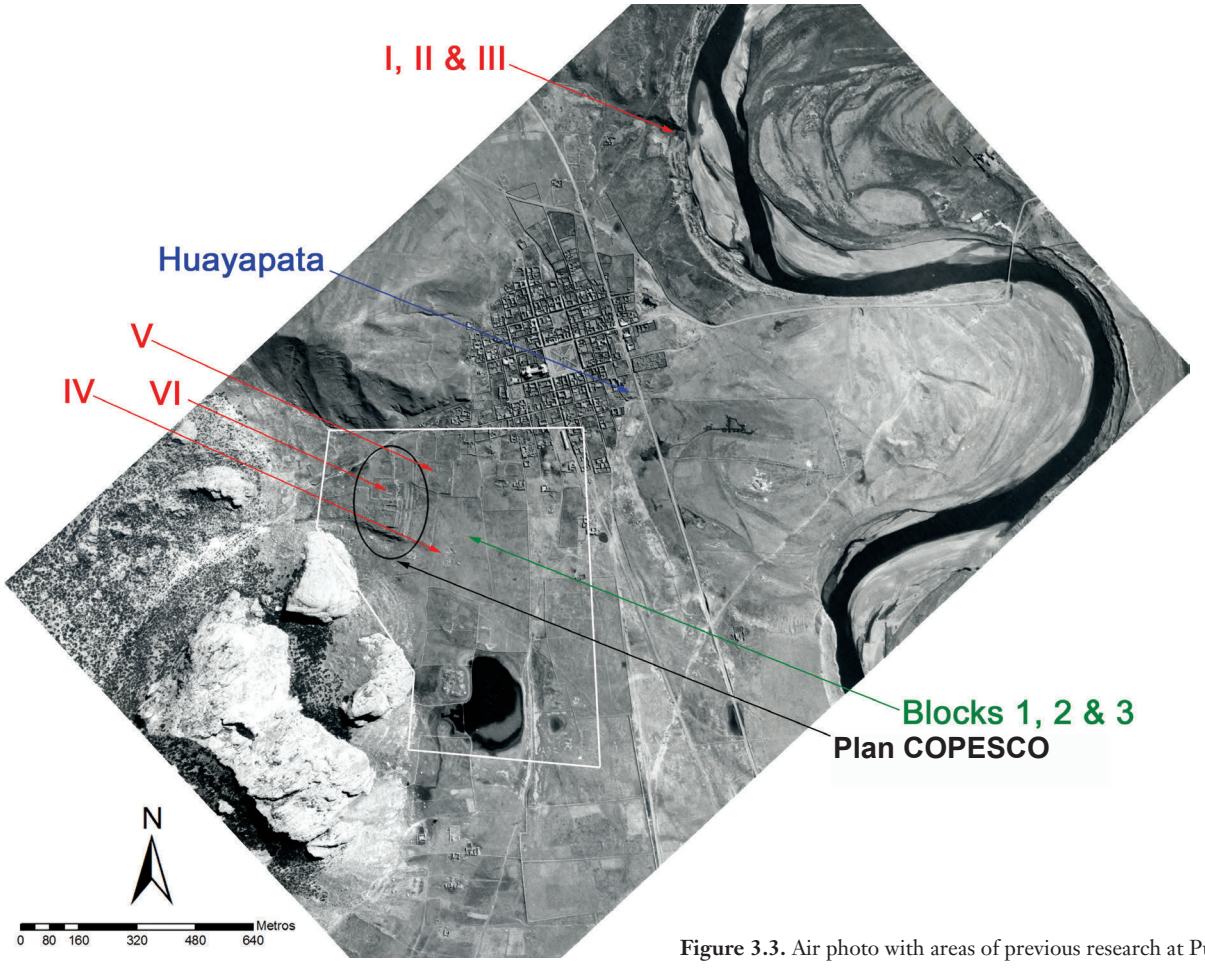


Figure 3.3. Air photo with areas of previous research at Pukara.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

(Klarich and Román 2012; see also Cohen 2010). Recent excavations by Klarich and colleagues (2009–2010) are not included in this discussion.

Based on the results of these projects, Pukara extends over an area of 1 to 1.5 km^2 and is divided into two general zones: (1) the civic-ceremonial district and (2) the site periphery. The central district includes the terraces, platforms, and sunken courts of the monumental Qalasaya complex, at least two major mound complexes (the Northern and Lagunita Mounds), and an area designated as the Central Pampa that was first used as a plaza during the Initial Pukara Phase and subsequently as a densely inhabited residential zone during the Classic Pukara Phase (Klarich 2005a, 2005b, 2009). The site periphery includes areas outside the core with clear evidence of Late Formative architecture and/or surface artifacts. There are prehistoric remains under the modern town of Pucará to the north of the site core and particularly dense concentrations of artifacts along the banks of the Pucara River (Klarich and Román 2012).

Pukara ceramics were innovative, highly stylized polychrome vessels that contrasted markedly with those of the preceding Middle Formative Period. Previous studies of Pukara pottery have focused primarily on analyses of iconography, decorative techniques, and ceremonial vessel forms (Chávez 1992; Franquemont 1986; Kidder 1943, 1948; Mujica 1987; Rowe and Brandel 1971). These data sets have been integral to the identification of major elements of the Pukara style, the documentation of the nature of ritual activities, and as indicators of interregional interaction. Unfortunately, detailed contextual information is not available from previous excavation projects either due to the nature of recording methods of the time or a lack of final publication.

The ceramic collections in this discussion were recovered from stratified deposits in three 5-m x 5-m excavation blocks on the Central Pampa in 2001 (Figure 3.4). This area was chosen based on excavation results by Kidder in 1939 (Area IV) and on geophysical survey results from 2000, which both indicated dense concentrations of architecture and activity areas (Klarich and Craig 2001). In 2002, the authors conducted an attribute analysis of all Formative Period utilitarian and decorated diagnostic sherds with the goals of improving the local ceramic chronology, clarifying site-level organization, expanding existing vessel typologies, and documenting the diversity of iconographic elements (Klarich 2005a). In this discussion, the focus is iconography, particularly as it relates to vessel types, chronology, and site organization during both the Initial and Classic Pukara Phases.

Ceramic Analysis

Methods

The full details of the ceramic analysis have been presented elsewhere (Klarich 2005a), but methods for recording form, function, and decoration are briefly described. To formulate a vessel typology, attribute data were collected from rim sherds and decorated body sherds, with additional data from base sherds when possible. Based on shape and form-related attributes, rim sherds were first divided into the general categories of restricted (jars) and unrestricted (bowls) forms. Bowls were separated into three subtypes based on interior wall angle (incurved, straight, and vertical) and subdivided into nine bowl types based on rim and/or lip attributes. Unlike ceramic assemblages from the subsequent Tiwanaku Period, no *keros* (flared drinking vessels) or *tazones* (flared bowls) were recorded in the Pukara collection (Figure 3.5).

Jar types include *vasijas*, *ollas*, and *tinajas*, terms commonly used to categorize both prehistoric and modern ceramic assemblages from the Titicaca Basin (Figure 3.6). *Vasijas* are distinguished from *ollas* by less globular bodies and a taller neck (Steadman 1995), and *tinajas* and *vasijas* are separated primarily by size (*tinajas* are larger, with a diameter over 16 cm) (Janusek 2003). In contemporary contexts, *vasijas* function as serving or storage for liquids, *ollas* as cooking and storage vessels, and *tinajas* as storage or fermentation vessels. While these modern categories were used to guide the preliminary stages of the analysis, the categorization of vessel function was not solely based on form, but also on characteristics related to function (Table 3.2).

To determine function, the authors recorded paste composition, firing atmosphere, direct evidence of use, and surface treatment from diagnostic sherds. Recording methods used in 2001–2002 were based primarily on Lee Steadman's (1995) study of ceramics from the Formative Period site of Camata in the western Titicaca Basin. In the paste analysis, Chávez divided the ceramics from the Central Pampa into two major groups based on the presence of mineral temper (Paste A) or mica (Paste B) as the primary constituent (no sherds were identified with fiber temper).[2] A number of subgroups were formed based on the type of other inclusions present, size, shape, density, orientation and characteristics of the clay body such as porosity, hardness, and surface appearance. However, these groups and subgroups merit further analysis through chemical sourcing techniques.[3] Firing atmosphere was recorded to document the variability present on sherd cross sections or "cores" for both

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

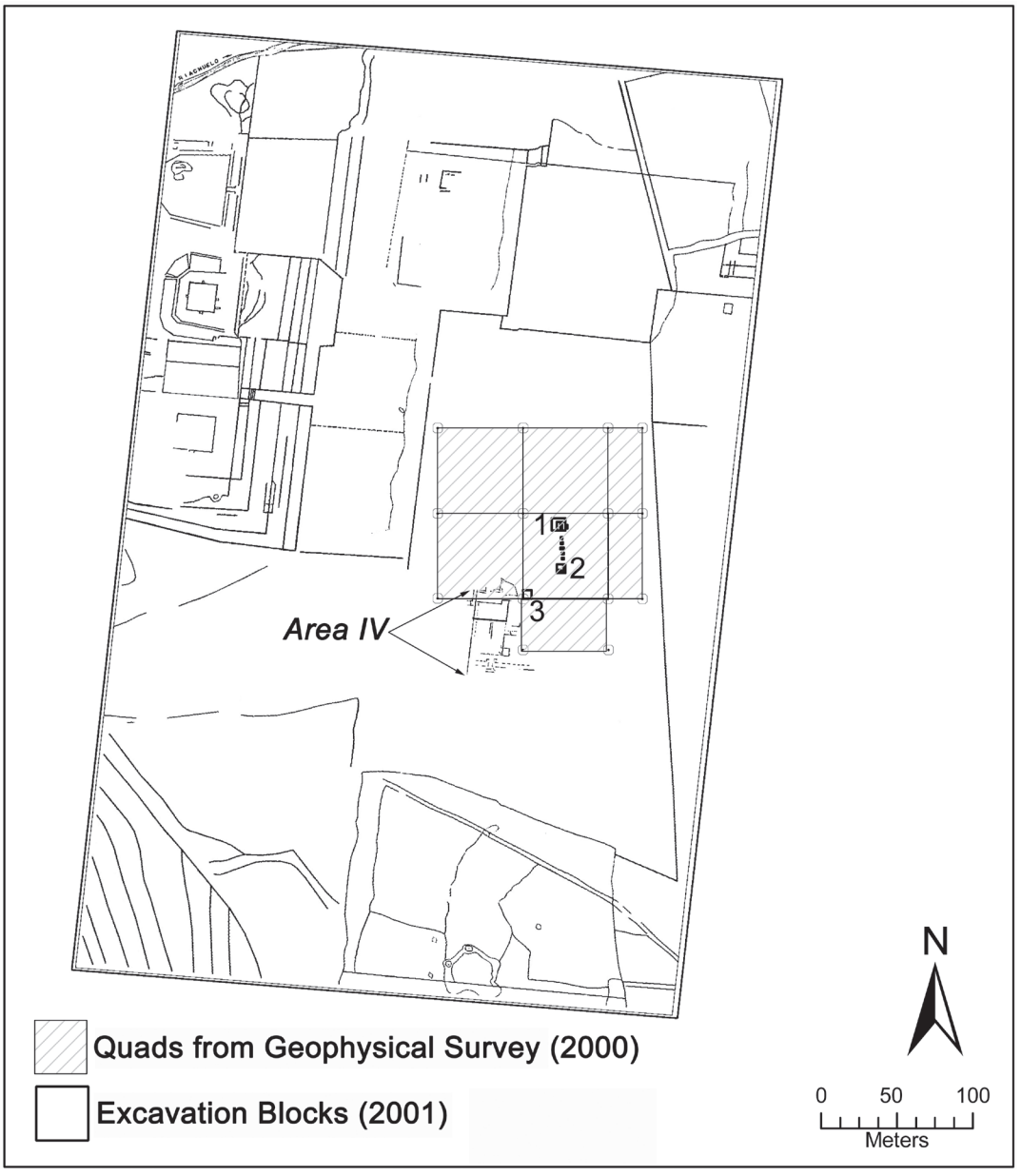


Figure 3.4. Map of the central ceremonial district with areas indicated from the geophysical survey (2000), recent excavations (2001), and Kidder's Area IV excavation (1939) on the Central Pampa.

the decorated and utilitarian wares. Direct evidence of use was also recorded, including presence and location of sooting, residues, and damage from activities like pounding or mixing. Samples were collected for future residue analysis. The final step was to record surface treatments, which included the use of slips, paints, and other decorative techniques during production:

> Fancy ware represents the most complex pottery development in the northern portion of the Titicaca Basin and is particularly emphasized in this study. Technologically, this group is well made, has one or more surfaces slipped and well smoothed or polished, possesses iconography that combines some or all of the following attributes: pre-fired polychrome painting in areas of black, cream, and red, outlined by incision; bichrome painting in black and cream; incision alone on either a red or a black surface; excision, appliqué or modeling; inlaying; and in some cases post-fired painting without incisions [Chávez 1992:22].

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

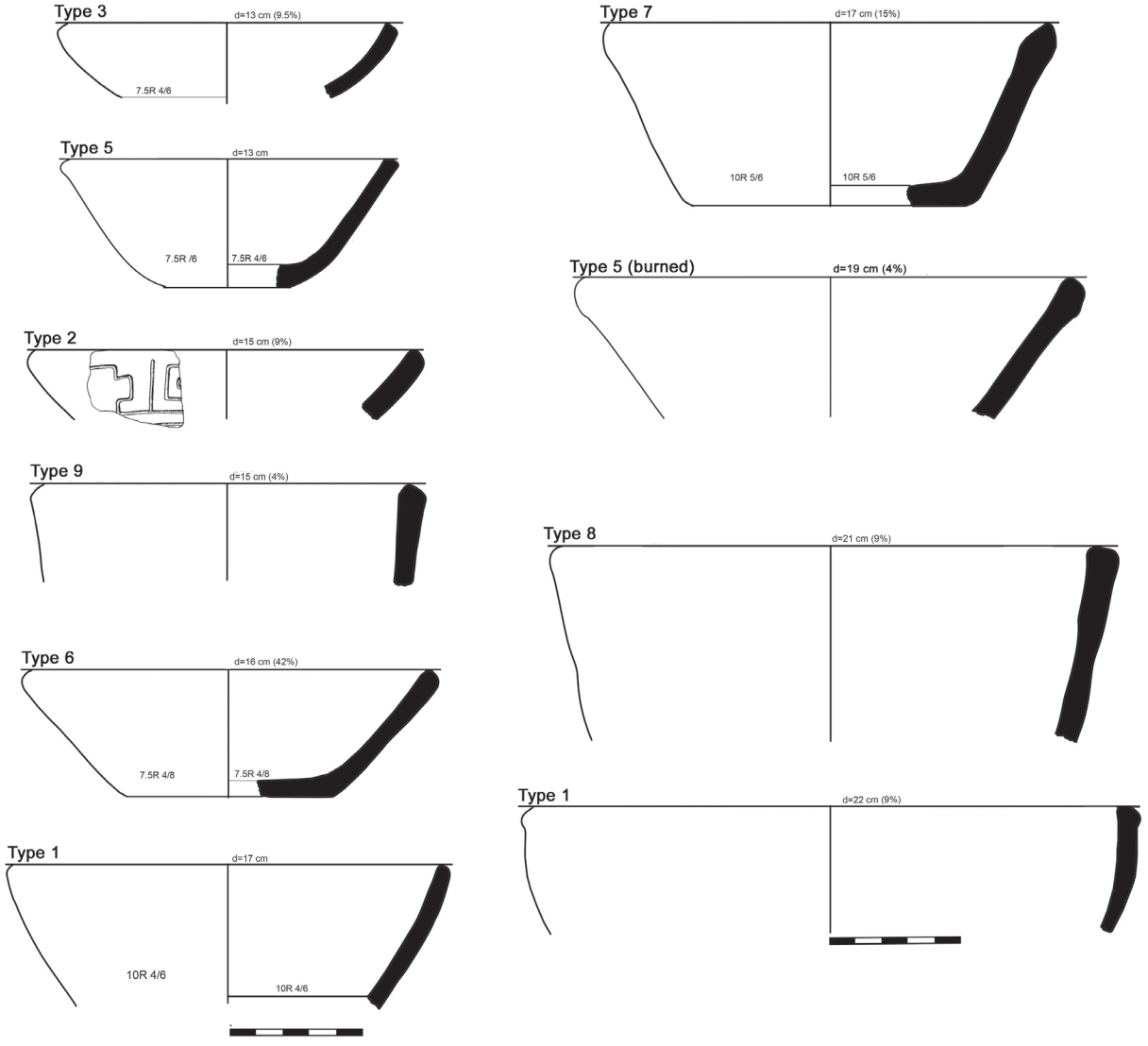


Figure 3.5. Unrestricted vessels (bowl types 1 to 9).

During analysis, painted and/or incised images were divided into two general groups—representational and geometric—and special attention was paid to color choices, mode of execution, location, and degree of preservation.

Results

Detailed attribute data were collected from over 2,000 diagnostic sherds from Formative Period contexts that were excavated on the Central Pampa in 2001. The present discussion focuses on three vessel types typically associated with ritual practice—*incensarios*, miniatures, and decorated bowls—as they can provide insights into the relationships between iconography, ceramic typology, chronology, and site organization at Pukara.

First, *incensarios* (or pedestal-based bowls) have been characterized as ceremonial burners based on the presence of sooty residues on their interiors and other use-wear patterns (Chávez 1992:110). These decorated vessels are highly polished and finely incised, as well as primarily polychrome painted (and occasionally black), and those from recent excavations were made exclusively using Paste A (mineral temper) (Figure 3.7). On the Central Pampa, *incensario* fragments with feline motifs and geometric designs were recovered from only 1.1 percent of the 2001 excavation contexts (10 of 900 total) and limited to within a small area (1 x 2 m). Using these fragments, it was possible to reconstruct four incomplete vessels, and a number of unmatched sherds remained,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 3.2 Attributes recorded to determine vessel form and function (Klarich 2005)

Form/Shape Attributes	Use-Related Attributes
1. Mouth diameter (measured with rim gauge in centimeters) 2. Rim/neck form (restricted or unrestricted) a. Incurved (simple restricted form; Shepard 1968:229) b. Recurved (restricted; maximum diameter is below lip/neck) c. Direct (unrestricted) i. Straight ii. Rounded d. "Other" (not enough of the neck to determine form) 3. Rim thickness (centimeters) 4. Lip shape (Eerkens 2001) a. Flat b. Rounded c. Pointed 5. Lip lateralization (Eerkens 2001) a. Interior b. Exterior c. Even 6. Height (centimeters) a. Restricted i. Shoulder height ii. Neck height b. Unrestricted i. Total vessel height 7. Other observations a. Shoulder angle b. Body shape	1. Decoration (interior/exterior) (Rice 1987:147) a. Unslipped b. Slipped c. Slipped and painted d. Incised 1. Surface treatment/finish (interior/exterior) a. Type (burnish, polished, wiped, none, or eroded) b. Directionality (horizontal, vertical, circular, mixed) 2. Handles a. Presence/absence b. Location (rim/body) c. Orientation (vertical/horizontal) 3. Paste type (with hand lens) a. Primary inclusions (type, size, orientation) b. Color (Munsell) c. Hardness d. Porosity 4. Use-wear a. Charring/sooting (location/degree) b. Tool marks c. Signs of repairs d. Reutilization 5. Firing code a. Color (Munsell) b. Core cross section (Rye 1981:116) 6. Coiling melding techniques (if visible)

including a perfectly preserved polychrome feline face that was ground on the edges to form a circular object. The spatial and temporal distribution of *incensarios*, in conjunction with architectural and artifactual data, has been used to argue that a small, ritual structure was at least partially located in Block 2 during the Classic Pukara Period (Klarich 2005a, 2005b).

Like *incensarios*, miniature vessels and ceramic tubes (or "trumpets") are associated with ritual consumption practices at Pukara and other Formative Period sites. According to use-wear analysis by Chávez (1992), unrestricted miniature vessels (e.g., bowls) were used for grinding substances (Chávez 1992:152), and restricted miniatures (e.g., jars) were likely associated with coca use based on the presence of thick white residues identified as calcium carbonate (Chávez 1992:190–191). These relatively uncommon vessel types were recovered from all three excavation blocks in 2001 (Figure 3.8), but there are only four examples of miniatures with representational imagery: (1) half of an incised, polychrome jar with elements of the feline-headed snake motif, as defined by Chávez (1992); (2) an incised vessel (bowl?) with severed head motif; (3) a miniature with spots similar to those on male head-effigy bowls (Chávez 1992:Figure 200); and (4) a jar with fragments of a feline face.

In contrast to the distribution of *incensarios* discussed above, miniature vessel fragments were found in highest numbers in Initial Pukara contexts and in Block 1 (Block

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

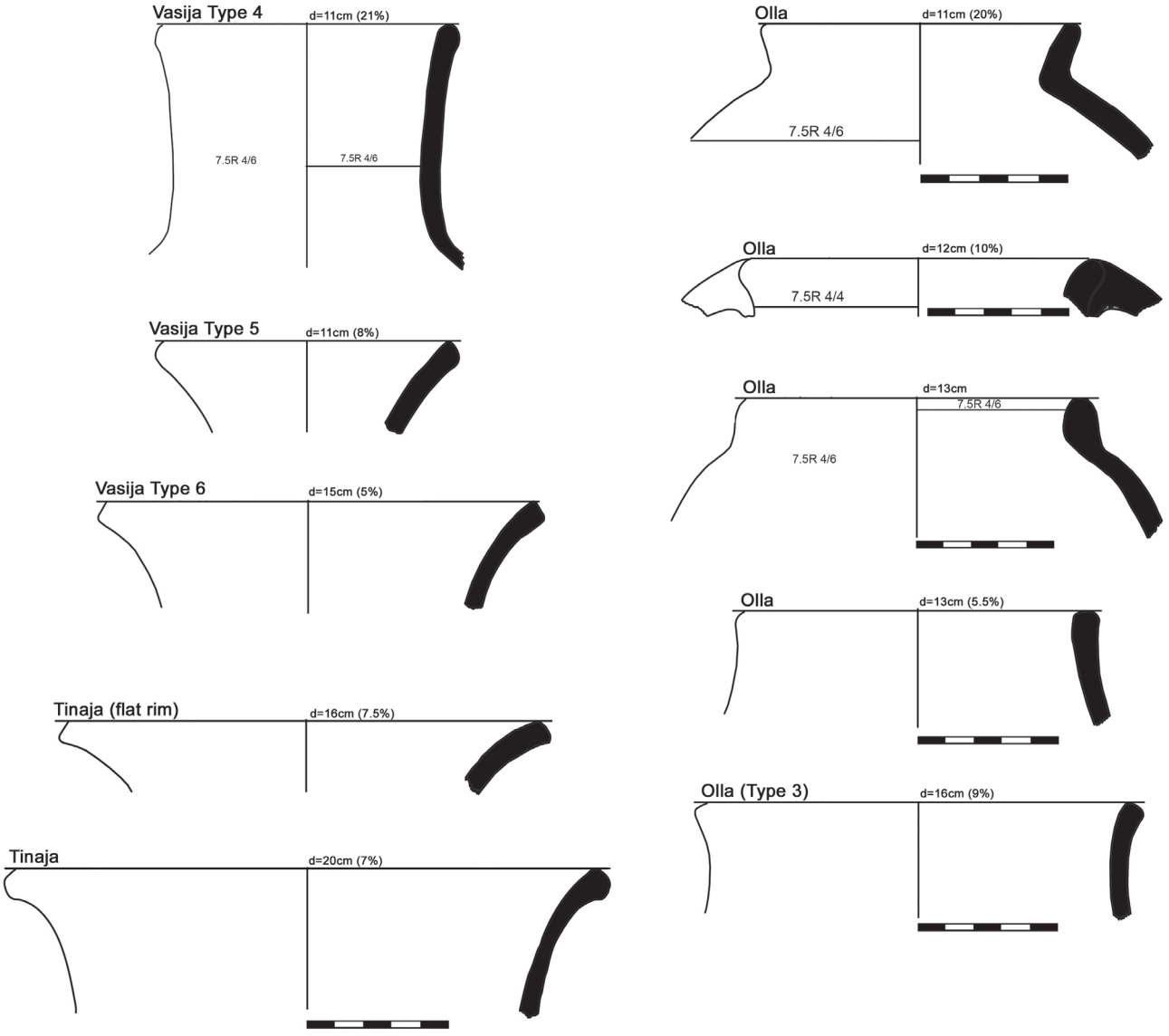


Figure 3.6. Restricted vessels (selected examples of *vasijas*, *ollas*, and *tinajas*).

1 = 16, Block 2 = 3, and Block 3 = 1). Based on the density of faunal materials, ceramic fragments, proportions of different vessel types, and a number of other indicators, it has been argued that these deposits indicate the remains of feasting activities dated to the earliest occupations of the pampa (Klarich 2005a). The concentration of ritual paraphernalia related to coca use, in addition to the food-related remains, provides evidence for the diversity of activities taking place during periodic feasts at Pukara (see Chávez 2004:81).

Last, bowls are the most common type of decorated vessel—with designs on both the interior rim and on the exterior surface—and were likely used in both quotidian and ritual contexts. The designs are generally geometric, with a few unclear elements likely from larger, representational images. However, there is one instance of a possible element of the Feline Man theme, as first defined by Chávez (1992) and later discussed in relation to Tiwanaku-style Profile Attendants (Isbell and Knobloch 2006:320). While the generally small size of the sherds negatively affected the documentation of iconographic elements or themes, it was the variability in decorated bowl types that served as the most useful chronological indicator from the 2001 excavations (Figure 3.9). The early (or Initial Pukara) occupations of the pampa included bowls with painted and/or incised

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

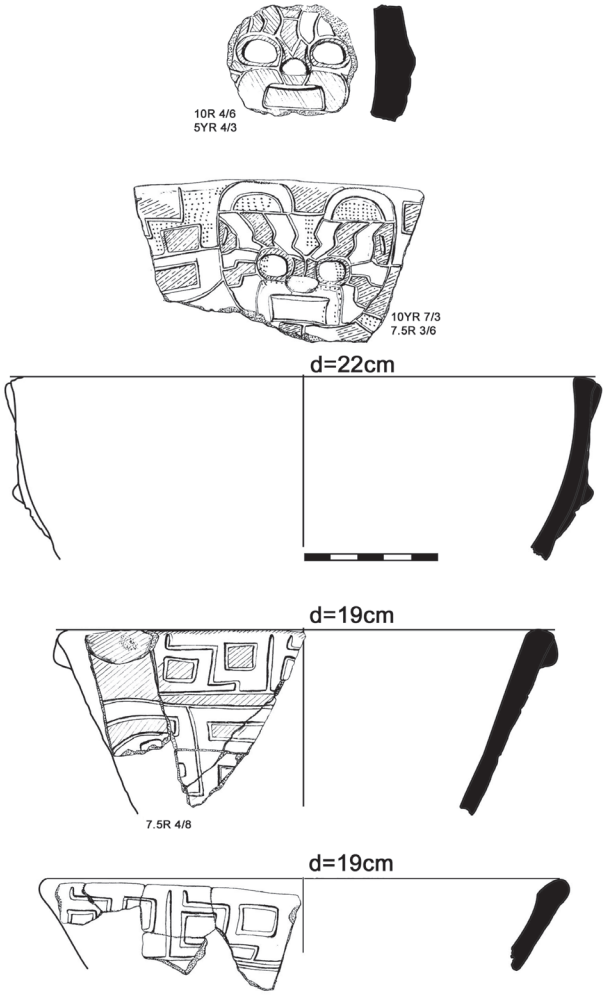


Figure 3.7. *Incensario* (or annular-based bowl) fragments, including worked feline face.

stepped motifs on the interior bevel of the bowl, similar to those recovered from the lowest levels excavated by Kidder in Area IV on the pampa (termed *Cusipata;* see Franquemont 1986; Mujica 1987) and also the earliest phases of Qalasaya use, predating the constructions of the Classic Pukara Period sunken courts (see Oshige 2010; Wheeler and Mujica 1981). Since decorated, bevel-rimmed bowls were not recovered from subsequent Late Formative contexts on the pampa, they serve as an excellent chronological marker of Initial Pukara deposits.

Decoration on isolated body sherds was also recorded and included evidence of the following motifs (see Figure 3.9): two feline-headed snakes, part of a rayed head or owl motif, a head with an ear, and a few sherds with curving lines similar to those in the Camelid Woman theme (Chávez 1992:Figure 142). If the Rayed Head Motif has been correctly identified from this sherd, this is a rare example of a theme previously identified on Pukara stone sculpture and textiles that has been linked directly to depictions of the Middle Horizon Staff God (Chávez 2004:93; Isbell and Knobloch 2006:320–321). Unfortunately, due to their fragmentary nature, it was difficult to evaluate many of the body sherds, which may represent images or larger themes that have yet to be identified.

Last, a small sample of presumably nonlocal sherds merits further attention (Figure 3.10). These include banded punctates, post-fire-painted and incised sherds, and a few painted sherds without incision. These, in addition to a number of local Pukara utilitarian and decorated sherds, will be the subject of future clay and temper sourcing studies. Determining the origin of these styles will provide important insights into the extent and nature of Pukara interactions outside the northern basin during the Late Formative Period.

Comparisons and Context

As noted by Chávez (2002:40), "The different spatial contexts from which the pottery at Pucara was excavated (including ceremonial dumps, temple architecture, public architecture, burials and offerings) provide the opportunity to test, through pottery analysis, the functional differences that might exist over the site, in terms of social differentiation, public activities, burial practices, and specialization of activities." Unfortunately, of the previous field projects in the site core (e.g., Kidder, Chávez Ballón, and Plan COPESCO) and periphery (e.g., Kidder, Chávez Ballón, and Neira and Flores), only Kidder's ceramic collections have been analyzed and published in detail and can be used for comparison with recent excavation data (Carlevato 1988; Chávez 1992; Franquemont 1986; Mujica 1987). In 1939, he excavated in a variety of areas, providing data on possible chronological and functional variability across the site: I, II, and III on the site periphery above the riverbank; IV on the Central Pampa; and V and VI on the platforms of the Qalasaya. These data were summarized by Sergio Chávez (1992) in his dissertation, including the distributions of decorated and undecorated vessel types recovered from each of the six areas (Table 3.3).[4] Kidder's Area IV, located just a few meters west of the 2001 excavations, provides a valuable comparative collection that can be used to formulate a few preliminary observations and to develop future avenues of research (Figures 3.11 and 3.12).

First, very few restricted vessels with decoration and no large, decorated jars were recovered from the Central

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

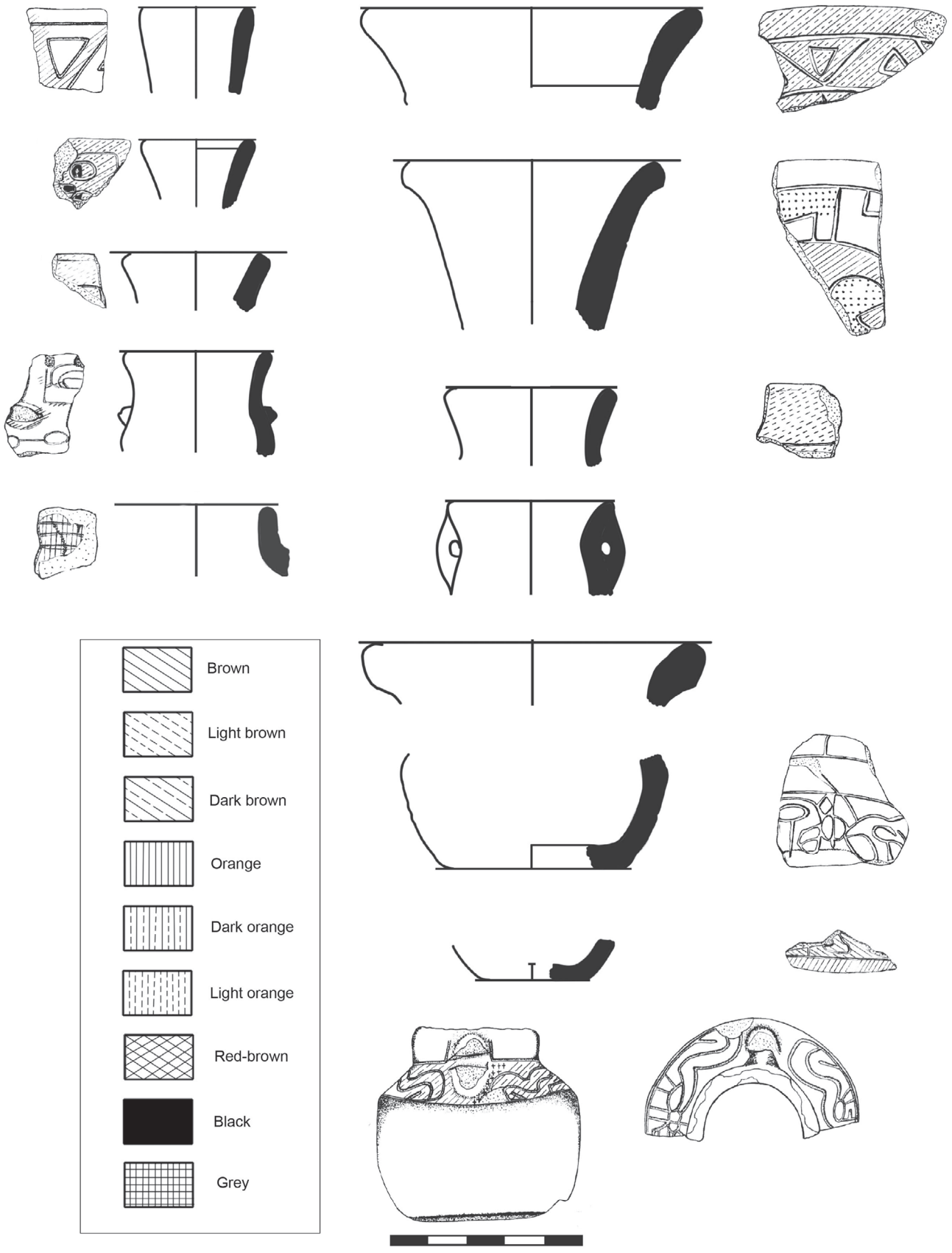


Figure 3.8. Miniature vessels, decorated and undecorated.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

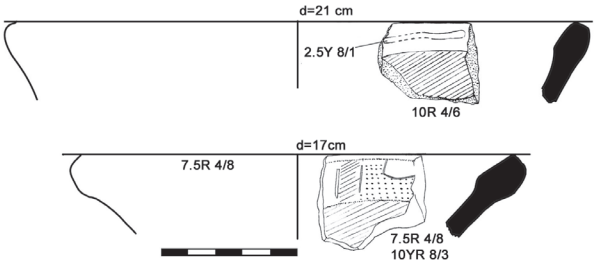


Figure 3.9. Initial Pukara bevel-rim bowls (also called Cusipata).

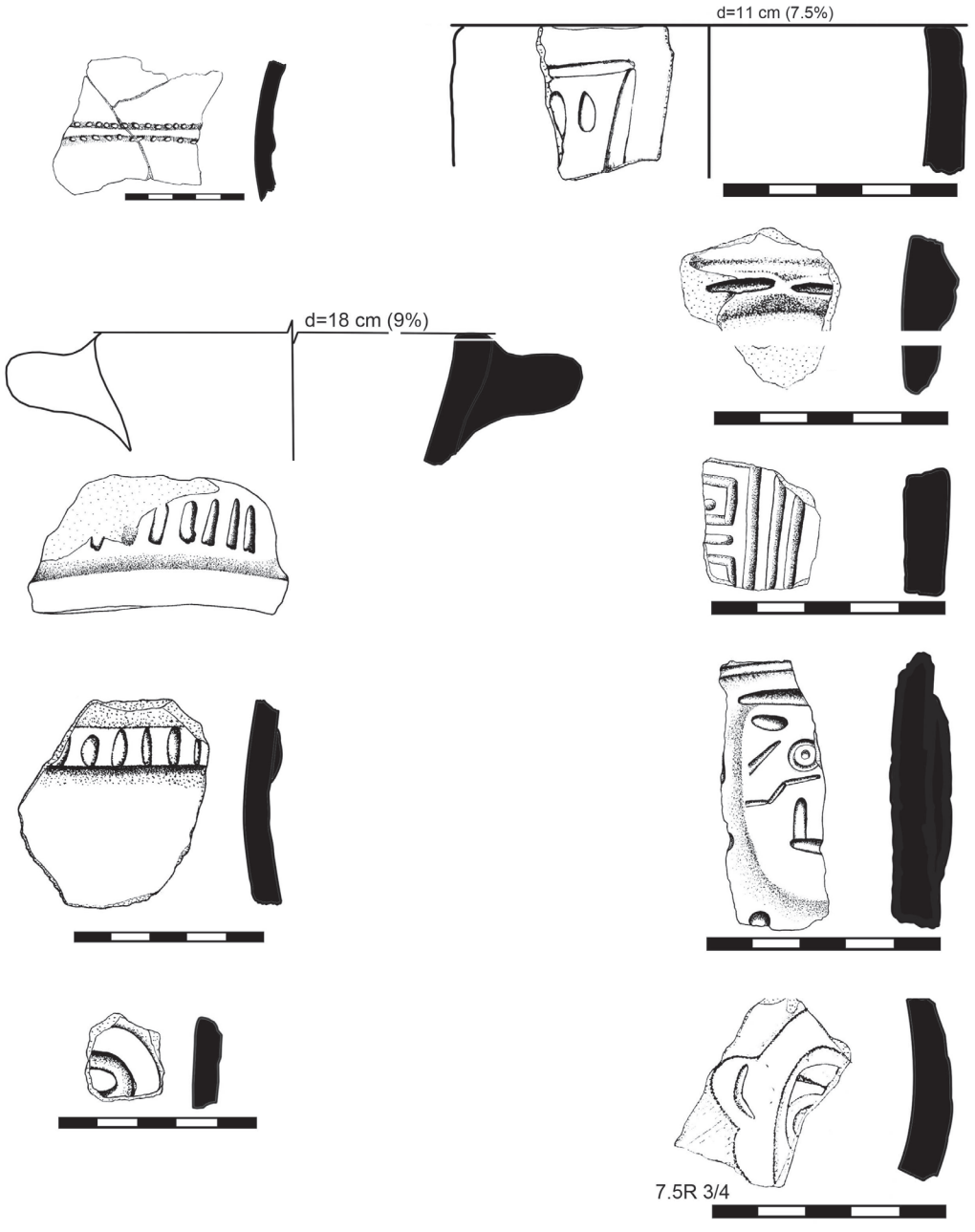


Figure 3.10. Nonlocal (or yet to be identified local) pottery.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

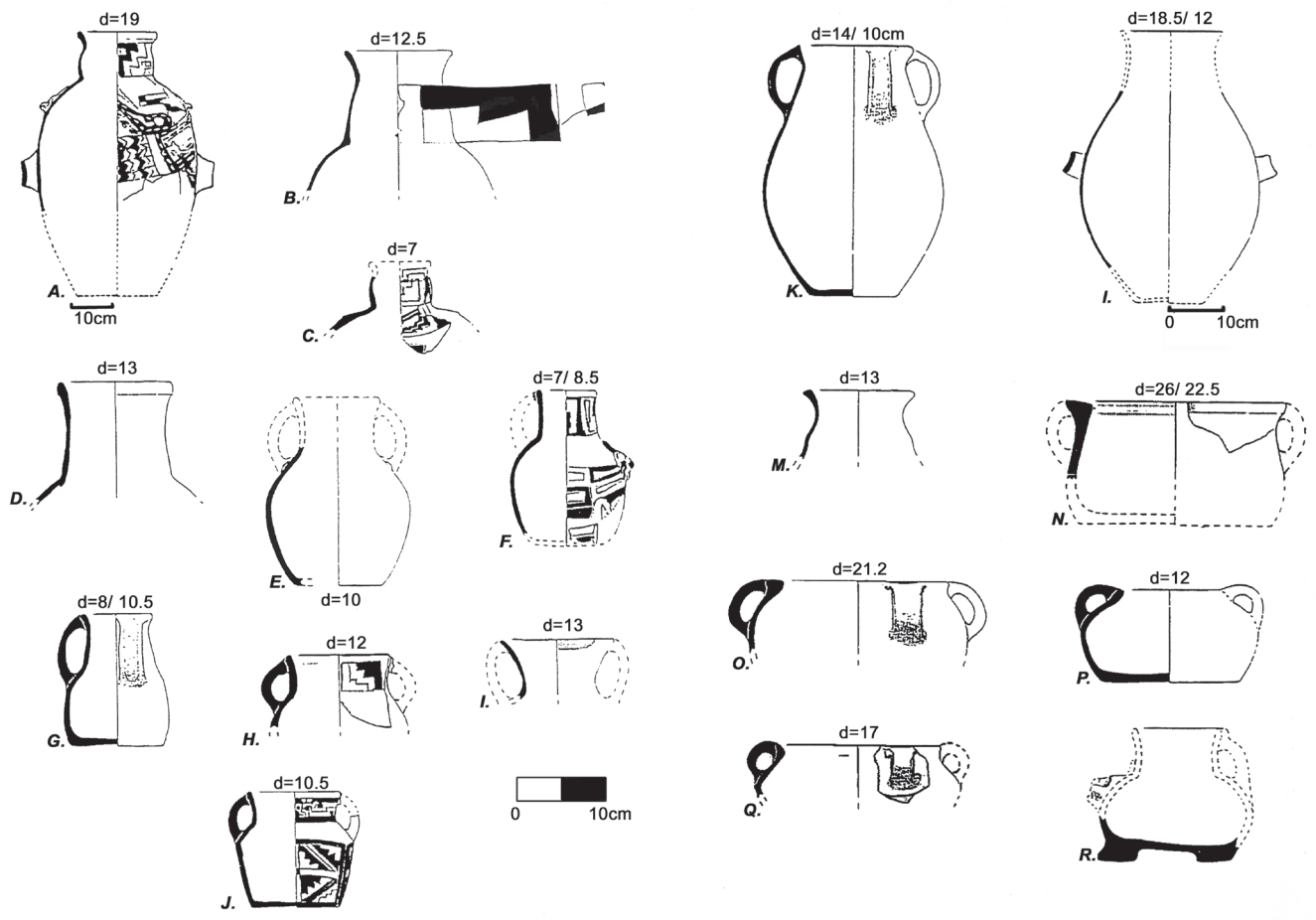


Figure 3.11. Pukara restricted vessel types (adapted from Chávez 1992:Figures 86 and 87).

Pampa in 2001 (e.g., Figure 3.11, Vessel A). This differs from the Area IV assemblage, where "the abundance or predominance of jars and oversized jars from the Lower Levels compares to that of the Excavation VI temple, although occurring with somewhat less frequency" (Chávez 1992:535). This has clear implications for both the location and possibly the timing of large-scale storage and perhaps brewing activities in Kidder's Area IV: "public feasting may have been involved as suggested by the 3 m long hearth, the large proportion of oversized and regular sized jars, and a very large quantity of plain sherds" (Chávez 1992:535). In terms of timing, this evidence of possible feasting-related vessels comes from both the Lower and Lowest Levels of Area IV, which may be consistent with the remains of large-scale food preparation and disposal activities identified in the initial occupations of Blocks 1, 2, and 3 in 2001.[5] The fact that oversized jars are found in Area IV but not in the roughly contemporaneous levels of Blocks 1, 2, and 3 provides interesting insight into the spatial segregation of certain feast-related activities during the initial occupations of the Central Pampa. Did Area IV, argued to be the setting of "ceremonial activities . . . that were more public than those that went on at the temples of the Qalasaya terraces" (Chávez 1992:535), include activities related to the preparation of *chicha* or perhaps the storage of foodstuffs for these events?

In the category of unrestricted vessels, *incensarios* (pedestal-based bowl with lugs; Chávez 1992) and several bowl forms were documented from both the 1939 and 2001 excavations (Figure 3.12, Vessels A, C, D, E, F, and H). However, no ovoid annular, shallow, or incurved bowls or any type of beaker or drinking vessel were identified (Figure 3.12, Vessels B, K, N, and S). It is interesting to note that the single specimen of a pedestal-based bowl with lugs recovered from Area IV is a black incised vessel (Chávez 1992:115, Specimen 10), not the polychrome variety found more widely in other areas of the site in 1939 and in Block 2 in 2001. Also, as mentioned above, painted and incised decorations were found on bowls and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

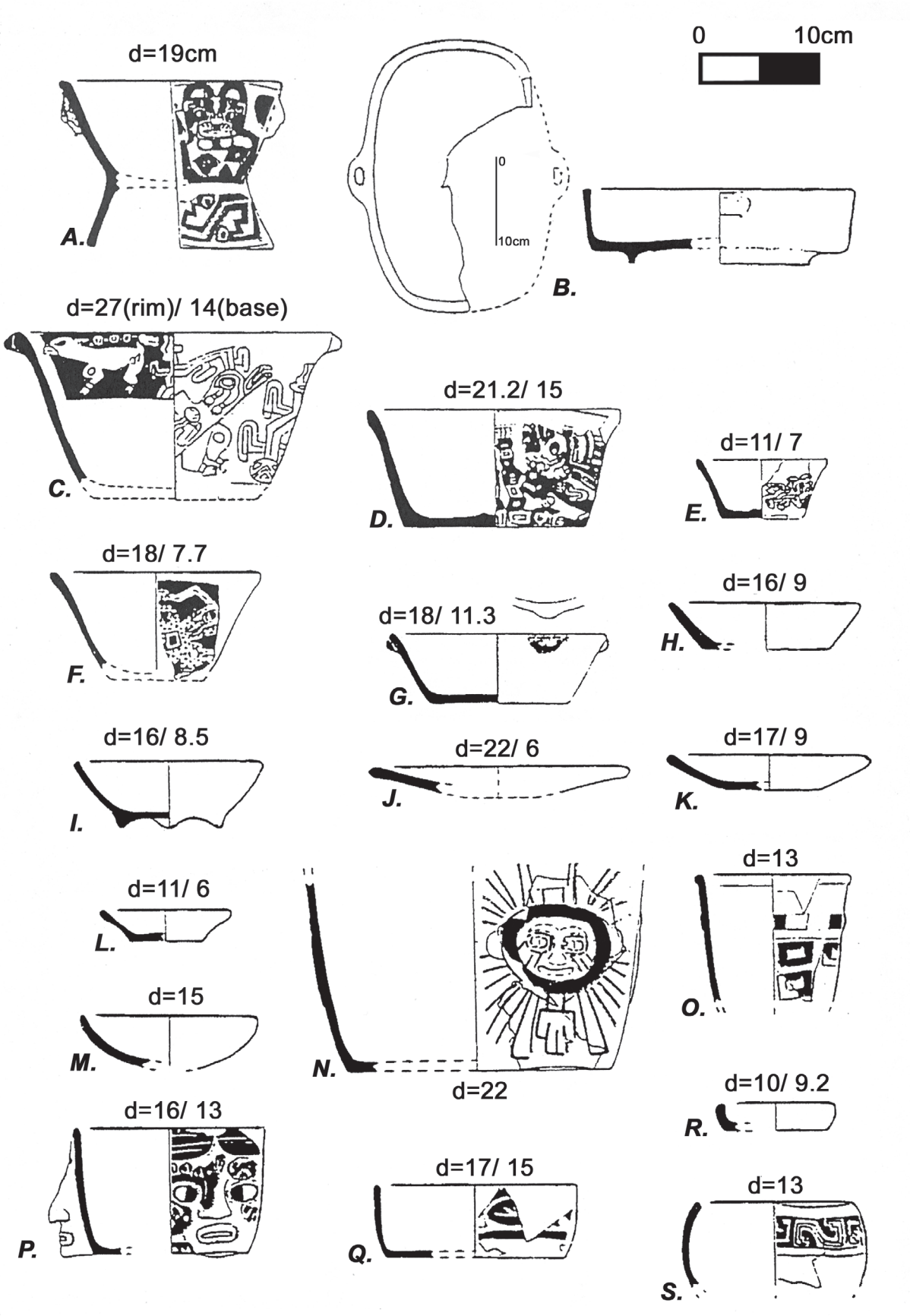


Figure 3.12. Pukara unrestricted vessel types (adapted from Chávez 1992:Figure 4).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 3.3 Distribution of vessel types from Kidder's 1939 excavation areas (compiled from Chávez 1992)

General Restricted Shapes (Chávez 1992)	Area I	Area II	Area III	Area IV	Area V	Area VI
A. Oversized, Bulging Necked Jars [polychrome and polished red][a]				3		1
B. Regular, Bulging Necked Jars [polychrome]			1			
C. Small, Bulging Necked Jars [polychrome]					1	
D. Large, Jars with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture [plain red]	1		2	1		
E. Medium, Jars with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture [red polished, polychrome, and mica red]			3	1		
F. Small, Jars with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture [red polished, polychrome, and plain red]		1	1	1		
G. Medium, Jars with Long Slightly Outflaring Neck and Less Angular Neck to Shoulder Juncture [plain red, red mica, possibly polychrome without incisions]			1	2		
H. Medium, Jars with Short Slightly Outflaring Neck and Less Angular Neck to Shoulder Juncture [plain red and red mica]			2			
I. Medium, Jar with Long and Short Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture [red slipped]			1	1		
J. Medium, Four-Sided Jar with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture [polychrome]			4	1		
K. Large, Tall Jar with Short Outflaring Neck [mica plain, polychrome, and plain red]	1		2	2		1
L. Large, Tall Jar with Outflaring Neck and Rim [red slipped, mica plain slipped, and plain brown]	3		3			
M. Medium, Tall Jar with Short Outflaring Neck and Bulging Shoulder [mica plain]			3			
N. Large, Slightly Incurved Squat Jar with Thick Triangular Rim [polished red]			2			
O. Medium, Slightly Incurved Squat Jar with Thick Triangular Rim [polished red]			2			
P. Medium, Slightly Incurved Squat Jar without Thick Triangular Rim [polished red]	1		1	1		
Q. Medium, Incurved, Carinated Jar with Thick Triangular Rim (Slightly Incurved Squat Jar) [polished red]			2			
R. Medium, Feline Effigy Jar [polychrome]			1			

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

General Unrestricted Shapes (Chávez 1992)	Area I	Area II	Area III	Area IV	Area V	Area VI
A1. Pedestal-Base Bowls with Lugs [incised and red polished/also black]	1	1	7	1	1	1
A2. Pedestal-Base Bowls with Horizontal Handles [red polished]			4			
B. Ovoidal Annular Base Bowl with Horizontal Handles [plain]		1	2	1		
C. Large, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowls [polychrome and polished red]			4	1		
D. Medium, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowls [polychrome, polished red, and mica plain]	1	3	5	2		
E. Small, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowls [polychrome and red polished]				3		1
F. Deep, Slightly Outflaring Narrow-Base Bowls [polychrome and red polished]				3	1	
G. Medium, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Bowls [red polished]		3				
H. Small, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Bowls [red polished, plain red and mica plain]			4	1		
I. Small, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Tetrapod Bowl [plain red]						1
J. Shallow Outflaring Bowls [polished red]			1		1	
K. Medium, Shallow Outflaring Bowls [polished red]			2	1		
L. Small, Shallow Outflaring Bowls [polished red]	1		1			
M. Hemispherical Shallow Bowls [red slipped and exterior paint]	1					
N. Oversized, Slightly Outflaring Beaker [polychrome][b]				1		1
O. Small and Medium Slightly Outflaring Beakers [polychrome]			6			
P. Male-Head Effigy Bowls			2			
Q. Slightly Incurved and Vertical Walled Bowls [plain and polychrome]		1	2			
R. Slightly Incurved Very Shallow Bowls [plain/slipped]			1			
S. Slightly Incurved Deep Bowls [red slipped and polychrome]	2		2	2		

[a]Letter corresponds to vessel labels on Figures 3.11 and 3.12.

[b]One recovered from Kidder and Chávez-Ballon's 1955 excavations.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

other unrestricted vessels in 2001, but very few examples could be categorized using the themes outlined by S. Chávez (1992). There were felines on the *incensarios* and geometric themes on other vessel types, but no fragments were recovered with the Camelid Woman, the Feline Man, or several of the other images identified by S. Chávez that were common in the materials recovered by Kidder (Chávez 1992, 2002, 2004). Specifically, it is notable that elements of the Camelid Woman were not identified, given that it was the predominant theme recovered just a few meters to the west by Kidder from Area IV.

While interesting patterns do emerge through even preliminary comparisons of the 1939 and 2001 decorated ceramics, the authors want to emphasize that changes in excavation and collection strategies have undoubtedly influenced the composition of the early collections. Specifically, it is doubtful that the undecorated assemblage from 1939 represents all vessel types found during those excavations; leaving behind or reburying undecorated pottery was typical at the time, and modern surface remains support this suggestion. Kidder did not backfill his excavation areas, leaving exposed architecture, large pits, and back dirt piles scattered across the site (Figure 3.13). The mounds surrounding Area IV are densely speckled with diagnostic utilitarian sherds and also smaller decorated fragments. While comparing the vessel forms from both excavations, it was noted that several undecorated forms recovered in 2001 were not documented in the 1939 collections and vice versa. Although certain types of slipped and unslipped jars were recovered from both projects on the Central Pampa (Chávez 1992; see Figure 3.11, Vessels D, E, and K), it is impossible to determine if these patterns can be attributed to temporal, functional, or symbolic differences on the pampa during the Late Formative Period or are the result of recovery biases.

In contrast, it is likely that all diagnostic decorated vessels were collected in 1939 and then acquisitioned by museums (see Chávez 1992 for a summary of relevant museum collections). As discussed above, even preliminary comparisons of the 1939 and 2001 assemblages indicate spatial and possibly temporal differences in the distribution of decorated forms, which can provide valuable insights into area function (e.g., ceremonial structure vs. residential zones on the pampa)

Figure 3.13. Photo of the Northeast Section of Kidder's Area IV on the Central Pampa, facing southwest. Photo by E. Klarich, 2006.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

or access to different types of vessels based on economic or social differences. Detailed contextual information is available for Area IV (Chávez 1992:59–74), which indicates a major shift in both artifactual and architectural remains similar to that documented in Blocks 1, 2, and 3 (Klarich 2005a). Both projects encountered superimposed Late Formative occupations; the initial occupations are characterized by dense middens with few architectural remains that were followed by a major episode of building construction across the pampa during the Classic Period (Figure 3.14). Because Kidder used arbitrary levels in his excavations (Chávez 1992:60), temporal comparisons beyond those proposing broad trends in pampa use must be made with caution.

In addition to temporal factors, the variability in the decorated samples likely represents different uses of and/or different groups of people with access to Area IV and Blocks 1, 2, and 3 during the Classic Period. Kidder's Area IV, as described in detail by S. Chávez (1992), is a large compound with exterior walls measuring 35 m on a side with the fourth side possibly open to the east (see Figure 3.4). The excavated contexts included a mixture of residential features (e.g., middens, a large hearth, and utilitarian pottery) and evidence of ritual activity, including a deposit of human cranial fragments near a large slab and a formal burial. The compound is divided into smaller rooms, including a possible plaza space, and the construction is substantial; there are large base stones for the external walls (some remain visible on the surface) and many of the internal walls. Based on the mixture of activities recovered from Area IV in the 1939 excavations, previous researchers have characterized this area as "complex public architecture" (Chávez 2002:35), "likely one of a number of sunken court complexes in front of the main terraces" (Stanish 2003:143), a sector of living quarters associated with the ceremonial sector (Paredes 1985:24), an extensive residential area (Rowe 1963:7), probable "domiciliary buildings" (Kidder 1943:5), and "distinct dwellings reflecting marked social differentiation, specialization, and hierarchy within the site" (Wheeler and Mujica 1981:20). Similarly, features and artifacts recovered from the 2001 excavations of Blocks 1, 2, and 3 indicate a mixture of activities on the pampa during Classic Pukara: residential activities in Block 1, remains of a relatively elaborate structure with concentrations of *incensario* fragments in Block 2, and a small area with evidence of ceramic production in Block 3. Clearly, the pampa was the setting for a number of complementary activities during the Classic Pukara Period. Therefore, the variability in the forms and vessel decoration is not incongruous with the other data sets recovered from the 1939 and 2001 excavations.

Figure 3.14. Dense middens from initial occupations of the Central Pampa. Photo by E. Klarich, 2001.

Conclusions

The analysis of the 1939 collections by Chávez (1992) and the 2001 collections by the authors provides valuable information about both the shifting uses of the Central Pampa during the Late Formative Period and more generally about the nature of Pukara pottery. The analysis of architecture, activity areas, and associated artifacts indicates that there was a clear shift in pampa layout and use from Initial to Classic Pukara (Klarich 2005a, 2005b, 2009). Based on the earliest cultural remains recovered, the Central Pampa was originally used as a public space dedicated to the preparation and consumption of large-scale meals, likely in the form of periodic feasting events. Over time, the monumental architecture of the Qalasaya was reconstructed and the Central Pampa no longer served as an important locus of public ritual. During Classic Pukara, ritual activities shifted to the more restricted sunken courts of the Qalasaya, presumably reflecting shifting elite interests and leadership strategies. On the Central Pampa,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

commoners responded by constructing permanent residential structures, small-scale temples, and areas of craft production. It is possible to envision the Central Pampa as a bustling neighborhood within the civic-ceremonial district during the Classic Period; however, its inhabitants and visitors likely did not have regular access to the esoteric spaces of the sunken courts located 30 m above on the Qalasaya platforms.

Additionally, this comparative study has prompted a reevaluation of both the nature of the Pukara assemblage and the organization of Pukara pottery production. Previously, S. Chávez (1992:510) argued that "Pucara style vessels are standardized in size, shape, surface finish, and paste" and that "religious imagery is specific and standardized" (1992:539). This level of standardization is treated as evidence for control of production by elites, presumably through attached specialists: "The emerging elite of Pucara would have found the control over these powerful images and the ceremonies and economic production and distribution that accompanied them, to be useful for actual control . . . strongly suggesting some control over production of this pottery" (Chávez 1992:540). While the authors did find highly decorated vessels, such as *incensarios*, to be relatively consistent in terms of size, shape, and other characteristics recorded by S. Chávez (1992), it was not possible to incorporate the vast majority of diagnostic sherds from the 2001 excavations into the typology developed from the 1939 materials. It is likely that pottery production took place in various contexts at Pukara; perhaps utilitarian wares were produced at the household level and certain types of decorated wares were produced in more formalized (and possibly regulated) workshops. At this point, however, no direct evidence of pottery production exists beyond a small production area encountered on the Central Pampa in Block 3. Considering the key role of the organization of pottery production and distribution in all the major models for Pukara (Chávez 1992; Mujica 1985; Stanish 2003; see Klarich 2005a for a summary), this is an issue that merits further attention.

In closing, the study of Pukara and its material culture is in its initial stages as investigators work to further define the Pukara style and to determine the details of site organization and chronology during the Late Formative Period. Beyond the Titicaca Basin and the Late Formative Period, refinement of our understanding of the timing, distribution, and significance of Pukara iconography will play an important role in the broader dialogue surrounding the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (800 BC to AD 1000). While the construction of sunken courts, use of stone sculpture, and the presence of ritual objects like *incensarios* and trumpets reflect shared elements between Pukara and the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition (Chávez 2004; Isbell and Knobloch 2006), the Pukara Sacrificer, Camelid Woman, Feline Man, and other motifs represent a significant transformation in Late Formative iconography. As noted by Isbell and Knobloch (2006:320), "Pucara art includes pottery forms as well as iconographic features and themes more closely related to the later Tiwanaku style than earlier Yaya-Mama art, and there are sculptures from Tiwanaku that are remarkably similar to Pucara." The authors look forward to further collaboration with colleagues working throughout the south-central Andes to refine our knowledge of Late Formative chronology, site organization, polity boundaries, and also the influence of Pukara pottery, stone sculpture, and architectural forms on subsequent Middle Horizon cultures.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank the organizers for their invitation to participate in this conference and have the opportunity to exchange ideas with so many colleagues. Funding for the Pukara excavations (2001) and lab work (2002) was provided by the National Science Foundation, Fulbright-Hays, and the University of California, Santa Barbara. This project would not have been possible without the support of the National Institute of Culture, Peru in Puno and the Programa Collasuyu, directed by Charles Stanish and Mark Aldenderfer.

Notes

1 In accordance with the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, Pukara is the spelling used for the archaeological site and culture (also spelled Pucara by many scholars). Pucará is the name of the modern town, which underlies and abuts the archaeological site.

2 Our Paste A is comparable with Franquemont's Groups A and B (1986) and Chávez's Paste 1 (1992) and our Paste B with Franquemont's Groups E and F (1986) and Chávez's Pastes 4 and 8 (1992).

3 Further analysis of clay and temper sources would complement thin sectioning and petrographic analysis initiated by Sergio Chávez, Karen Mohr-Chávez, and Dr. Kwo-Ling Chyi, a geologist (see Chávez 1992:84–96, 519): "Pastes #1 and #1A, the most frequently occurring paste associated with fancy pottery, is local. The major inclusion in both is dacite, a shallow intrusive rock. Chyi has determined that the mineral constituents and the texture of the dacite are identical to the rocks from the cliff above the Qalasaya terraces" (Chávez 1992:86).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

4 These data were compiled by the authors from the section "Vessel Shapes and Related Attributes" in Sergio Chávez's (1992) dissertation. Chávez describes in detail the different vessel types recovered in 1939 (pp. 108–152 for unrestricted types and pp. 153–191 for restricted types) and includes a reference to the provenience of each specimen, when available. These data were then used to map spatial (and temporal, when possible) distribution of vessel types from Area IV. The spatial distribution of representational motifs is also presented by Chávez (1992:596–598, Table 18).

5 According to Chávez (1992:72), "For both functional and chronological analyses of Pucara remains, the Lower Level of the Northeast Section appears to have the greatest potential" because of a clear yellow silt layer dividing earlier and later contexts. However, only a small subsection of the Northeast Section has unmixed contexts, but at least the mixing was well documented. Unfortunately, the three oversized bulging neck jars were recovered both above and below the yellow silt and in mixed contexts: Specimens 2 and 4 from the "*Lower Level*" (Stratum 7, "dark brown rubbish soil; hearth; burial") and Specimen 5 from the "*Lowest Level*" (Stratum 7, "dark brown rubbish soil"; Stratum 8, "Yellow Silt"; or Stratum 5b(?), "Likely the dark brown sandy soil below 8 was also included") in the Northeast Section of Area IV (Chávez 1992:72, 155–158). While discussing chronological control in this area is frustrating and quite unclear due to excavation by arbitrary levels, it is important to note that the Northeast Section of Area IV is the section closest to the Block 3 excavations and may hold further potential for comparative projects.

References

Carlevato, D.
1988 Late Ceramics from Pucara, Peru: An Indicator of Changing Site Function. *Expeditions* 30(3):39–45.

Chávez, S. L.
1992 The Conventionalized Rules in Pucara Pottery Technology and Iconography: Implications of Socio-Political Development in the Northern Titicaca Basin. PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, Ann Arbor.
2002 Identification of the Camelid Woman and Feline Man Themes, Motifs and Designs in Pucara Style Pottery. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 35–69. Kluwer/Plenum, New York.
2004 The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent to Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by M. Young Sánchez, pp. 71–93. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Chávez Ballón, M.
1950 Arqueología del sur andino. *Tradición* 1(2):41–48.

Cieza de León, P. O. [H. de Onis, translator; V. W. von Hagen, editor]
1959 [1553] *The Incas of Pedro de Cieza de León*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Cohen, A.
2010 Ritual and Architecture in the Titicaca Basin: The Development of the Sunken Court Complex in the Formative Period. PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Conklin, W. J., and M. E. Moseley
1988 The Patterns of Art and Power in the Early Intermediate Period. In *Peruvian Prehistory*, edited by R. W. Keatinge, pp. 145–163. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Cook, A. G.
1994 *Wari y Tiwanaku: entre el estilo y la imágen*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, Lima.

Eerkens, J.
2001 The Origins of Pottery Among Late Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers in California and the Western Great Basin. PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Franco Inojosa, J. M.
1940 Informe sobre los trabajos arqueologicos de la Mision Kidder en Pukara, Peru (enero a julio de 1939). *Revista del Museo Nacional* 9(1):128–142.

Franquemont, E.
1986 The Ancient Pottery from Pucara, Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 24:1–30.

Isbell, W. H., and P. J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.

Janusek, J. W.
2003 Vessels, Time and Society: Toward a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Hinterland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization, Urban and Rural Archaeology*, edited by A. L. Kolata, pp. 30– 89. Vol. 2. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Kidder II, A.
1939 *Excavations at Pucara*. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
1942 Preliminary Notes on the Archaeology of Pucara, Puno, Peru. *Actas y Trabajos Científicos de XXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Lima 1939)* 1:341–345.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1943 *Some Early Sites in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin*. Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnography, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

1948 The Position of Pucara in Titicaca Basin Archaeology. In *Reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology*, edited by W. C. Bennett, pp. 87–89. Society for American Archaeology and the Institute of Andean Research, Menasha, Wisconsin.

1956a Digging in the Titicaca Basin. *University Museum Bulletin (University of Pennsylvania)* 20(3):16–29.

1956b Archaeology in the Lake Titicaca Basin. *Philadelphia Anthropological Society Bulletin* 9(2):7–9.

Klarich, E. A.

2005a From the Monumental to the Mundane: Defining Early Leadership Strategies at Late Formative Pukara, Peru. PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.

2005b ¿Quiénes son los invitados? Cambios temporales y funcionales de los espacios públicos de Pukara como una reflexión acerca de las estrategias de liderazgo durante el Periodo Formativo Tardío. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 9:185–206.

2009 Pukara: Investigaciones de la temporada 2001 y un nuevo modelo para el desarrollo del sitio. In *Actas del Simposio Internacional sobre Arqueología del Área Centro Sur Andina*, edited by Augusto Belén Franco, Mariusz Ziolkowski, Justin Jennings, and Andrea Drusini, pp. 23–31. Center for Pre-Columbian Studies, University of Warsaw, Warsaw, Poland.

Klarich, E. A., and N. Craig

2001 Geophysical Survey in the Lake Titicaca Basin: Uncovering Domestic Architecture at the Upper Formative Center of Pucara, Peru. Poster presented at the Society for American Archaeology 66th Annual Meeting. New Orleans, Louisiana.

Klarich, E.A., and N. Román

2012 Scale and Diversity at Late Formative Period Pukara. In *Advances in Titicaca Basin Archaeology III*, edited by A. Vranich, E. Klarich, and C. Stanish, pp. 105–20. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Lumbreras, L. G., and H. Amat

1968 Secuencia Arqueológica del altiplano occidental de Titicaca. *37th International Congress of Americanists (1966)* 2:75–106.

Mujica, E.

1979 Excavaciones en Pucara, Peru. In *Arqueología Peruana*, edited by R. Matos, pp. 184–197. Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, Lima.

1985 Altiplano-Coast Relationships in the South-Central Andes: From Indirect to Direct Complementarity. In *Andean Ecology and Civilization*, edited by S. Masuda, I. Shimada, and C. Morris, pp. 103–40. University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.

1987 Cusipata: una fase pre-Pukara en la cuenca norte del Titicaca. *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* 4(13):22–28.

1988 Peculiaridades del proceso histórico temprano en la cuenca norte del Titicaca: una propuesta inicial. *Boletín del Laboratorio de Arqueología* 2:75–122.

1996 La Pirámide Qalasaya. *Medio de Construcción* 120:18–23.

Oshige Adams, D. E.

2010 La Secuencia más Temprana en el Sitio de Pukara, Cuenca Norte del Lago Titicaca. Licenciatura thesis in Archaeology, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Paredes, R.

1985 Excavaciones Arqueológicas en Pukara, Puno. Licenciatura thesis, La Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cuzco, Peru.

Rice, P.

1987 *Pottery Analysis: A Sourcebook*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Rowe, J. H.

1963 Urban Settlements in Ancient Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 1:1–26.

Rowe, J. H., and C. T. Brandel

1971 Pucara Style Pottery Designs. *Ñawpa Pacha* 7–8:1–16.

Rye, O.

1981 *Pottery Technology: Principles and Reconstruction*. Taraxacum, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Shepard, A.

1968 *Ceramics for the Archaeologist*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D.C.

Stanish, C.

2003 *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Steadman, L. H.

1995 *Excavations at Camata: An Early Ceramic Chronology for the Western Titicaca Basin, Peru.* PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Valcárcel, L. E.

1925 Informe sobre la exploración arqueológica de Pukara. *Revista Universitaria del Cuzco* 15(48):14–21.

1932 El personaje mítico de Pukara. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 1:18–30.

1935 Litoesculturas y cerámica de Pukara. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 4(1):25–28.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Wallace, D.
1957 The Tiahuanaco Horizon Style in the Peruvian and Bolivian Highlands. PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Wheeler, J., and E. Mujica
1981 *Prehistoric Pastoralism in the Lake Titicaca Basin, Peru (1979–1980 Field Season)*. Submitted to the National Science Foundation.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 4: Introduction

Stone Stelae of the Southern Basin
A Stylistic Chronology of Ancestral Personages

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 4, "Stone Stelae of the Southern Basin," John Janusek and Arik Ohnstad take readers to the opposite end of the Titicaca Basin from Pucara, where they propose a chronology for carved stone monoliths of the southern basin, employing qualitative seriation. Seeking to redefine concepts associated with the macro-regional Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition and its art, proposed and developed by Sergio and Karen Chávez (1975), this chapter presents a subregional analysis predicated on the assumption that the deployment of ceremonial ritual imagery in diverse locations within a macro-region will stimulate stylistic similarities in both general form as well as details of all the carved stone monuments in the subregion. Furthermore, it is asserted that the sculptures represented powerful ancestor images replete with "generative" symbolism.

The temporal structure of the Janusek and Ohnstad sculptural chronology does not employ John Rowe's central Andean time scheme, which has characterized Peruvian archaeology, including Sergio Chávez's analyses of Yaya-Mama art. Rather, the chronology draws on the revised sequence of phases developed by Janusek (2008), Hastorf (1999), and others for the Tiahuanaco heartland territory (see Figure 4.1). Indeed, the focus of this stylistic study rests in the type site and four monoliths from Khonkho Wankane, some 25 km south of Tiahuanaco.

Janusek and Ohnstad argue that they are providing a methodology for rigorously synchronizing altiplano stone sculpture into a clear-cut chronology, employing qualitative seriation that emphasizes characteristics proposed in the 1970s by David Browman (1972, 1995). They present the results of their (and Browman's) approach, which assumes that temporal development can be tracked by one-dimensional change in two closely related aspects of form, "rectilinearity" and "empanelment." While these two criteria are described and discussed, their application is still very intuitive, resulting in a subjective ordering that is not verified by charting features and themes, as in more analytically abstracted qualitative seriations (e.g., Agüero Piwonka et al. 2003; Menzel 1964). On the other hand, stratigraphy, associational information, and absolute dates have been brought to bear wherever possible to support this Tiahuanaco heartland stone carvings chronology, and the final results are appealing. A few more distant stylistic developments, such as the stepped stela of the northern Titicaca Basin (part of the Pukara sphere; see Chapter 2, this volume), are discussed in relation to the newly refined heartland chronology and will be considered again below.

Janusek and Ohnstad define four sequential phases or substyles that they name Mocachi, Wankane, Transitional, and Tiwanaku. Unfortunately, the Mocachi name (from a little-investigated site with a spectacular monolith on the Copacabana Peninsula) was used formerly for a somewhat different stylistic unit by Browman, creating some confusion, but for Janusek and Ohnstad, Mocachi was apparently the entire, widely spread stone carving style

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

of the southern Titicaca Basin that predates the rapid sequence of changes that led directly to the Tiwanaku style. Furthermore, these late developments are found only in the Tiahuanaco heartland (the Wankane, Transitional, and Tiwanaku Phases). Of course, considering such a marked contraction in spatial scale as time progressed, it would not be surprising if some of Janusek and Ohnstad's stylistic changes were as much spatial as temporal, and this probability is recognized by the authors, with expressions of hope that such problems may be resolved by future research.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this chapter is its identification of specific Tiahuanaco origins in subregional, multisite processes in the southern Titicaca Basin. The Tiwanaku style of stone sculpture emerged out of the general Middle Formative Mocachi style, during Late Formative and especially Late Formative 2 times (see Table 4.1 for proposed dates). However, Tiahuanaco itself was neither the center nor the origin for the dispersal of Mocachi-style monuments; indeed, Tiahuanaco remained sparsely inhabited throughout Early and Middle Formative times to become a key player only toward the end of the Late Formative Period. As Tiahuanaco quite rapidly became a dominant regional center, early stylistic changes were experienced more or less concurrently among the settlements of the region—of the Taraco Peninsula and Katari Valley, as well as the Desaguadero Valley—especially Khonkho Wankane. The transformational process was embedded in regional interaction, not in long, in situ development of an origin center. However, I believe that Janusek and Ohnstad continue to date the transition from Late Formative 2 to Tiwanaku 1 a century or so too early, creating a longer history of development at the type site than was actually the case. Although problems still plague Tiahuanaco site chronology, it is good to see the great site presented in a manner that does not assume a precocious origin center history that established its own interaction sphere through diffusion to its peripheries. At last it is possible to begin to think about the rise of Tiahuanaco through processes of regional interactions more consistent with peer polities and complex long-distance associations involving caravanning, pilgrimages, and new international identities among emerging elites. Power seems to have been accrued and materialized in the complex biographies of exotic objects that traversed the landscape, participating in shamanic rituals involving mind-altering substances.

Following the early, long, and broadly distributed Mocachi style, Janusek and Ohnstad argue that the Wankane style developed at Khonkho Wankane and its neighboring twin, Tiahuanaco, between about AD 50 and 450. Subsequently, Khonkho was abandoned and Tiwanaku emerged as the single, dominant center and the only community in the southern basin where monoliths of the new, Transitional style and, subsequently, the Tiwanaku style were erected.

An interesting point made by Janusek and Ohnstad relates to dating Pukara stepped stela and inferring a cultural apogee in the Titicaca Basin at that time. Calling attention to a spectacular, recently published pre-Columbian textile, the Gateway Tunic (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.26a), as "Tiwanaku style," Janusek and Ohnstad cite radiocarbon dating between AD 200 and 400 for the weaving. They go on to point out striking similarities between features in headdresses on some of the woven images and headdresses on several Pukara stepped stela. Probably correctly, they assign the stepped stela to this time but go on to imply that the "Tiwanaku style" was already rising to dominance in the southern Titicaca Basin, as documented by the spectacular elite garment, with such complicated imagery.

Haeberli (Chapter 6, this volume) presents a somewhat tighter date for the Gateway Tunic, cal. AD 260 to 380 at 1 sigma and cal. AD 240 to 400 at 2 sigmas, based on two near-identical assays on its wool by different laboratories. But the more significant point is that this is not a weaving in the "Tiwanaku style" or even an early version of it. The textile has nothing of the vertical stripes of imagery that virtually definitive Tiwanaku and Wari tunics. Rather, it belongs to the little-known Provincial Pukara style (see Haeberli 2002 and Chapter 6, this volume) apparently originating in the coastal valleys of Arequipa. This impressive garment documents not the rise of powerful elites in the southern Titicaca Basin around Tiahuanaco but more probably in relation to an interaction sphere surrounding the more northern Pukara center and including some of the Pacific coastal valleys. This seems confirmed by the fact that another figure on the Gateway Tunic wears another kind of headdress that is also depicted on a Pucara-style stone sculpture (see Rowe 1974:Figure 364). I would suggest that between AD 260 and 380, Tiahuanaco had not yet become the primary Titicaca center but was one of many participants in a regional south Titicaca interaction sphere that probably participated in southern Andean caravanning more generally.

Janusek and Ohnstad conclude Chapter 4 affirming that a critical task for the future of south-central Andean prehistory is understanding "the appearance and increasing importance of 'Staff God' imagery." What they have conclusively shown is that the Staff God and associated Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) images do

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

not appear in the stone sculpture of Tiahuanaco itself or its southern twin, Khonkho Wankane, before the end of Late Formative times. This complex set of imagery, the triadic pantheon, is best understood in terms of the SAIS concept. It was not distinctively Tiahuanaco before the Middle Horizon, or about AD 650 (Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009) as I would date it.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Agüero Piwonka, Carolina, Mauricio Uribe Rodriguez, and José Berenguer Rodriguez
2003 La iconografia Tiwanaku: el caso de la escultura lítica. *Textos Antropológicos* 14(2):47–82.

Browman, David L.
1972 Asiruni, Pucara-Pokotía, and Pajano: Pre-Tiahuanaco South Andean Monolithic Stone Styles. Paper presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Miami, Florida.
1995 Pa-Ajanu: Formative Titicaca Religious Stela Tradition. Paper presented at the 60th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Chávez, Sergio Jorge, and Karen Lynne Mohr Chávez
1975 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno, Peru, and the Definition of an Early Style of Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:45–83.

Haeberli, Joerg
2002 Tiempo y Tradición en Arequipa, Perú, y El Surgimiento de la Cronología del Tema de la Deidad Central. In *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP, No. 5, 2001 Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias, Segunda Parte*. P. Kaulicke and W.H. Isbell, eds. Pp. 89-137. Lima: Departamento de Humanidades, Especialidad de Arqueología, Pontífica Universidad Católica del Perú. Lima, Peru.

Hastorf, Christine A. (editor)
1999 *Early Settlement at Chiripa, Bolivia: Research of the Taraco Archaeological Project*. No. 57. University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Berkeley.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology: Vol. III. North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.
2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 163–210. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Janusek, John Wayne
2008 *Ancient Tiwanaku*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Menzel, Dorothy
1964 *The Paracas Pottery of Ica: A Study in Style and Time*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Rowe, John H.
1974 Kunst in Peru und Bolivien. In *Das alte Amerika von Gordon H. Willey*, pp. 285–350. Propyläen Verlag, Berlin.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret
2004 Tapestry Tunic. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca (with Essays by Sergio J. Chávez, Nicole C. Couture, Paul S. Goldstein, Alan Kolata, Mario A. Rivera)*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 46–49. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 4

Stone Stelae of the Southern Basin
A Stylistic Chronology of Ancestral Personages

John Wayne Janusek and Arik Ohnstad

Monoliths were focal icons in Tiwanaku's monumental complexes. Located in courtyards at the ends of concatenated pathways that wove pilgrims and other ritual participants through sprawling ceremonial spaces, these sculptures provide an intimate perspective of some of the objects and practices that helped create Tiwanaku as a major urban center and the center of an expansive ritual-political network that extended across the south-central Andes. Carved monoliths, wrought of sandstone and volcanic stone, were critical to Tiwanaku as a religious experience and political power.

In this chapter, we outline a chronology of monolithic production and ritual deployment in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin (Figure 4.1). Specifically, we examine the Formative origins of the monolithic tradition in this region, a characteristic long-term set of cultural practices that were decidedly less common or absent in other areas of the prehispanic Andes. We examine in detail the chronology of the tradition and its attendant transformations, and discuss key aspects of the significance of these monoliths for the emergence of early ritual-political centers and, ultimately, the city of Tiwanaku in the high Andean altiplano.

We suggest that stone monoliths, in relation to the ceremonial spaces they inhabited and the natural features and processes they indexed in their imagery and materiality, were critical to the emergent prestige and power of Late Formative centers and, ultimately, Middle Horizon Tiwanaku. These were objects that were rendered animate and powerful during the ceremonies that led ritual participants through massive stone portals, down long passages, and into the intimate, enclosed sunken courts where they stood.

We first evaluate the stylistic chronology of Formative Period stone sculpture in the Lake Titicaca Basin. We suggest a revaluation of received perspectives and terms based on abundant new research and data. We then suggest a specific set of stylistic attributes for understanding ongoing transformations in stone sculptural style and demonstrate their applicability to two different groups of stone sculpture: carved panels and stepped stelae. We next focus on the temporality of a particularly dramatic class of stone sculpture: carved stone monoliths. We present new archaeological evidence and lithic stylistic analysis from the Late Formative site of Khonkho Wankane, which we believe sheds light on both the chronology and significance of this important subset of stone sculpture. We compare Khonkho's monoliths with those at other Late Formative sites in the region, including Mocachi, Wakullani/Lukurmata, and early Tiwanaku. Finally, we analyze the transformations attendant on the production of Middle Horizon monoliths at Tiwanaku, which involved very different materials, carving techniques, and iconographic configurations.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

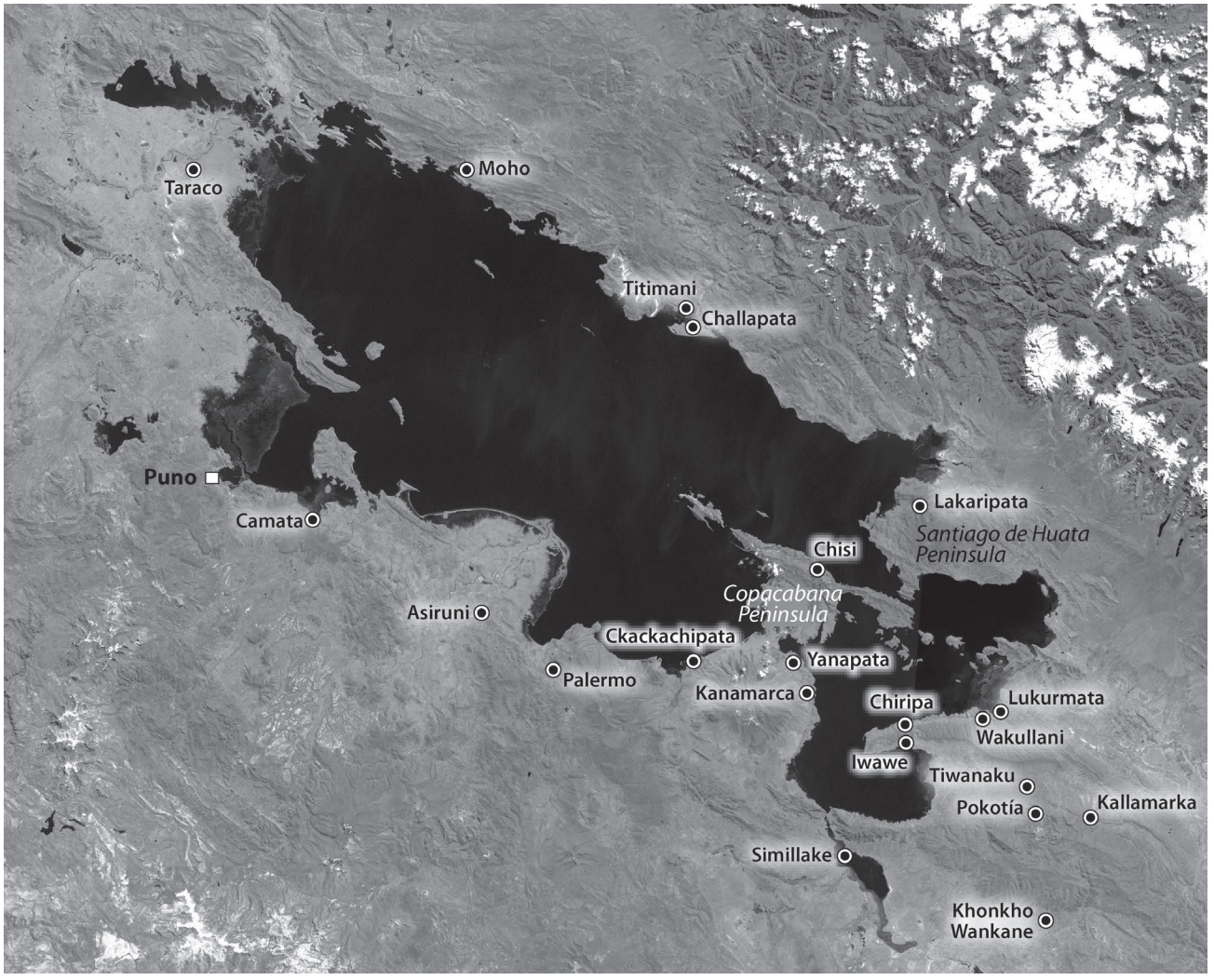


Figure 4.1. The Lake Titicaca Basin, showing key Formative sites with stone sculpture.

Chronological Conundrums and Epistemological Breakthroughs

The Lake Titicaca Basin monolithic sculptural tradition began during the so-called Formative Period, just about the time or just after humans began occupying permanent settlements at the end of the Late Archaic Period (5000–1500 BC) (Figure 4.2). The Formative Period comprised three primary subperiods: Early (1500–1000 BC), Middle (1000–200 BC), and Late Formative (200 BC to AD 500). Archaeologists have only recently distinguished these subperiods and their associated occupations and objects, beginning with research in the Taraco Peninsula (Bandy 2001; Hastorf 1999), Santiago de Huata (Lémuz 2001), the Katari Basin (Janusek 2003; Janusek and Kolata 2003), and the Tiwanaku Valley (Albarracín-Jordan 2006; Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews 1990; Mathews 1992). Recently, archaeologists have been able to distinguish two subphases during the Late Formative, the chronological focus of this chapter: Late Formative 1 (200 BC to AD 250) and Late Formative 2 (AD 250–500).

Yaya-Mama Ritual Tradition, Pa-Ajanu Stone Sculpture, and Mocachi-Style Sculptures

Archaeologists began to understand the Late Titicaca Basin Formative as a distinct, pre-Tiwanaku cultural phenomenon during the 1970s. In 1972, David Browman presented an in-depth conference paper that proposed four basic stylistic groupings for Formative (or pre-"Classic" Tiwanaku) stone-carving traditions in the basin. In it, he defined a chronological sequence of styles, the first of which was Asiruni, the second Pucara-Pokotia, the third Pajano, and the fourth Early

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

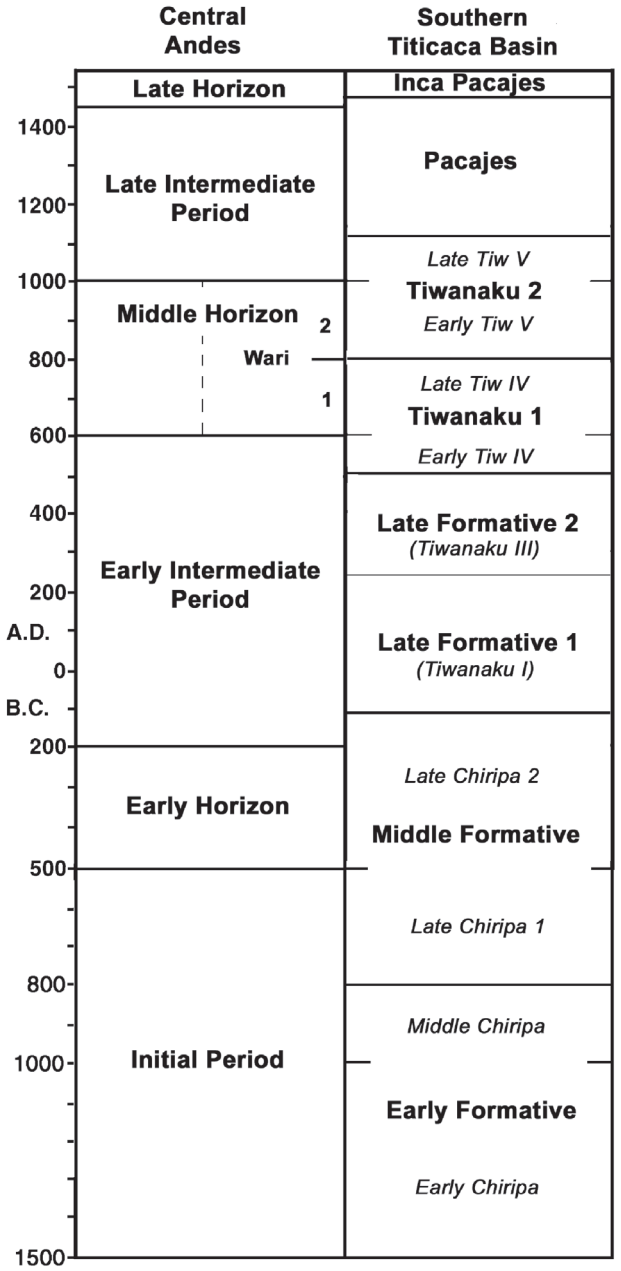


Figure 4.2. Operational chronology for the southern Lake Titicaca Basin (after Janusek 2004).

Tiahuanaco. The third, Pajano, is most pertinent to this chapter. For Browman, this was an inclusive sculptural style that included Khonkho Wankane's stone stelae. Browman adopted the term from the Argentinean archaeologist Eduardo Casanova (1942:350–351) and Austrian Tiwanaku enthusiast Arthur Posnanksy (1945:173), both of whom employed the Aymara term "Pa-Ajanu" or "two faces" to refer to carved stelae that Casanova had located near the city of Copacabana in 1934. One large monolith, located on a monumental complex near the community of Mocachi, depicted two anthropomorphic beings, one on either side.

Bolivian archaeologists Maks Portugal Zamora and Max Portugal Ortiz—father and son—employed the term "Pa-Ajanu" in numerous subsequent presentations and publications. In Bolivia, the term came to be commonly used to refer to formative and decidedly pre-Tiwanaku style stone carvings. In a comparative volume on Bolivian stone sculpture, Portugal Ortiz's (1998) magnum opus, he used the term broadly in reference to a variable tradition of lithic regional art that predated Tiwanaku stelae. He (1998:31–104) linked the tradition to the expansion of Chiripa culture—now dated to the Early to Middle Formative—as manifested at sites such as Chiripa on the Taraco Peninsula, Titimani near Escoma, and Chigani Alto on the Santiago de Huata Peninsula. Differing from Browman, he considered Khonkho Wankane's monoliths to mark a later "transitional" or epi–Pa-Ajanu style succeeded by Tiwanaku style.

Meanwhile, in 1975, Sergio Chávez and Karen Mohr Chávez, working in the Peruvian northern Titicaca Basin, defined similar two-sided Formative monoliths as part of a regional, pre–Middle Horizon "Yaya-Mama" style, drawing on the Quechua terms for "father-mother." Their term and its conceptualization as a stylistic tradition emphasized male/female complementarity in the paired images on just one sculpture, the Taraco monolith. Their chronological placement of Yaya-Mama statuary (Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1975:66) accords well with Browman's location of Pajano, except that Khonkho Wankane stelae, in their view, postdate Yaya-Mama style. Like Max Portugal, and for more systematically argued stylistic reasons, they interpret Khonkho Wankane's peculiar stelae as a later style (Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1975:60–61). Acknowledging Ponce Sanginés's (1964:63–64) chronological placement of Khonkho's two best-preserved monoliths (1 and 2) as "Tiwanaku III," our Late Formative 2, they suggest that they "appear . . . more closely related to Classic Tiahuanaco in certain characteristics" (Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1964:61–64) but are "possibly earlier" based on certain similarities to Tiwanaku's "bearded" Stela 15 (Ponce Sanginés 1964:61–64).

The term "Yaya-Mama" has become normative for referring to this early, pre–Middle Horizon monolithic style and its broader "religious tradition." It became particularly common after Moseley adopted it in the first edition of his widely read Andean textbook, *The Incas and Their Ancestors* (Moseley 1993). In light of abundant recent and ongoing research in the basin, this now demands questioning. Recently, Yaya-Mama has

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

come to be understood as a generalized pre-Tiwanaku cultural tradition that consisted of multiple ritual-political centers with raised platforms and sunken courts, carved monolithic stelae, and associated ritual objects, such as ceramic incense burners (Burger et al. 2000; Janusek 2008; Stanish 2003). Even in the face of more detailed chronological and regionally specific data, the concept of a "Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition" continues to be applied, even as its meaning becomes increasingly diluted. What of Khonkho Wankane's monoliths? In previous accounts, they fell ambivalently between Pa-Ajanu/Yaya-Mama and classic Tiwanaku. Where do they now fit stylistically and chronologically?

In light of these issues, we suggest a revaluation of the Lake Titicaca Basin Formative chronology. Now that we can effectively divide the Formative into three subperiods, to what does the "Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition" refer? Especially in light of the local diversity now apparent across the basin during the Formative (Janusek 2008; Stanish 2003), what explanatory capital does this term now have? We suggest, first and foremost, distinguishing chronological from stylistic terms. We suggest that the term "Yaya-Mama" be kept in reference to a generalized, early *ritual tradition* that emerged and thrived in the Late Titicaca Basin during the Early and Middle Formative Periods. In our view, this was a multicentered transaction network that gave rise to specific local centers, ritual practices, and power structures—as manifested in local cultural complexes such as "Chiripa" and "Qaluyu"—during the Early to Middle Formative (Janusek 2008:69–87; Ohnstad and Janusek 2007).

Khonkho's monoliths date to the post–Yaya-Mama Late Formative. To understand later stylistic developments, we return to Browman, who we find most rigorous in his use of terms. In a later revision to his early sequence, he (Browman 1997:2–3) advocated following "the tradition of biology in naming species, by employing the name assigned to the specimen by the first researcher." In this way, he advocated sticking to the terms "Pa-Ajanu" and "Mocachi" to describe *styles of formative stone sculptures*—not a generalized Early to Middle Formative ritual tradition–in the basin. Pa-Ajanu (or Pajano) includes Formative period (broadly defined) stone monoliths, panels, and portable objects (e.g., carved "thunderbolt stones"; see Posnansky 1957:122; Cohen and Roddick 2007:59–61) with a wide range of evocative iconography (Browman 1997).

Established in Casanova's initial publication, Mocachi for us indexes a subset of Pa-Ajanu sculpture and specifically a *type of double-faced monolith* (Figures 4.3, 4.5, 4.9, 4.14, and 4.17). Some such monoliths depict two different anthropomorphic figures (or two incarnations of the same being) on opposite faces, while other—particularly later—monoliths, such as Khonkho's, depict the "front" and "back" of the same anthropomorphic being. While some Mocachi sculptures may date to the Middle Formative, most clearly date to the Late Formative. Mocachi monolithic beings present evocative arm gestures, the most common being arms folded over the chest, right arm over (vertically above) the left. Their bodies may be decorated with a variety of terrestrial or aquatic animal figures, among the most common being toad-like, lizard-like, feline, and serpentine beings with "whiskered" and "eared" heads. In particular, on later Mocachi monoliths, such as those from Khonkho Wankane, serpentine creatures predominate along the sides and on clothing elements (e.g., belt, headgear) of the monolithic anthropomorphs. Mocachi itself consists of at least several substyles that require further definition. In this chapter, we restrict our discussion to a group of Mocachi-style monoliths located at the site of Khonkho Wankane itself.

Recent Archaeological Advances toward a Stone Sculptural Chronology

It has been immensely frustrating for researchers that there is a remarkable paucity of reliably datable samples in the impressive record of Formative stone sculpture. Fortunately, recent research, combined with David Browman's approach to sculptural chronology, offers, we believe, a new way out of some older chronological conundrums. These developments render it possible for us to speak more coherently about stone sculptural styles as they were established and transformed during the later part of the Formative, or Late Formative.

Ongoing research in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin offers important new temporally informed data regarding the Formative and its associated sculptures. First, the Taraco Archaeological project (TAP), directed by Christine Hastorf, provided important new chronological and stratigraphic data for the primary mound at the site of Chiripa, on the north edge of the Taraco Peninsula. Excavations date the construction of the mound's so-called Upper House level to the Middle Formative (Hastorf 2003; Whitehead 1999), providing a *terminus ante quem* of 200 BC for a distinctively carved grinding slab, lacking in iconography, that had been found by Alfred Kidder's team in the 1930s (1956) underneath this Upper House level.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Later, under the co-direction of Mathew Bandy, Hastorf and colleagues revealed further important data from the site of Kala Uyuni, on the south edge of the peninsula. Here, the team excavated a dual sunken court complex perched on a hill overlooking the southernmost portion of Lake Titicaca. A late resurfacing in the southernmost court revealed a pestle carved as a "lightning stone," and standing in its center was a four-sided monolith lacking carved iconography. Radiocarbon measurements date this court's late surface to 300 to 200 BC, precisely toward the end of the Middle Formative (Cohen and Roddick 2007).

Second, excavations under the direction of Sergio Chávez and Karen Mohr Chávez at the site of Ch'isi, on the Copacabana Peninsula, provide further chronological data. Their excavations revealed a sunken court perched, like those of Kala Uyuni, high over the lakeshore and dating to approximately 200 BC to AD 10 (Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1997). A pilaster framing the offset primary entrance to the court revealed carved iconography depicting an anthropomorphic personage with an arm bent over its torso and associated serpentine and other images.

Third, recent research at the site of Khonkho Wankane near the Desaguadero River, Titicaca's primary drainage, has allowed us to bracket the temporal framework of four monoliths. First announced to the archaeological and Bolivian national community in 1936, the site came to be known as a major "Tiwanaku regional center." Research directed by the senior author since 2001, buttressed by 28 calibrated radiocarbon dates (Janusek and Ohnstad 2006), allows us to bracket the site's ritual-political history, and thus the biographies of its four monoliths, to a relatively short span of the Late Formative and, more specifically, to AD 50 to 450 (Janusek 2006; Ohnstad 2013) (Table 4.1).

These chronological revaluations provide insights into the sculptural chronology of Tiwanaku, bolstered by recent research at that site. Despite numerous deep soundings at Tiwanaku, not one has revealed significant occupations preceding the Late Formative (Bennett 1934; Janusek 2004; Lémuz and Bandy 2004; Ponce Sanginés 1981). The first known ritual structures and occupations date to the Late Formative, and most of them were buried, dismantled, or at least transformed during the subsequent Tiwanaku Period, when the site emerged as an urban ceremonial center (Janusek 2009). This corresponds nicely with sculptural evidence from the site, in parallel with that of Khonkho Wankane. At Tiwanaku, we find several monoliths carved in a style similar to those from Khonkho, in addition to those carved in a decidedly later "Classic" Tiwanaku style, several of them found in situ, that date to the Middle Horizon. At each site, we also find monoliths in a "Transitional" style.

Toward a Robust Chronology of Stone Sculptural Style

The broad range of sculptural styles manifest in just the southern basin alone—let alone the entire Lake Titicaca drainage—calls for a multipronged approach for developing a robust chronology of these stone objects. Backed by the advances in absolute regional chronologies noted

Table 4.1. Selected radiocarbon dates from architectural features that bracket the construction sequence in Khonkho Wankane's monumental core.

Lab No.	Sample No.	Uncalibrated Date	Median Calibrated	1-sigma Range	2-sigma Range	Context
AA74199	KW 19	1950 ± 33	AD 50	AD 17–82	2 BC–AD 126	Surface beneath Compound 1; predates Sunken Temple construction
AA66946	KW 1	1845 ± 44	AD 170	AD 126–231	AD 68–256	Early floor of Compound 1; likely predates Sunken Temple construction
AA66950	KW 5	1800 ± 52	AD 220	AD 133–257	AD 84–348	Occupation surface above floor of Sunken Temple
AA66951	KW 6	1781 ± 66	AD 250	AD 137–331	AD 85–400	Floor of Sunken Temple
AA66948	KW 3	1560 ± 37	AD 490	AD 434–543	AD 418–578	Floor of southern court in Dual Court Complex

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

above (also Janusek 2003, 2006, 2011), we seek to address the following questions: When were ritual stone sculptures first carved and employed in the southern basin? When were monoliths first carved and employed? How were transformations manifested in changing materiality, carving techniques, and iconographic imagery on these monoliths? How can we distinguish temporal from simultaneous, local variability?

At the core of our analysis are a couple of simple but powerful principles of stylistic transformation that David Browman (1972, 1995, 1997) noted in a series of conference papers. Comparing Formative and Classic Tiwanaku examples of stone sculpture, he suggested that Formative Period sculptures became, over time, increasingly (a) more rectilinear and (b) more likely to be subdivided into rectangular zones, or "panels." We find these principles well supported by parallel advances in regional chronology. Yet we wish to emphasize that "rectilinearity" and "empanelment" are not absolute analytical descriptions. Rather, they work well as relative meters of monolithic stylistic change. They are best considered concepts that describe parallel developments across a range of sculptural forms. We employ rectilinearity, for example, to describe both the shape of the body of the stone sculpture as well as figurative detail such as relief or incision. Depending on the specific type of sculpture under discussion, the term may refer to the straightness of the lines, to the orthogonality of the carved shape, or to both simultaneously. Furthermore, increasing rectilinearity is strongly linked to the propensity toward greater empanelment in Late Formative and Classic Tiwanaku stone sculpture.

Empanelment refers to the division of surfaces on rectangular, block-like sculptures into low-relief rectangular panels. Depending on the specific type of sculpture under discussion, a panel may be more or less coterminous with the entire "face" (or side) of a block sculpture (e.g., the front face of the Mocachi Stela, Figure 4.3b), or panels may subdivide a single face into multiple sections (e.g., Khonkho's Jinch'un Kala monolith, Figure 4.12). In both cases, the technique of empanelment divides a monolithic surface into multiple planes and thus creates a sculpture with variable surficial depth.

Following, we demonstrate the applicability of Browman's mutually reinforcing concepts of rectilinearity and empanelment to two different groups of Formative stone sculpture, the first from the southern basin and the second from the northern basin.

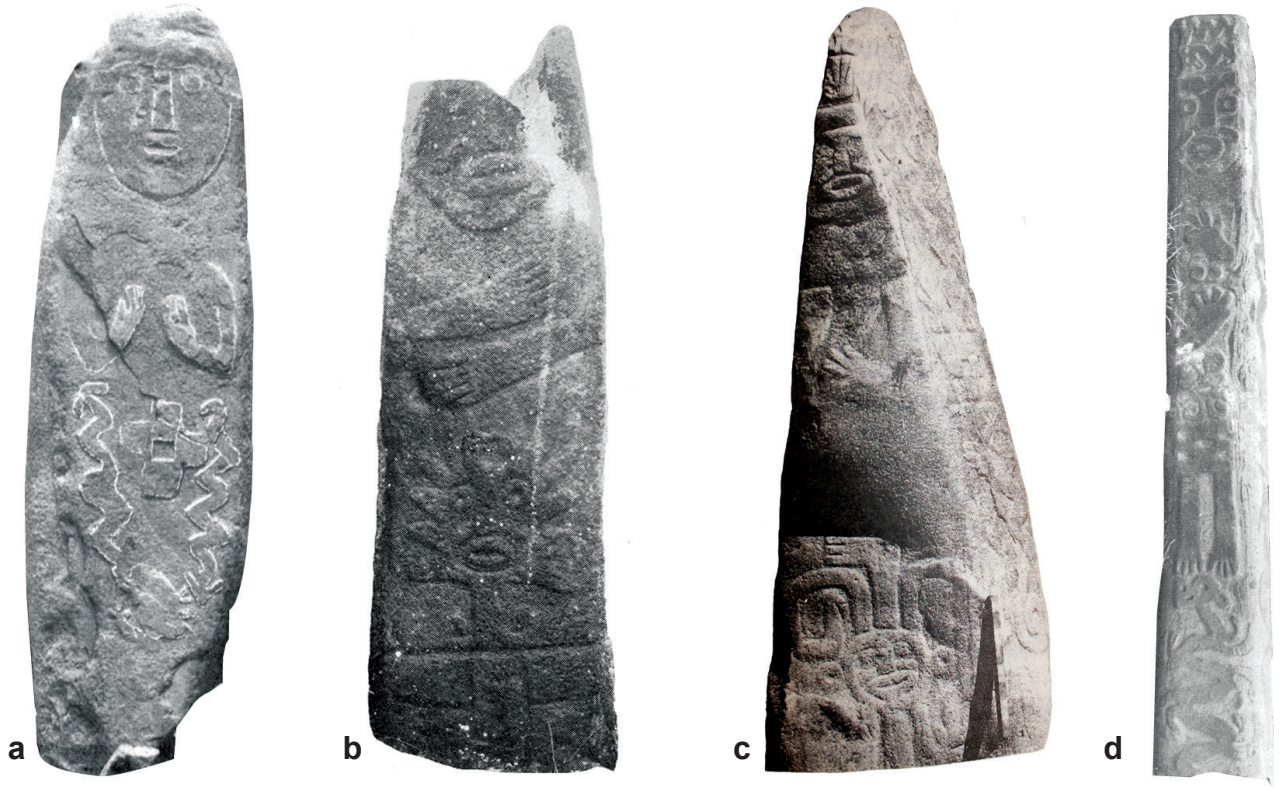


Figure 4.3. Representative monoliths of the Pajano/Yaya Mama style, in the restrictive sense of those terms. Composite drawing by Arik Ohnstad.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Seriation and Chronology of Carved Rectanguloid Panels

Although few are published, carved panels have been recovered during excavations at sites in the Lake Titicaca Basin, and they are known from private collections. Ordering six such panels using only the principles of form outlined above—increasing rectilinearity and empanelment—correlates well with chronological information from associated archaeological data and other material media.

The earliest panel (see Figure 4.4a) is the carved panel excavated by Kidder at Chiripa, dated to the Middle Formative (400 BC *terminus ante quem*). The panel presents no carved imagery on its face aside from a roughly carved border (perhaps it once presented painted or textile imagery?), and there was little emphasis on rectilinearity in shaping the stone or in carving the raised border.

The next two panels present carved imagery on a trapezoidal (see Figure 4.4b) and a more rectangular (see Figure 4.4c) stone. While not strongly rectilinear, they both indicate an increased interest in a "straighter" overall form and carved lines. Both present one face with carved imagery. Although very different from each other in stylistic execution, both faces lack an empaneling border; rather, a carved border surrounds each of their back sides. Panel b, also from Chiripa, presents a version of the "rayed head" that has a long history in stone iconography. Yet the four short, loosely coiled arrowhead serpents surrounding the head, while present on Late Chiripa (Middle Formative) ceramic vessels (Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1975), are not found on later statuary in the southern basin. Thus, this sculpture probably dates to the end of the Middle Formative (or early Late Formative). Meanwhile, the tightly coiled whiskers on panel c are later. When similar icons appear on stone statuary, they occur on statuary of the later Pukara Period (ca. AD 1–250), or Late Formative 1. A similar icon at Khonkho Wankane we also attribute to Late Formative 1 (see below).

The following two panels (Figure 4.4d,e) are both strongly rectangular and present a raised border that "empanels" the design. The imagery alone suggests a Late Formative date for these panels; the two expressions of the rayed head are highly symmetrical and spatially paired, unlike those of panel b. Sergio and Karen Mohr Chávez (1975; also Haeberli 2001) present evidence that this type of Rayed Head with recurved rays (or arrowhead serpents), as depicted on the Taraco monolith (Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1975), cross-dates with Late Formative Paracas/Nasca iconographic conventions. In addition, a rayed head is found on a tall andesite monolith from Lakaripata on the Santiago de Huata Peninsula (see Figure 4.3c). The site of Lakaripata was insignificant during the Middle Formative and the Middle Horizon. Consequently, this monolith and panels d and e very likely date to the Late Formative Period.

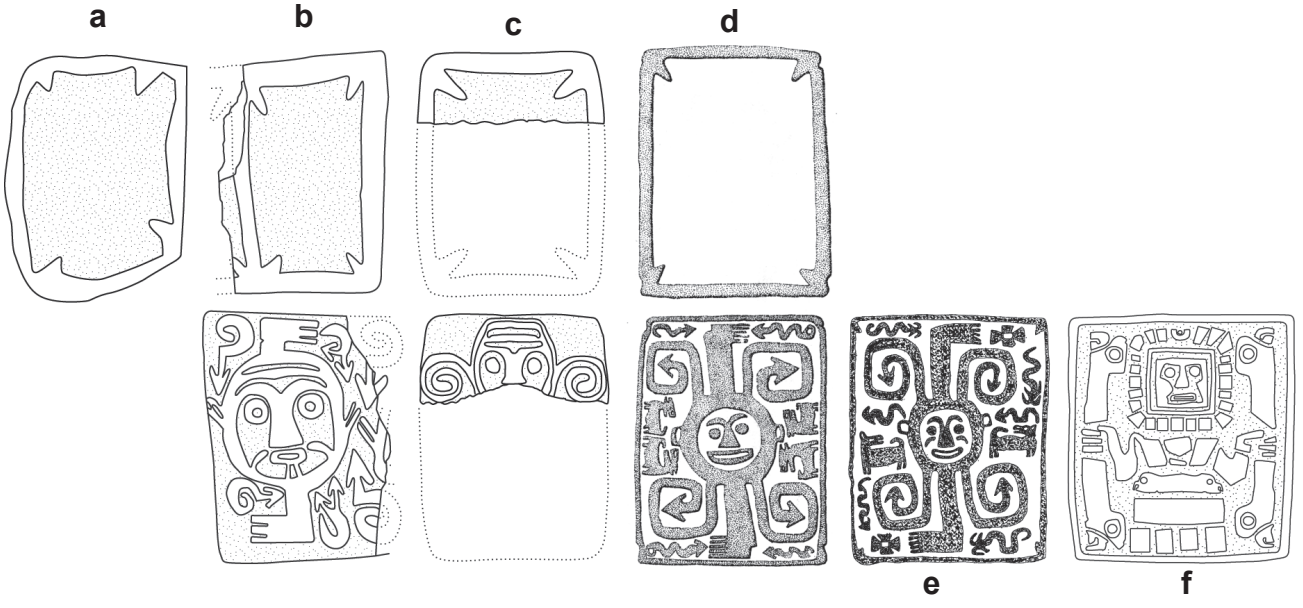


Figure 4.4. Carved slab panels from (a) Chiripa, Bolivia; (b) Yunguyo, Peru; (c, d) Chiripa; (e) Copacabana, Bolivia; and (f) Department of La Paz, Bolivia. Composite drawing by Arik Ohnstad.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The last panel (Figure 4.4f) depicts a variation of the Staff Deity. This figure is most commonly associated with the Middle Horizon and is found decorating Tiwanaku ceramic and stone iconography—famously, the upper central portion of the Sun Portal's frieze—and Wari-affiliated ceramic vessels from Conchopata and regional offering sites (e.g., Pacheco). In the past decade, we have come to understand that the rayed head, the focal element of this image, may date as early as AD 200. Radiocarbon dates on textiles in the "Pukara Provincial style" that depict staff-bearing figures similar to that of this panel are now known to date to AD 200 to 400, or Late Formative 2 (Haeberli 2001; Young-Sánchez 2004b). Thus, it is safest to date the latter phase of production of these stone panels to Late Formative 2.

In summary, we can date the inception and long-term history of the stone panel as a sculptural type in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin, from approximately 400 BC or the Middle Formative, to perhaps AD 400, the end of the Late Formative.

Seriation and Chronology of "Stepped Stelae" in the Northern Titicaca Basin

Sergio Chávez pointed out a similar stylistic progression in regard to another group of stone sculpture, the Pukara-style "stepped stelae" known from the northern Lake Titicaca Basin and the Chumbivilcas region to the northwest (Figures 4.5 and 4.6). Based on iconographic comparison and cultural historical inferences, he (Chávez 1988) identified stepped stelae with raised, empaneled borders surrounding carved imagery as relatively late—post-Classic Pukara, in his terminology—in the Formative sequence of the northern basin.

This hypothesis is confirmed by independent evidence. A tunic woven in "Tiwanaku style" from the south-central Andes was recently dated to between AD 200 and 400 (J. Blackmon, personal communication, 2007; Young-Sánchez 2004b:47), precisely during Chávez's post-Classic Pukara or what we term Late Formative 2. In accord with our chronology, Haeberli (Chapter 6, this volume) assigns this tunic to the Pukara Provincial style. The tunic in question, known as the Gateway Tunic, depicts a type of headdress that, to date, is unknown in the corpus of south-central Andean Formative iconography outside of its depiction on these late empaneled stepped stelae (Figure 4.6a). Key elements of the headdress include a central spray of long, vertically oriented feathers, flanked by upward-facing feline-headed streamers. These same features appear as headdress elements on stepped stelae from Wiraqocha Orqo south of Cuzco (Figure 4.6b) and Qaluyu in the northern basin (Figure 4.6c), as well as on the Challapata monolith from the east side of Lake Titicaca (Figure 4.6d). A congruence of formal, iconographic, stylistic, and radiometric data indicates a Late Formative 2 date for empaneled stepped stelae.

Figure 4.5. Stepped stelae sequence. Composite illustration by Arik Ohnstad.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

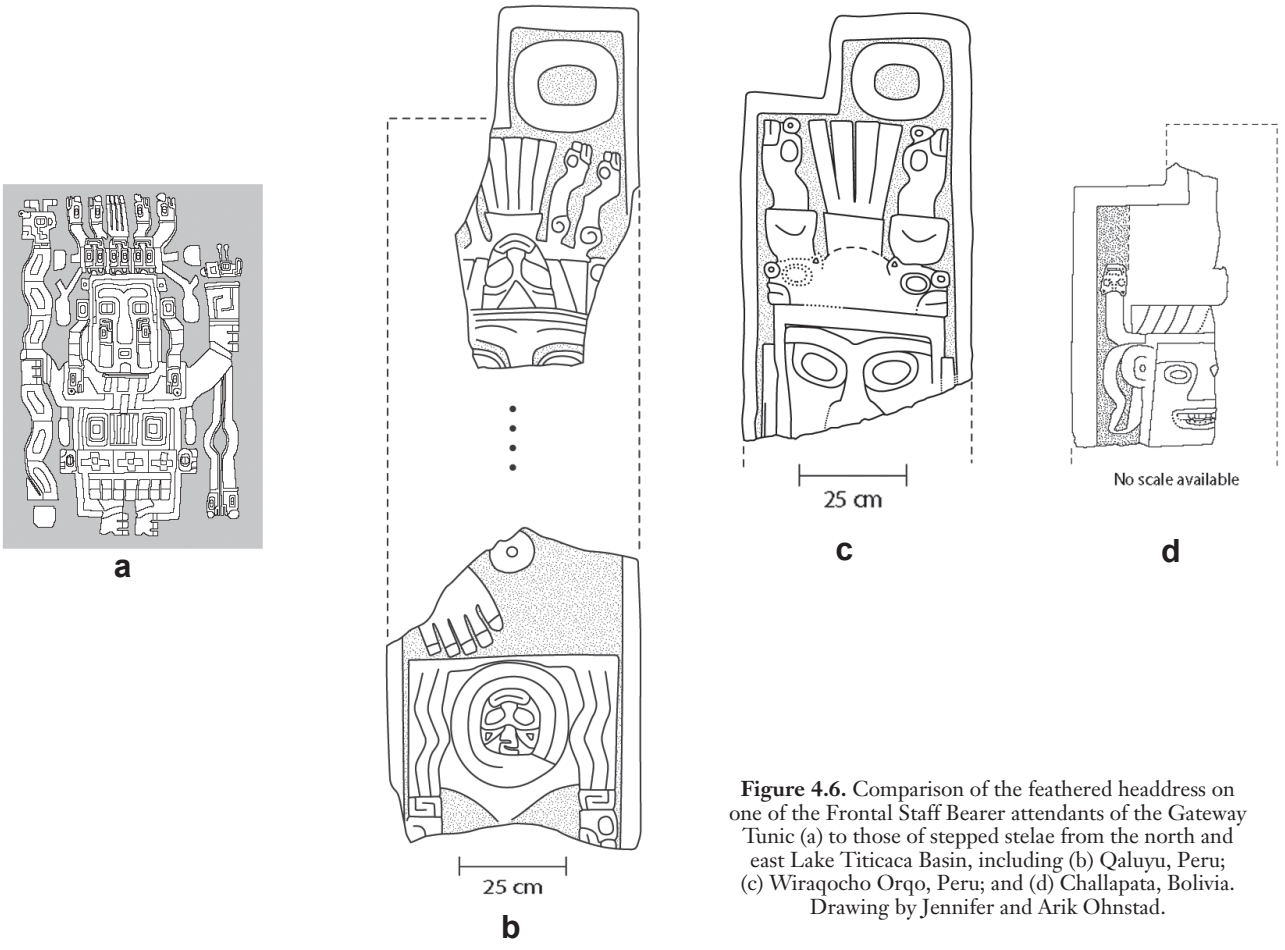


Figure 4.6. Comparison of the feathered headdress on one of the Frontal Staff Bearer attendants of the Gateway Tunic (a) to those of stepped stelae from the north and east Lake Titicaca Basin, including (b) Qaluyu, Peru; (c) Wiraqocho Orqo, Peru; and (d) Challapata, Bolivia. Drawing by Jennifer and Arik Ohnstad.

Seriation and Chronology of Formative Monoliths in the Southern Basin

Establishing a sound chronology of stone sculpture in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin—indeed, in the south-central Andes—has been hampered by a "Tiwanaku-centric" perspective. In this perspective, all notable prehispanic cultural developments—monuments, complexity, stone sculptures, and political centralization—were products of a fully developed Tiwanaku state. Fostered by the romanticism of European explorers (e.g., Posnansky 1945) and the nationalism of Bolivian "political archaeologists" (Ponce Sanginés 1981, 1995), this perspective has driven interpretations of archaeological sites and regional chronologies. Certainly, it has driven interpretations of the sites of Tiwanaku, Khonkho Wankane, and the temporo-cultural associations of their stone sculptures.

At the root of the problem was Ponce Sanginés's (1981, 1990) chronology for the site of Tiwanaku. Aligning his model with the results of earlier test excavations at Tiwanaku (Bennett 1934; Rydèn 1947), Ponce Sanginés (1981) devised a long-term chronology that focused on Tiwanaku and emphasized its increasing complexity over three broad phases. During the first phase (Tiwanaku I to II), Ponce Sanginés suggested, Tiwanaku was a small village; during the second phase (Tiwanaku III), Tiwanaku expanded into an early urban center; and during its third phase, Tiwanaku developed into the "mature" political center (Tiwanaku IV) of an imperial formation (Tiwanaku V) (Janusek 2003, 2004). The first two phases, Ponce Sanginés suggested, transpired during what we now term the Formative Period.

Following this perspective, all *historical routes* lead to Tiwanaku, and all *cultural roots* lead from Tiwanaku. While the site of Tiwanaku dates to Late Formative 1, Tiwanaku as an urban pan-regional phenomenon post-dates AD 500. Monolithic stone sculpture from Tiwanaku is distinctive in its size (including stelae >6 m tall), its materiality (volcanic or sandstone), its fine carving technique (high or low relief), and its abundance (multiple monoliths). Nevertheless, these monoliths demonstrate

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

remarkably diverse iconographic styles, consist of different lithic materials, and were carved employing variable technologies. Such variation provides an opening for defining a stone sculptural chronology for Tiwanaku and, indeed, the southern Lake Titicaca Basin.

Research at Khonkho Wankane, located in the Upper Desaguadero Basin some 25 km south of Tiwanaku, across the sandstone-rich Kimsachata range, provides the evidence. Despite early confusion regarding Khonkho's chronological position and cultural-political affiliation (Janusek 2011), it was not a Middle Horizon regional center. Rather, it was a major ritual-political center throughout the Late Formative (Table 4.1). It overlapped with the distribution of "Pukara Provincial" textiles and the later phases of Pukara's career as a major center in the northern basin. Khonkho was no longer a major center by the Middle Horizon, once Tiwanaku emerged as a pan-regional urban center. Yet neither Khonkho nor Tiwanaku had been occupied in any significant manner during the Early to Middle Formative. Thus, Khonkho Wankane allows us to "bracket" a group of Mocachi-style sculptures from several sites in the southern basin—including Khonkho Wankane, Tiwanaku, and Lukurmata—as specifically Late Formative monoliths.

Figure 4.7 presents a master seriation chart that shows continuities and changes among multiple stylistic and iconographic themes in the Lake Titicaca Basin. Note that "Mocachi-style monoliths" in this chart refers to a *particular style of anthropomorphic stone sculpture* characteristic of both the Early to Middle Formative *Yaya-Mama ritual tradition* and the *Pa-Ajanu (or Pajano) stone sculptural tradition* of the Formative Period (including at least the latter part of the Middle Formative and the Late Formative). Radiocarbon evidence suggests that monoliths at Khonkho and stylistically similar statuary at the nearby sites of Huacullani and Tiwanaku are relatively late and date specifically to the Late Formative and thus postdate the Yaya-Mama ritual tradition. They are temporally comparable to Pukara Provincial textiles. A distinctive set of such sculptures, which includes Khonkho's Tatakala monolith (KW Stela 3, see below) and Tiwanaku's Ídolo Plano, comprises a later "Transitional" stylistic group in the southern basin.

Seriation of Khonkho Monoliths

The site of Khonkho Wankane (Figure 4.8) houses four carved stone monoliths (Figure 4.9). According to their contemporary names, they are the Portugal, Wila Kala, Jinch'un Kala, and Tata Kala.[1] Just as with carved panels and stepped stelae, Khonkho's four monoliths vary significantly in rectilinearity and empaneling. Employing these two attributes to create a site-scale seriation, we articulate a stylistic progression that begins with the Portugal and ends with the Tata Kala (Ohnstad 2013; Ohnstad and Janusek 2007).

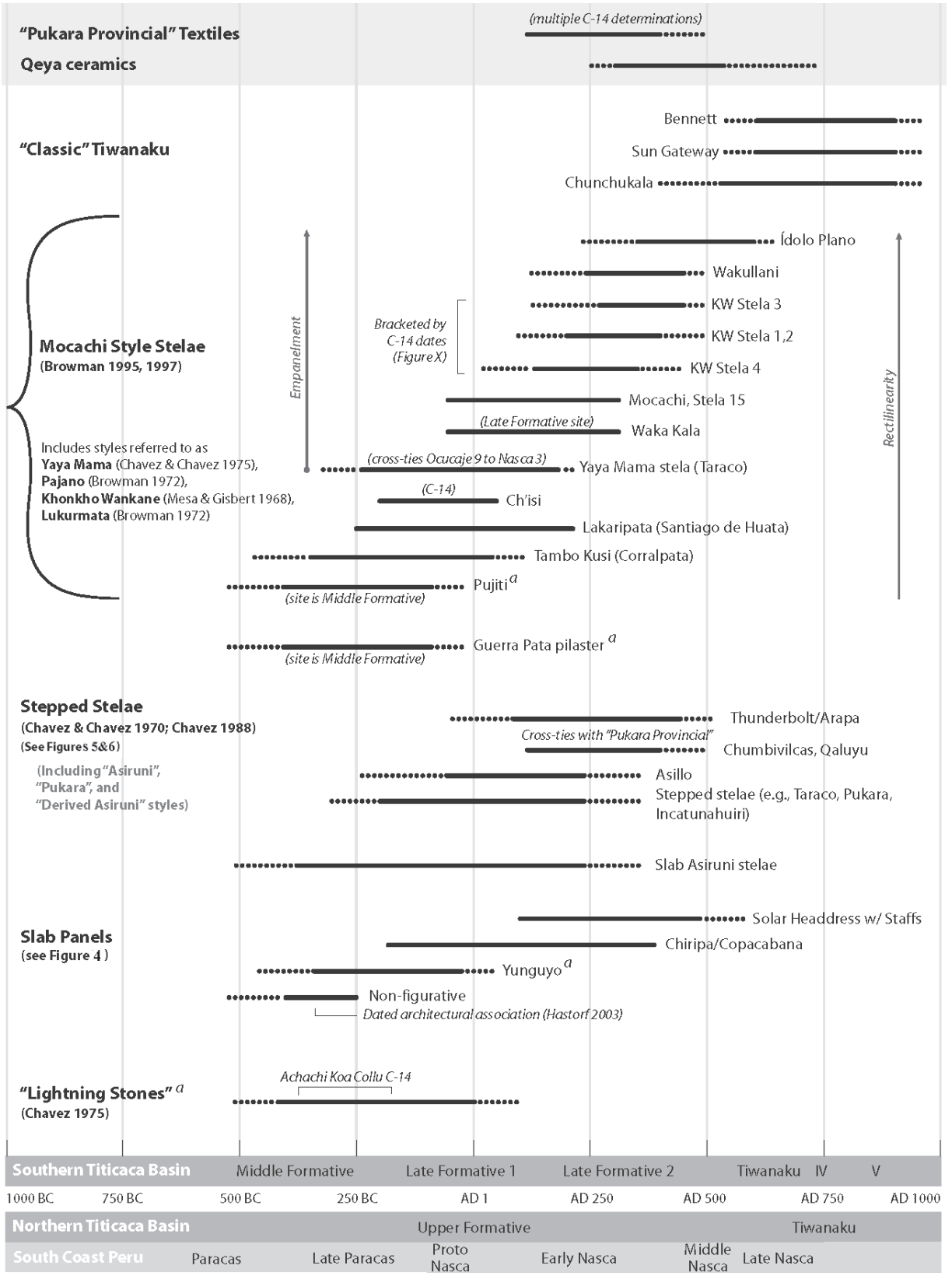
The earliest monolith at Khonkho was likely the Portugal monolith (Figure 4.10). It was discovered by Maks Portugal Zamora in the late 1930s (Portugal Zamora 1941, 1955). Portugal discovered the monolith buried in pieces under the upper western flank of the mound. The monolith had been deliberately shattered. It was broken in half along its vertical axis (lengthwise) and then again along its horizontal axis. The latter action effectively "decapitated" the stela.

The Portugal is a Mocachi-style monolith. The primary personage depicted on its front side has an impassive face with heavy brows and a nose forming a "T" shape. Its arms cross over the torso, right over left. A serpentine catfish-faced creature with coiled tail adorns its one extant (left) side, and small neonatal catfish, bestial felines, and indecipherable creatures with feline head appendages adorn its front and back. The back side of the monolith depicts two versions of a small humanoid figure wearing a pleated tunic or skirt.[2] The Portugal monolith's iconography is slightly rectilinear, although not strongly so, and there is no obvious empaneling. Its weak rectilinearity and lack of clear empanelment, especially compared with Khonkho's other monoliths, mark it is as early relative to many other Mocachi-style sculptures.

Khonkho's Wila Kala (Figure 4.11) and Jinch'un Kala (Figure 4.12) are strongly rectilinear and empaneled monoliths. Browman referred to these monoliths as the "endpoints of the evolution" of Mocachi style (Browman 1997). Unfortunately, only the front side of the Wila Kala and only the back side of the Jinch'un Kala have been preserved. Their opposite sides have been exposed to the elements over centuries and are now completely eroded. Wila Kala's preserved front side depicts an impassive human-like face with zigzag tear drops (or facial decoration) and the front of a torso with arms crossed over the chest—in this case, left arm over the right—in quintessential Mocachi fashion. The preserved upper back side of Jinch'un Kala depicts tresses dangling from a headdress decorated with surreal, generative imagery. A remnant large nose similar to the better preserved nose of the Wila Kala personage is vaguely visible on the upper front side of Jinch'un Kala.

On these paired monoliths, the rear side is clearly not occupied by a second anthropomorphic personage. Rather, it depicts the back of a single being wearing long,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD



a These share iconographic motifs, incl. bi/tri-furcate arrowhead serpents, small coiled arrowhead serpents, eared serpents, Rayed Head w/detached rays

Figure 4.7. Comparative seriation of known Pa-Aajanu (or Pajano) style stone sculptures. Composite drawing by Arik Ohnstad and John Janusek.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

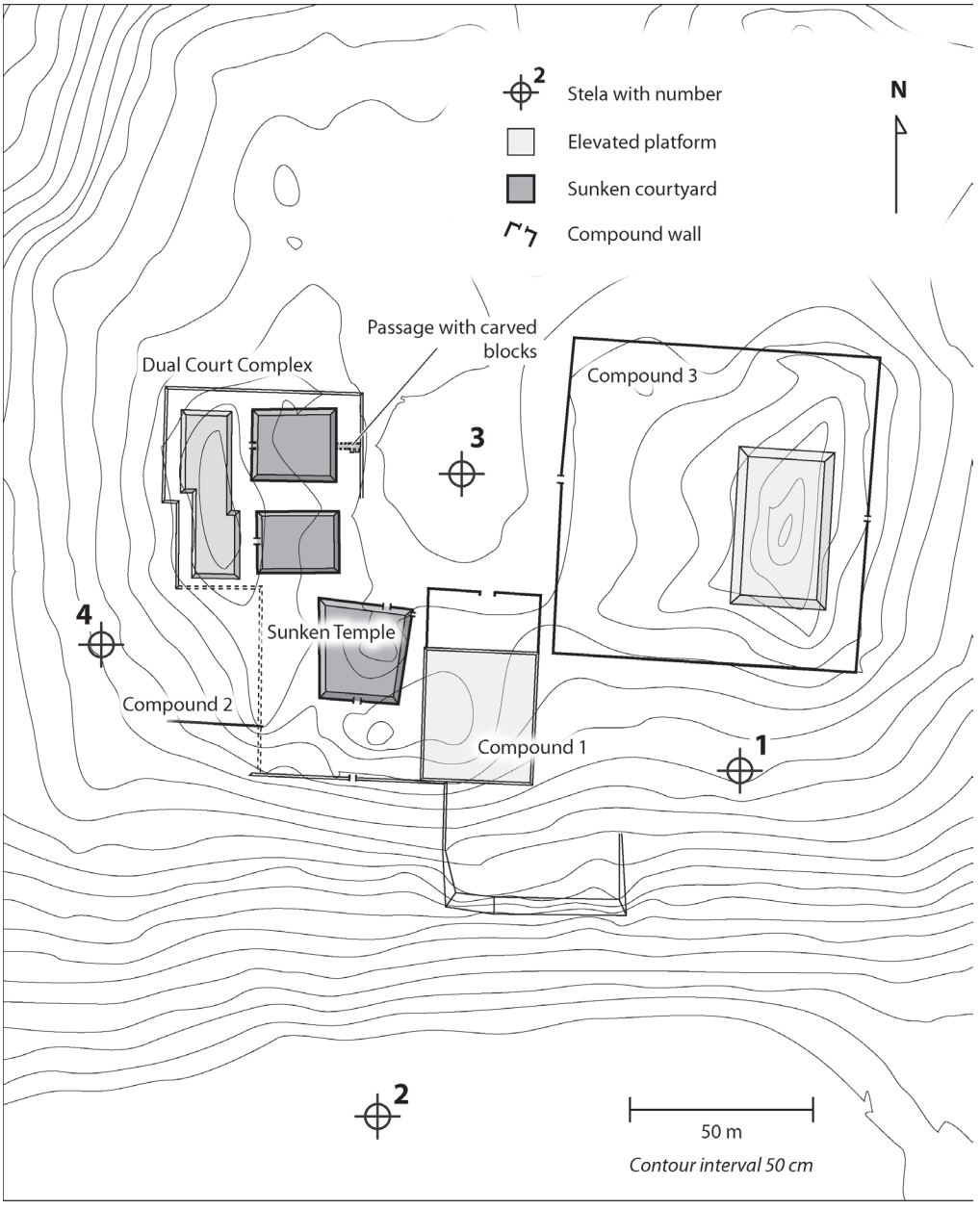


Figure 4.8. Plan view of Khonkho Wankane showing key architectural constructions on the Wankane platform. Drawing by Arik Ohnstad and John Janusek.

gathered tresses. In many respects, the two monoliths are together unique. The Wila Kala and Jinch'un Kala form a pair in their materiality, imagery, composition, and form. Both are carved out of tall rectangular sandstone blocks that reach heights of approximately 6 m. Each monolith depicts a single anthropomorphic personage enlaced with serpentine "catfish" imagery and divided into multiple panels, each panel depicting a distinctive scene. Each monolith depicts "rising" creatures on either its preserved front (Wila Kala) or back (Jinch'un Kala) and symmetrically paired descending humanoid figures on its sides. These scenes with descending figures are well preserved and nearly identical on the two. On both monoliths, the figures have exposed ribs, as if they were deceased, mummified humans returning to earth or an underworld. We interpret them as manifestations of ancestral personages and the zoned iconography that frames them as narratives that relate their death, regeneration, and ultimate coming into being as ancient, mythical Great Ancestors (Janusek and Ohnstad 2007).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

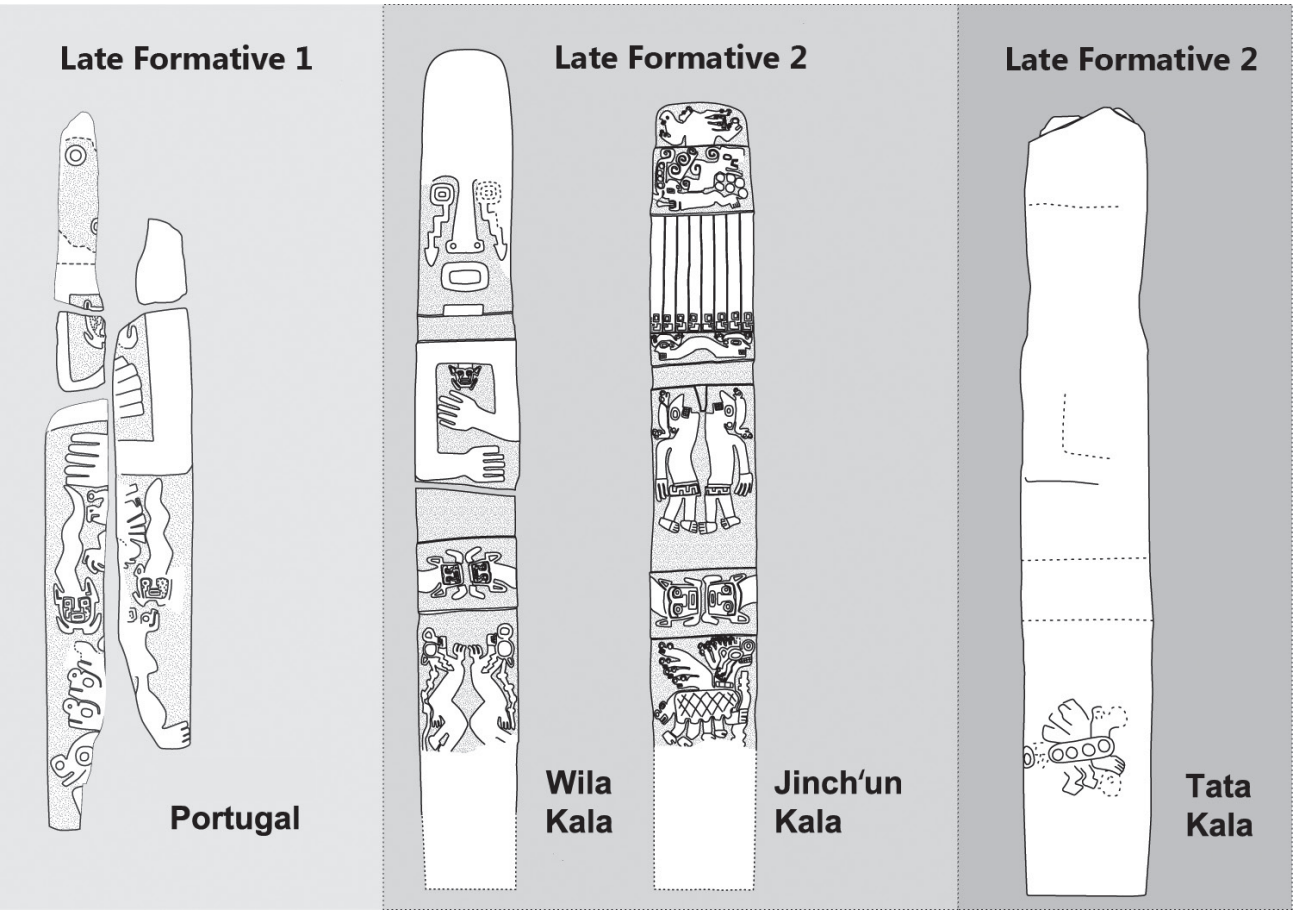


Figure 4.9. The four carved stone monoliths of Khonkho Wankane. Drawing by Arik Ohnstad.

Khonkho's fourth monolith, the Tata Kala (Figure 4.13, 4.16a), is very poorly preserved. Unlike the others, the Tata Kala was left standing in situ in the center of Khonkho's Main Plaza. Nearly all of its carved decoration has been eroded. Nevertheless, analysis of its overall form and remnant iconography indicates that it depicts a single anthropomorphic being with its arms crossed over the torso—like the Wila Kala, left arm over the right—in a manner similar to that of Khonkho's other monolithic personages and many other Mocachi-style sculptures. The Tata Kala monolith introduced a new trait to Khonkho Wankane stone sculpture: it narrows abruptly at the shoulders to depict the markedly rectilinear head of a human-like personage. This early formal distinction is similar to that of most classic Tiwanaku monolithic sculpture and surely was its forebear. We interpret Tata Kala as one of several "Transitional"-style stelae. In fact, the monolith may never have been completely carved; its right rear side has an odd bulbous protrusion that contrasts with its otherwise strong rectilinearity and horizontal zoning.

Furthermore, Tata Kala differs from the other monoliths in its materiality. Whereas the first three consist of reddish-colored sandstone, the Tata Kala consists of grayish-colored sandstone. It is also much larger than the others in width and breadth. Presumably, it derived from a different sandstone source, one from which relatively large blocks could be quarried.

The original spatial associations of most of Khonkho's monoliths are unclear. Only the Tata Kala, Khonkho's latest monolith, is in situ, slumped over in Khonkho's Main Plaza, which served as a primary social-ceremonial space throughout the site's history.[3] Yet Khonkho Wankane consists of four primary social-ceremonial gathering spaces and incorporates four carved monolithic sculptures. It is tempting to suggest that each communal space corresponded to a specific monolithic sculpture. If our stylistic seriation and chronology serve, the following interpretation is most plausible; the Portugal monolith corresponds with the Early Sunken Court, the Wila Kala and Jinch'un Kala with the Dual

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

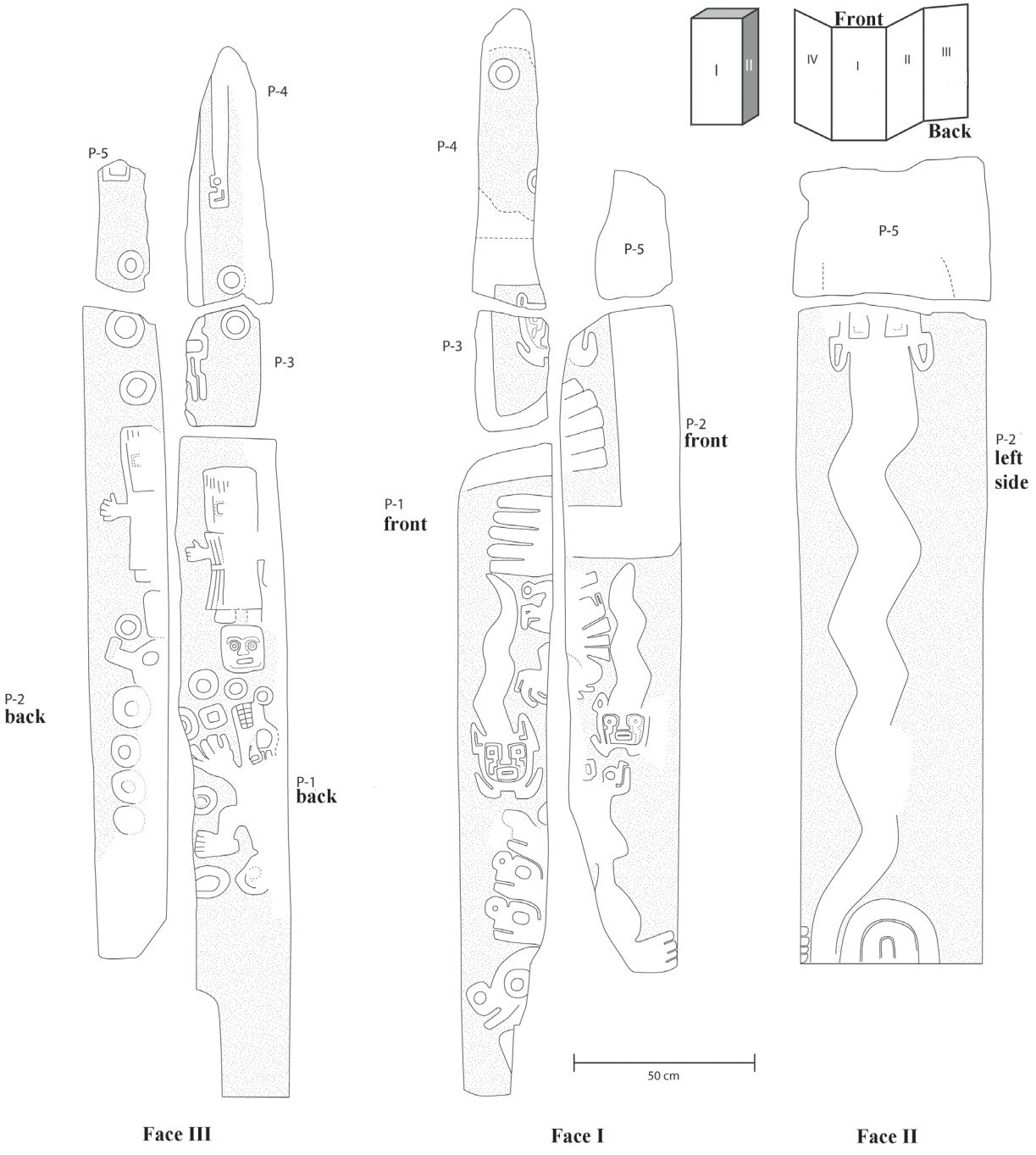


Figure 4.10. Khonkho Wankane's Portugal monolith. Drawing by Arik Ohnstad.

Court Complex, and the Tata Kala with the Main Plaza (Ohnstad 2013).

Comparative Analysis of Khonkho's Stelae

Two of Khonkho's monoliths, the Portugal (earliest) and Tata Kala (latest), demonstrate clear stylistic similarities with other monoliths in the southern basin. On most of the sculptures that Browman (1997) identified as Mocachi, the anthropomorphic figures are full-scale representations that equally occupy the front and back of the stone. Most Mocachi-style anthropomorphs are depicted without legs, and insofar as they were implanted in the ground, they depicted telluric beings that stood on or emerged directly from the earth.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

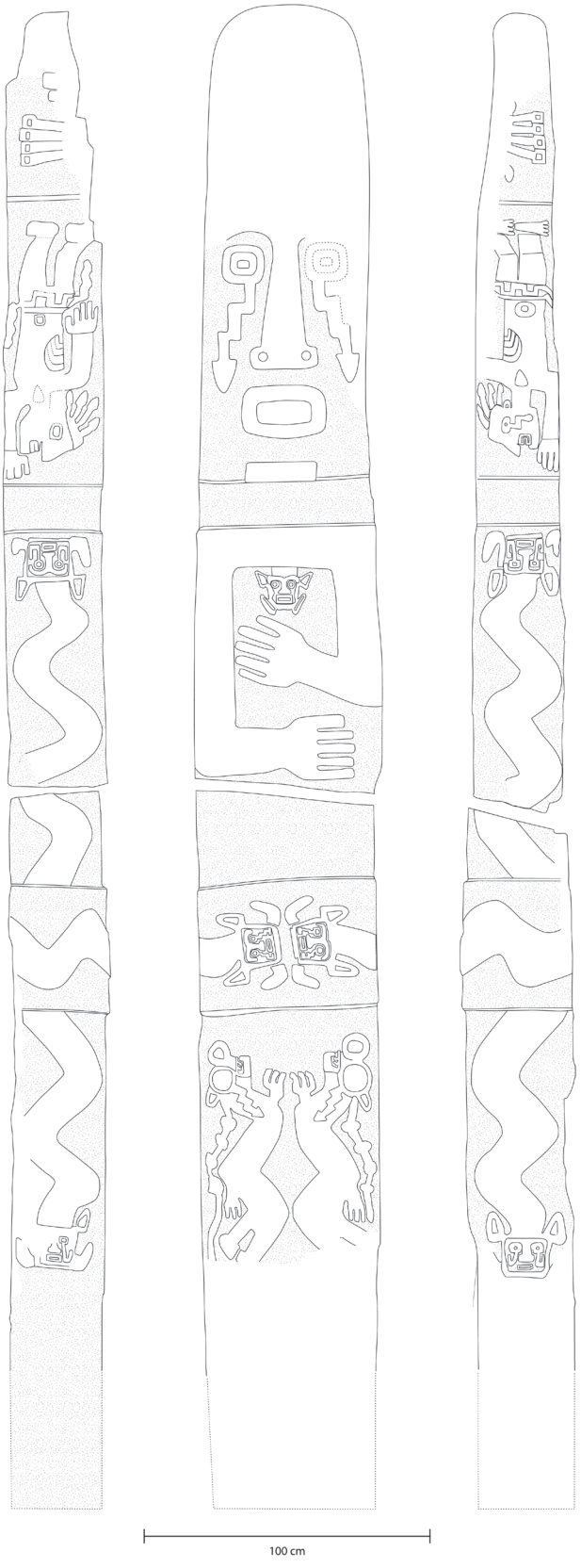


Figure 4.11. The Wila Kala monolith. Drawing by Arik Ohnstad.

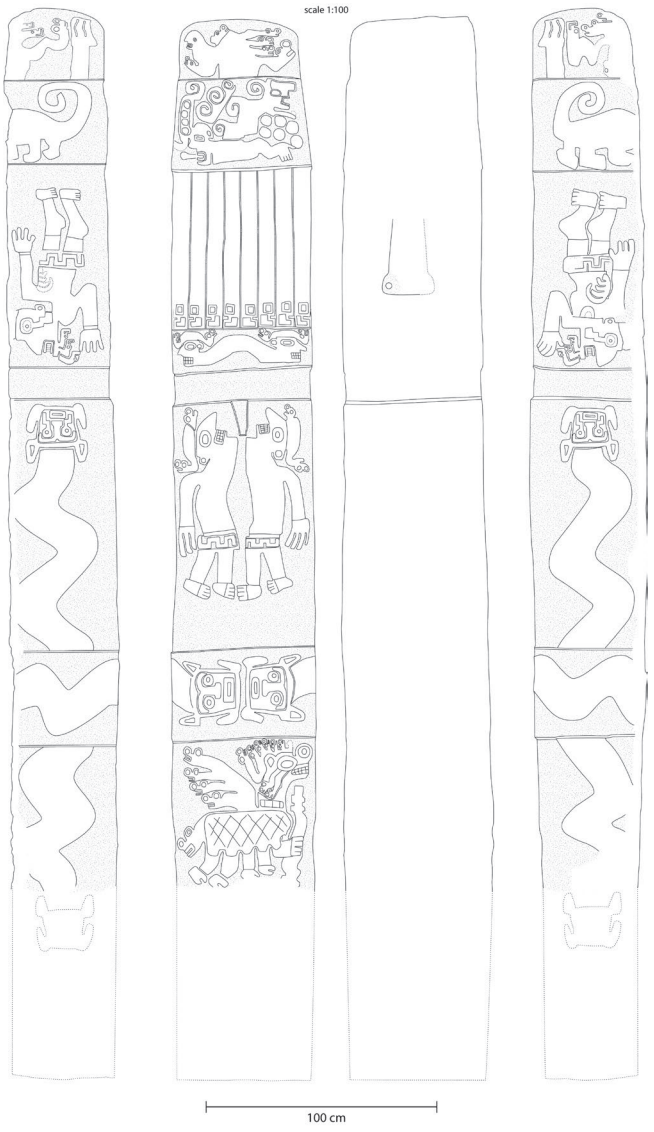


Figure 4.12. Khonkho Wankane's Jinch'un Kala monolith. Drawing by Arik Ohnstad.

The Taraco monolith is unique in that it depicts paired opposing anthropomorphs with legs and feet (Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1975). Yet the vegetal imagery at the base of thee Taraco stela, which Kolata (1993) interprets as stylized tuber roots, links these beings to earthly productive fertility.

As noted above, the anthropomorph on the back of the Portugal monolith is smaller, and of a different sort, than the primary figure depicted on its front (Figure 4.10). While the primary "front" being is depicted without legs or significant clothing, the smaller being is depicted with legs, wearing a skirt or belted tunic and with either a hat or tressed hair. Whereas the arms of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

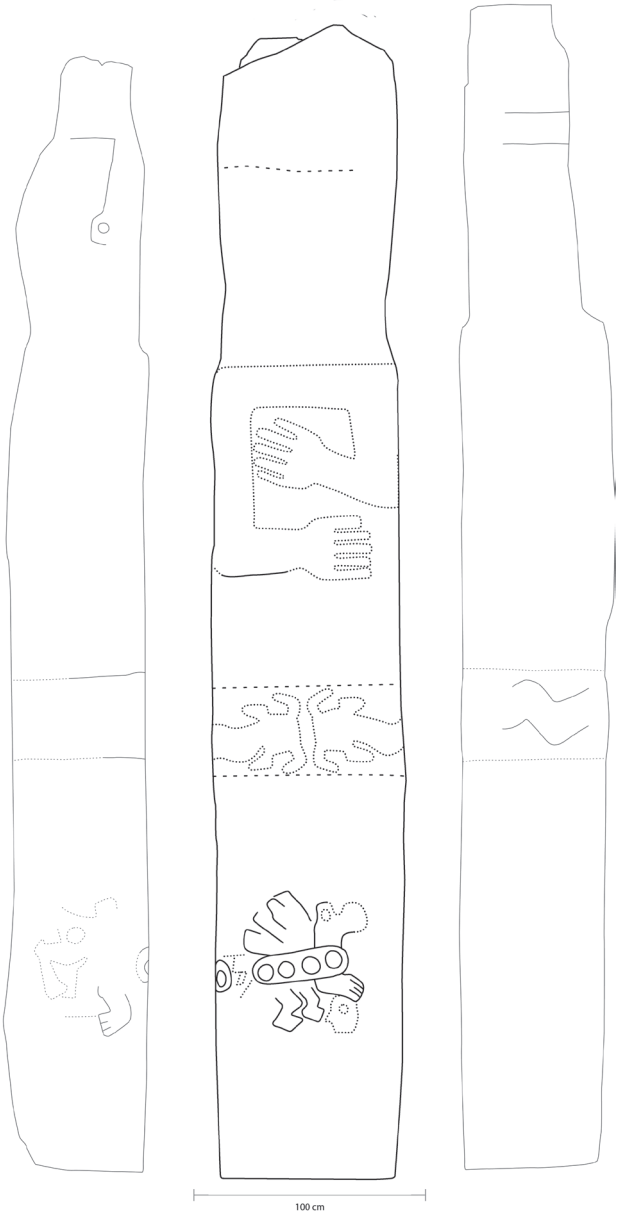


Figure 4.13. The Tata Kala monolith. Drawing by Arik Ohnstad.

the primary being cross over the torso, the arms of the secondary beings reach outward.

We have identified this compositional characteristic of pairing a primary, larger being with a secondary, smaller being on a few other monoliths in the southern basin. On at least three other sculptures, we observe a similar pattern (Figure 4.14). These include the Bearded monolith, located in the Late Formative Sunken Temple of Tiwanaku (Bennett 1934:441; Ponce Sanginés 1964) (Figure 4.14b, 4.17a); the Mocachi monolith, "type" monolith of this substyle, from a site of the same name on the western Copacabana Peninsula (Casanova 1942) (Figure 4.14c); and the Waka Kala monolith, the remnant torso of a fragmented monolith from a Late Formative ritual-political center on the north side of the Taraco Peninsula (Bandy 2001:180; Portugal Ortiz 1998:102) (Figure 4.14d).

The sculptures share iconographic elements and conventions and can thus be defined as a clear subset of the Mocachi style. On all, the secondary being has legs, and on two of them (perhaps three), the figure wears a pleated skirt or long tunic. All of them share another trait: occupying their right and left sides are upward-facing, whiskered catfish-faced beings with coiled or recurved serpentine tails. Furthermore, three of them depict felines, at least two of them depict a rayed head on the torso of the primary being, and they are all similar in that their imagery manifests a moderate degree of rectilinearity. Empanelment is incipient; it tends to be employed to depict loincloths or belts, just as it does on the Taraco monolith.

This comparative analysis suggests that these monoliths form a stylistic grouping or "mini-horizon" within the Mocachi sequence (Figure 4.14). Furthermore, the Portugal monolith can be dated no earlier than the early Late Formative and was likely associated with Khonkho's early Sunken Court. The Waka Kala statue on the Taraco Peninsula is located at a Late Formative center with a sunken court, and the Bearded monolith was found in Tiwanaku's Late Formative Sunken Temple (Ohnstad and Janusek 2007). The deep red, vesicular sandstone of the Waka Kala and Bearded monoliths appear to derive from the same stone source. Considering all of our collective data, we suggest that these Mocachi sculptures date to Late Formative 1 (AD 1–250).

Wila Kala and Jinch'un Kala form a pair that is unique in the scheme of Formative stone sculptures (Figure 4.15). They likely were spatially paired in Khonkho's Dual-Court complex. They are similar to at least one monolith at Tiwanaku, the Decapitated monolith located on the north side of the Kalasasaya (Figure 4.17b). The Decapitated monolith differs from Khonkho monoliths in that it is physically designed as a stela—relatively flat and rectangular in plan—more than the Khonkho monoliths. Yet, like Khonkho's monoliths, the stone embodies a single, primary personage with arms crossed over the chest and sides depicting serpentine, whiskered catfish-faced beings. The Wila and Jinch'un Kala date to Khonkho's ritual-political apogee, from mid–Late Formative 1 through Late Formative 2 (ca. AD 200–400). Tiwanaku's Decapitated monolith likely does as well.

The Tata Kala monolith bears formal similarities to a later group of sculptures from the southern basin

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

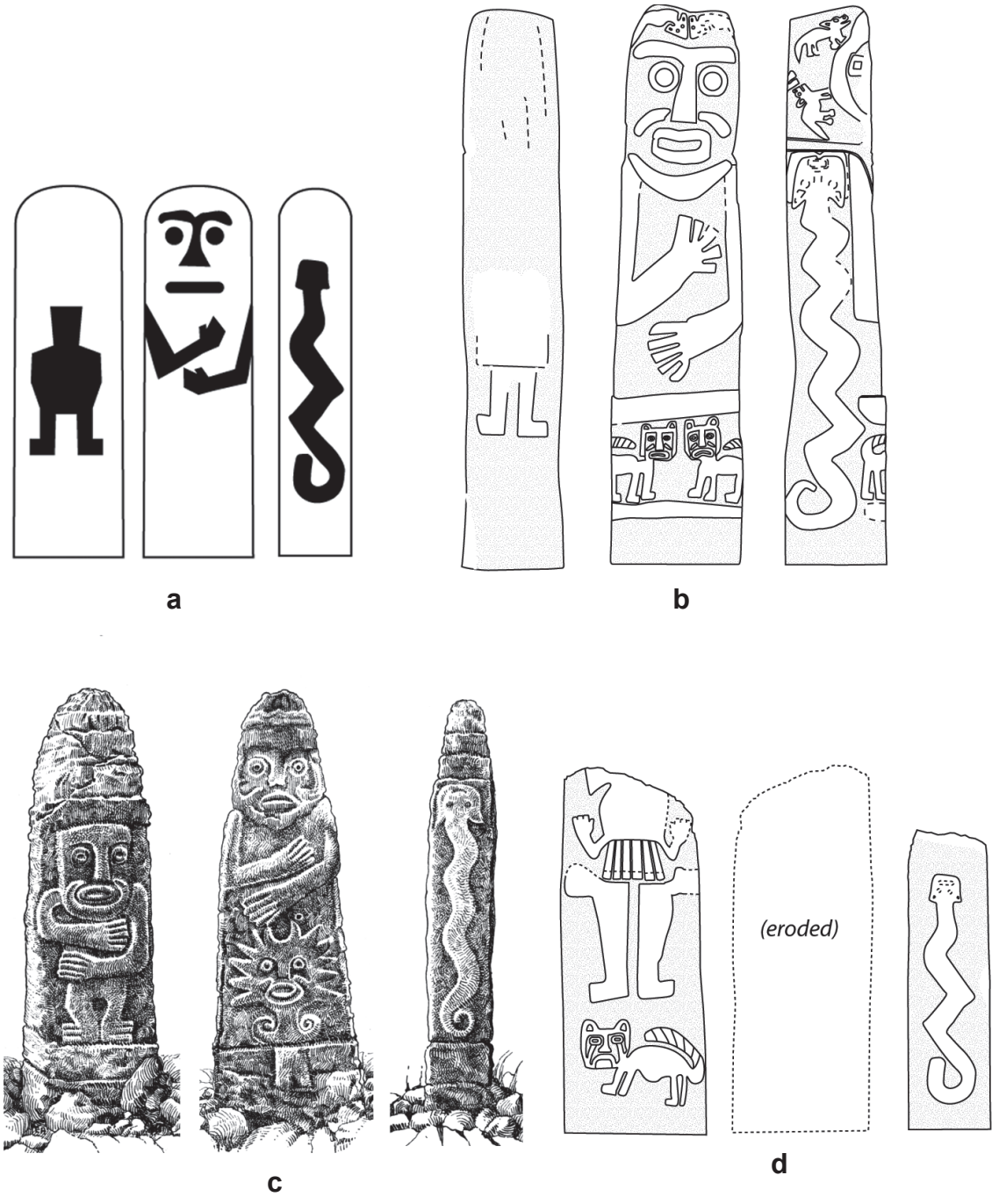


Figure 4.14. Comparison of Mocachi monoliths. Drawings by Arik Ohnstad.

(Figure 4.16). Each of these monoliths depicts a primary anthropomorphic being with a "head" that is narrower than the rest of lithic body. The Wakullani monolith is located on the northern part of the Taraco Peninsula and may have originally stood at Lukurmata (Ponce Sanginés 1988) (Figure 4.16b). It consists of the distinctive deep-red sandstone that also constituted the Waka Kala and Bearded stelae and clearly depicts a primary personage with both arms over the chest, left over right. Tiwanaku's fragmented "Ídolo Plano" depicts a primary personage with zigzag teardrops and a headdress depicting whiskered catfish faces, two elements reminiscent of Khonkho's monoliths (Figures 4.16c and 4.17c). We suggest that this transitional group of sculptures dates to Late Formative 2 and more specifically later in this phase (ca. AD 350–500 or somewhat later).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

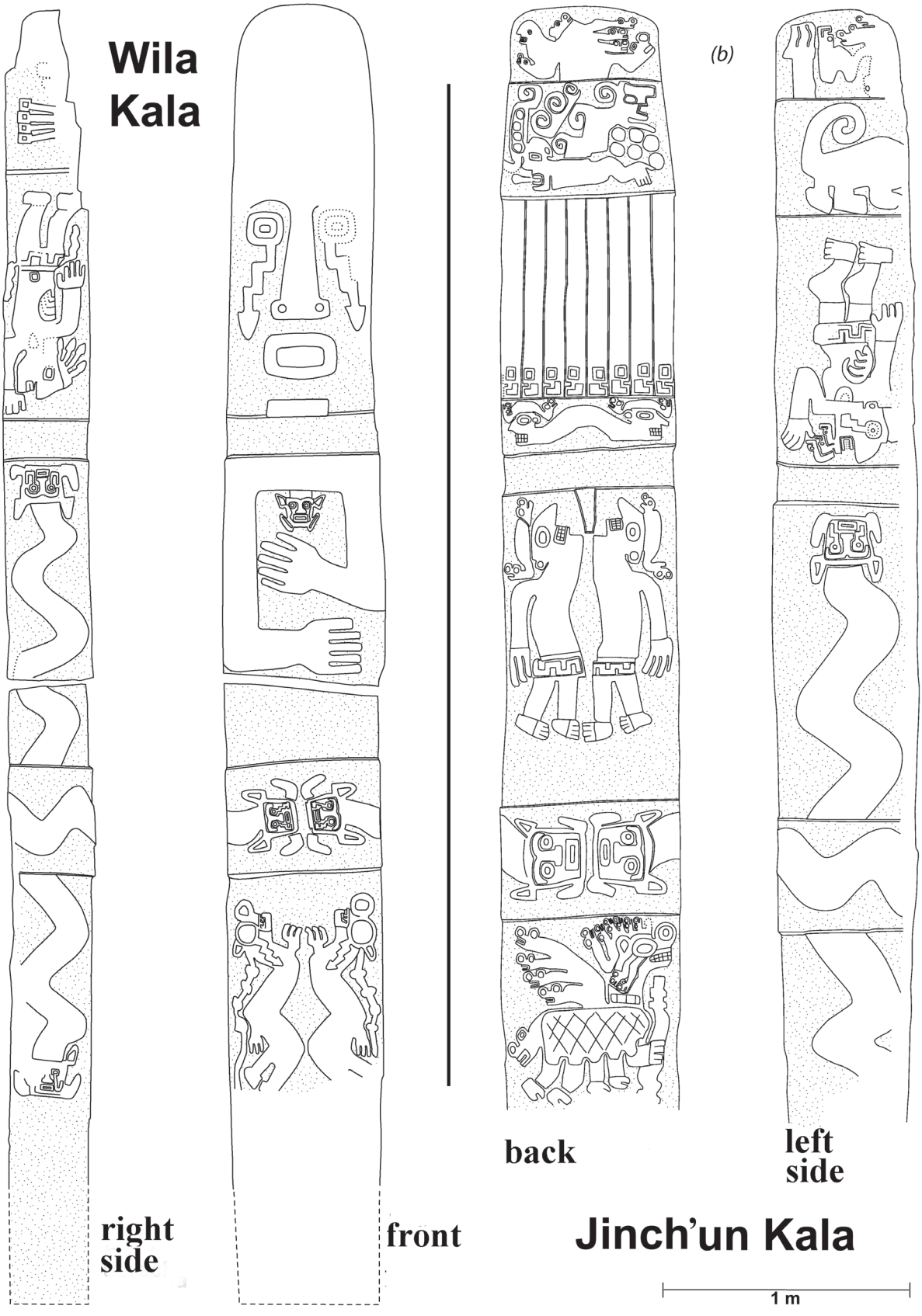


Figure 4.15. Wila Kala and Jinch'un Kala, combined. Drawing by Arik Ohnstad and John Janusek.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

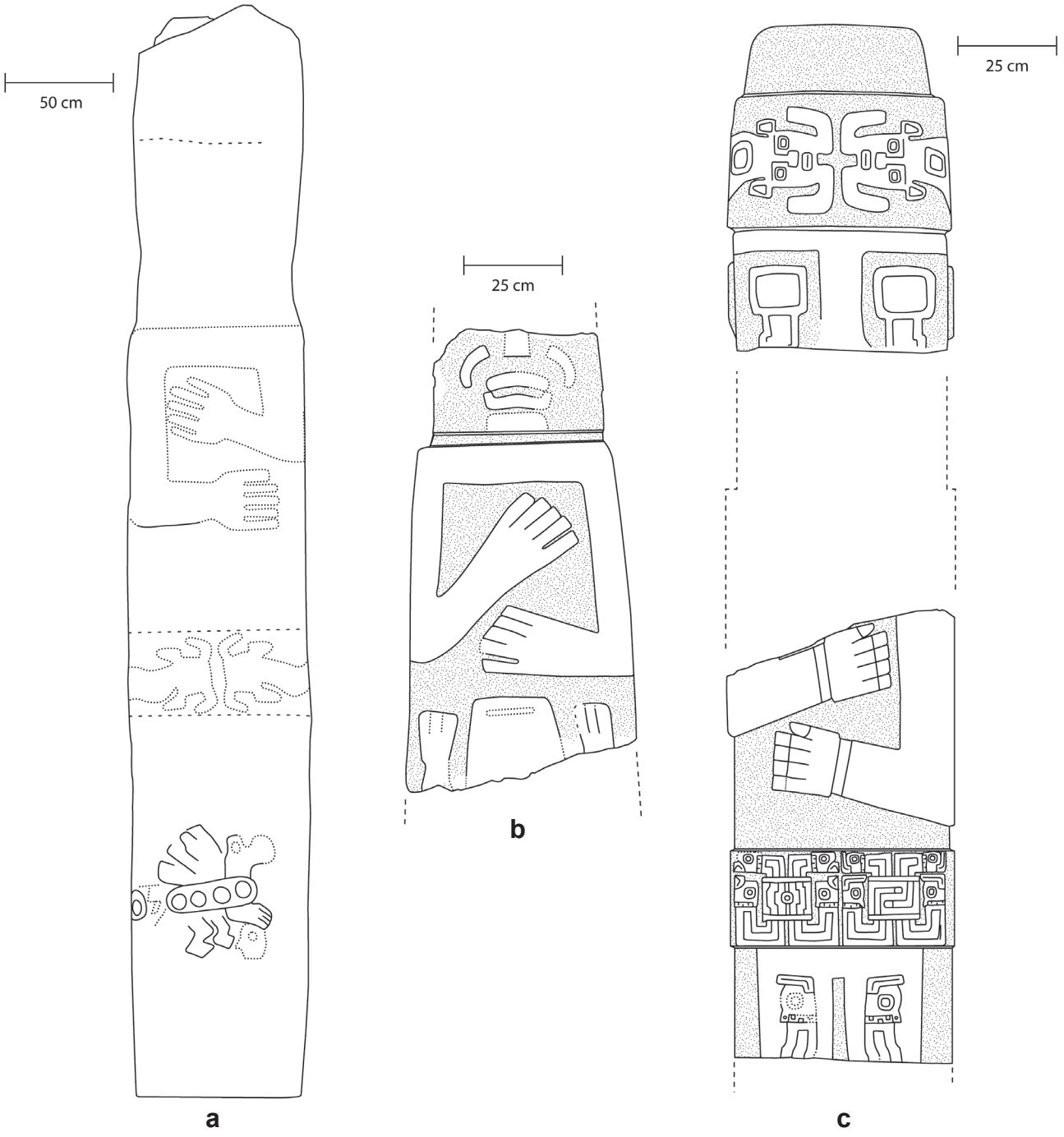


Figure 4.16. Renderings of the "Transitional-style" (a) Tata Kala, (b) Wakullani, and (c) Ídolo Plano monoliths. Drawing by Arik Ohnstad.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Late Formative and Middle Horizon Monoliths at Tiwanaku

Our stylistic analysis of Khonkho's monoliths allows us to articulate a more detailed understanding of the stylistic chronology of monoliths from Tiwanaku itself. Like most of Khonkho's monoliths, most of those at Tiwanaku were recovered ex situ. There are a few notable and important exceptions: in 1932, Wendell Bennett (1934:428–444) found the immense sandstone monolith, which has been given his name, lying supine in the center of the Sunken Temple (Figure 4.18a). He found three other sandstone monoliths, including the Mocachi-style Bearded monolith (Figure 4.17a), lying next to it. In 1957, Ponce Sanginés (and his wife, Fortuna) found the andesite Ponce monolith buried under the sunken court within the Kalasasaya upper platform (Figure 4.18b; Ponce Sanginés 1961:16). Bolivian archaeologists located the sandstone Fraile monolith on the west platform of the Kalasasaya (Figure 4.18c) and the Decapitated monolith on the north side of the Kalasasaya (Marcelino Flores, personal communication, August 2011) (Figure 4.17b), yet it is unclear whether or not these were their original prehispanic locations.

As at Khonkho, archaeology at Tiwanaku reveals no significant occupation prior to the Late Formative (Janusek 2004; Lémuz and Bandy 2004; Marsh 2012). Indeed, the earliest known occupations appear roughly contemporaneous with Khonkho's original platform construction, which appears to have occurred sometime just before or after AD 1. The absence of Early to Middle Formative occupations corresponds with a lack of slab panels and nonempaneled Mocachi-style stone sculpture at Tiwanaku.

Figure 4.17. Photos of Tiwanaku's Pajano monoliths, including the (a) Bearded monolith, (b) Ídolo Plano, and (c) Headless monolith. Photos by Arthur Posnansky, John Janusek, and Carlos Ponce Sanginés, respectively.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

It appears increasingly likely that the two centers were created, or shortly thereafter came to be considered, as interlinked, reciprocal, or perhaps even dual centers of an emergent regional community. Their early Sunken Courts are similar in size and orientation and may have facilitated visual paths to similar celestial movements and analogous mountain peaks (Benitez 2007; Janusek 2011). Furthermore, they occupy either side of the same Kimsachata mountain range and are located on a direct north-south axis in relation to one another. This range provided not only the water vital to agropastoral production at both sites, by way of surface springs and subterranean aquifers, but also the sandstone that was quarried to furnish monumental architecture and sculptures at each site. Insofar as this material constituted the temples and embodied the lithic ancestral beings that inhabited these centers, Kimsachata was a powerful, shared landscape.

Late Formative Monoliths at Tiwanaku

Remnant Mocachi-style monoliths in Tiwanaku include the Bearded monolith, the Headless monolith, and the Ídolo Plano (Figure 4.17).[4] All consist of sandstone. As noted above, however, the Bearded monolith—found lying right next to the Bennett monolith in Tiwanaku's early Sunken Temple—is carved out of a distinctive, dense, bright orange-red sandstone that is not characteristic of local Kimsachata sandstone outcrops.

The Bearded monolith's sandstone (Figure 4.17a) is far more typical of sandstone outcrops over 25 km further west, at the point where the Desaguadero River exits Lake Titicaca. This is the same type of sandstone that constitutes the Waka Kala and Wakullani sculptures, both of them from the northern Taraco Peninsula, which had relatively easy lake-based access to this source that Tiwanaku's inhabitants did not have. Either Tiwanaku stonemasons took great pains to haul this unique raw stone overland, or, at some point in the sculpture's history, and potentially during the Middle Horizon, they co-opted the already carved monolith from an important Late Formative Taraco center such as Lukurmata.

Following our stylistic chronology, the Bearded monolith is an early example of a Mocachi-style stela. It presents dual anthropomorphs asymmetrical in size and form on its front and back, and while it depicts common Pa-Ajanu iconographic themes—felines, serpent-tailed neonate catfish, and other unidentified quadrupeds, possibly camelids—it does so with relatively minimal rectilinearity or empanelment.

The Decapitated monolith and the Ídolo Plano were carved later during the Late Formative, according to our stylistic chronology (Figure 4.17b,c). Their iconographic repertoires are more rectilinear in form and more robustly empaneled. The sandstone of these monoliths derives from outcrops in the Kimsachata range closer to Tiwanaku. Tiwanaku's Headless monolith is remarkably similar to Khonkho's Wila Kala. They are comparable in size and in the arm gestures of their principal beings. On each, the central being wears a central whiskered zoomorphic face on its chest and a belt presenting whiskered catfish heads. Like other Mocachi-style stelae, their sides depict zoomorphic figures with serpentine bodies and whiskered catfish heads. Yet, Tiwanaku's Headless monolith was carved as a flattened stela with shallow depth unlike Khonkho's Wila Kala, which was fashioned as a square-planned monolith.

Like the Decapitated monolith, Tiwanaku's Ídolo Plano (Figure 4.17c) was carved as a flattened stela with relatively minimal depth. It presents many elements worthy of comparison with other Mocachi-style monoliths. First of all, it depicts a single, primary personage depicted with both arms lying over the chest, one over the other (in this case, left over right). Descending from the eyes of the monolithic personage are stepped tear bands, very similar to those seen on Khonkho Wankane's stelae. Also similar to Khonkho sculptures are the stylized serpentine-bodied catfish beings that decorate the Ídolo Plano's headdress. Nevertheless, their depiction as headdress elements is novel.

Yet many stylistic elements of the Ídolo Plano indicate that it is a Transitional-style monolith that combines element of Mocachi and emerging Tiwanaku conventions. First of all, the head of the monolith is formally distinguished from the body of the monolith, like Khonkho's Tatakala and later Tiwanaku-style monoliths, and is tapered and narrower than the rest of the body. Furthermore, the Ídolo Plano was much more finely incised than were similar sculptures from Khonkho and Tiwanaku. Fine incision manifested an innovative movement in monolithic carving technology. Finally, finely incised iconography on the Ídolo Plano, in particular on the sash, legs, and sides of the figure, depicts post-Formative designs characteristic of later Tiwanaku-style stone sculpture. These include squared "concentric eye" and "volute" motifs that respectively sprout Tiwanaku-style appendages with bird and fish heads. For these reasons, we consider the Ídolo Plano the most clearly transitional of all known monoliths and perhaps the end point of the Mocachi sculptural tradition.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Tiwanaku Monoliths and Monolithic Imagery

Tiwanaku-style monoliths were quarried and carved during the Middle Horizon, although as we have seen, fundamental elements of this style emerged during Late Formative 2 (Figures 4.18, 4.19, and 4.20). These culminated a long history of stone sculpture in the Lake Titicaca Basin. They are made of both sandstone and andesite, and a few are carved of dark, durable basalt. Many such sculptures exist, and each is in some respect unique, yet to date, and in contrast to Late Formative stelae, they are only known from the site of Tiwanaku itself. It is possible that their production was restricted to this center by way of sumptuary law. Yet given the apparent power attributed the monoliths and that they were treated as animate ancestral personages who "inhabited" key ritual spaces, it is more likely that as Tiwanaku emerged as the primary center of a prestigious and seductive religious network, it was simply considered heretical to have similar powerful objects in other centers and places.

Sandstone monoliths continued to be quarried and carved even after Tiwanaku stonemasons mastered the challenging techniques of volcanic stone quarrying, sculpting, and carving. On one hand, the sandstone Bennett monolith, the largest Classic-style stone sculpture surviving at Tiwanaku (Figure 4.18a), was found in the Sunken Temple, Tiwanaku's earliest known ritual structure, lying next to the Mocachi-style Bearded monolith. If the Bennett originally inhabited this space, this might suggest that it was one of the earliest Tiwanaku-style sculptures. Nevertheless, there are several other sandstone monoliths associated with later spaces, including the Fraile ("Monk") monolith found on the Kalasasaya West platform (Figure 4.18c), and the Pumapunku monolith, from the Middle Horizon monumental complex of the same name. Furthermore, Middle Horizon architectural constructions employed both sandstone and volcanic stone blocks in their foundations; more durable volcanic stone, in fact, tended to be employed strategically, as facades or in more publicly

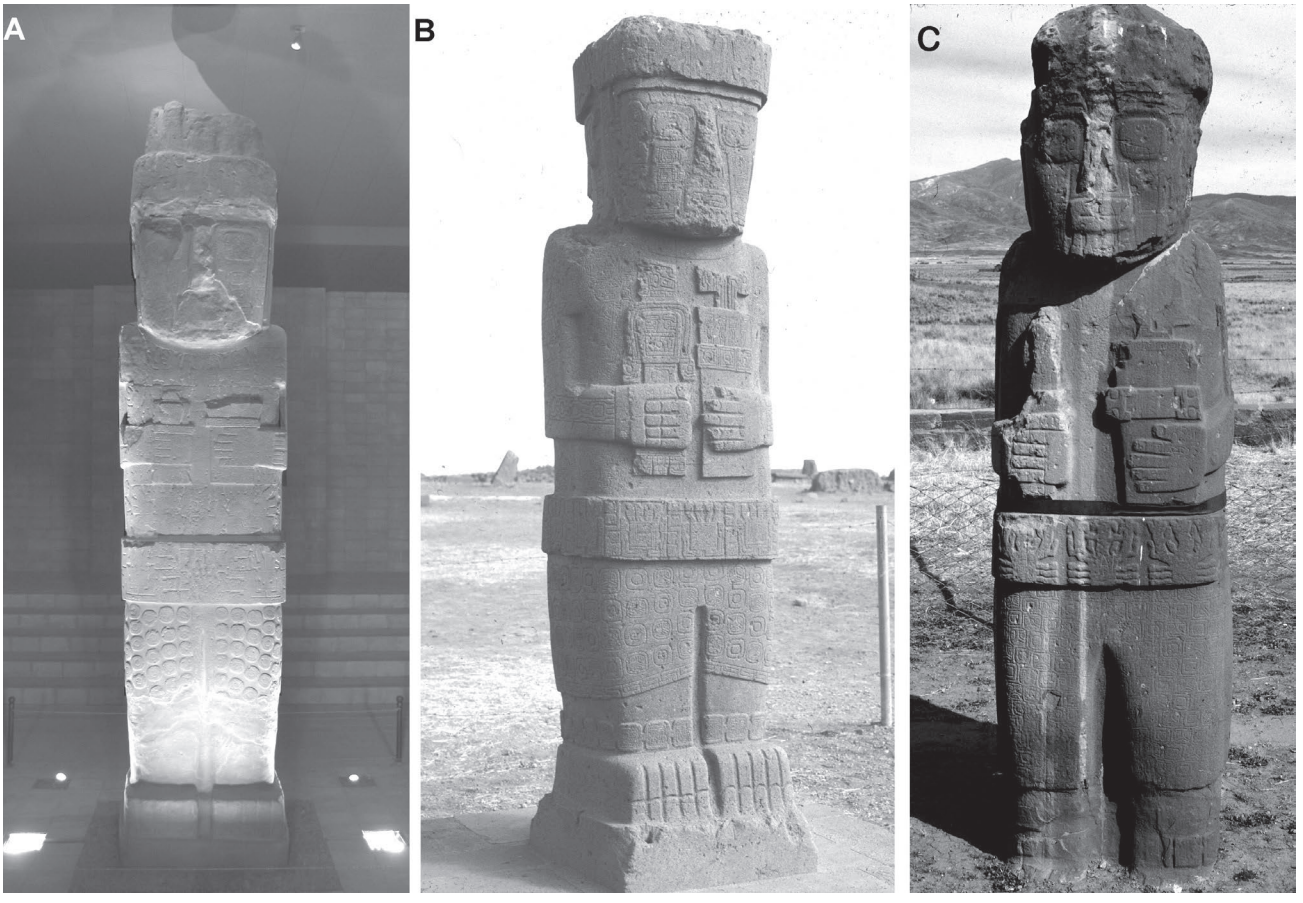


Figure 4.18. Photos of the (a) Bennett, (b) Ponce, and (c) Fraile monoliths. Photo 4.18a by Clare Sammels and photos 14.18b,c by John Janusek.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

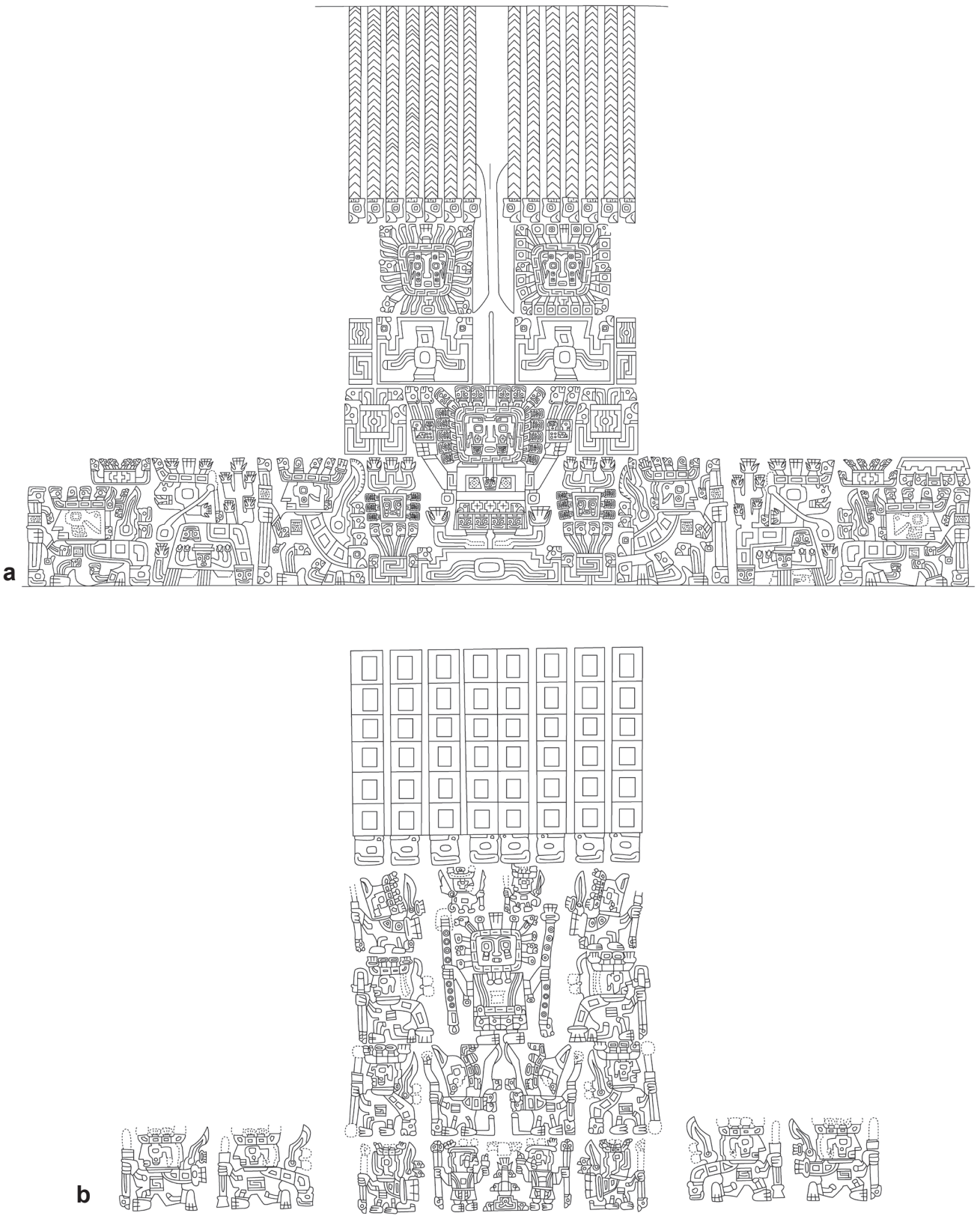


Figure 4.19. Details of back and side incision carving on the sandstone (a) Bennett and (b) andesite Ponce monoliths. Drawing by Jennifer Ohnstad.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

visible areas of a structure (e.g., the west "front" side of the Akapana facing its attached plaza). Since sandstone continued to be quarried and employed during the Middle Horizon, and since several sandstone monoliths present classic Tiwanaku-style iconography and formal sculptural conventions, it appears certain that sandstone monoliths continued to be carved during Tiwanaku's apogee.

Tiwanaku-style monoliths manifest an emergent style of stone sculpture. Stone artisans took rectilinearity and robust empanelment to new intensities and in innovative directions. Building on Transitional-style monoliths such as Tata Kala and the Ídolo Plano, Tiwanaku monoliths emphasized the formal elements of anthropomorphic bodies. Unlike Late Formative monoliths that appear to emerge from the earth, most Tiwanaku monoliths have legs and many have feet that stand on a pedestal. Overall, there is a tendency to accentuate bodily elements such as the head, legs and feet, arms and hands, and even clothing elements, in manners not seen earlier. Such elements tend to be depicted as highly rectilinear forms, which themselves constitute "panels" presenting complex iconographic scenes.

Carving style also changed and became more complex on most Tiwanaku-style monoliths. As foreshadowed on the Ídolo Plano, fine incision and highly detailed carving became far more common. In tandem with an emphasis on bodily elements, there was an intensified interest in carving minute features of the body, clothing, and other objects associated with the personages (Figure 4.19). It is likely that this new carving technology developed in relation to the finer properties and new carving possibilities of volcanic stone such as andesite. Thus, on the andesite Ponce monolith and even on the sandstone Bennett and Fraile monoliths (Figure 4.18c), fine details of the bodies—clearly differentiated legs, as well as fingers and toes—and, particularly, iconographic details of their clothing are rendered in great detail. In contrast to Late Formative personages and their minimal clothing, we now see headbands, sashes, and tunics decorated with elaborate iconographic scenes.

While the faces of Tiwanaku monoliths continued to remain impassive, marking them as powerful supra-human personages (e.g., unlike the persons depicted on ceramic Wako Retrato vessels; Janusek 2003, 2008), their standing gestures transformed significantly. Rather than arms placed across the chest, one above the other, many Tiwanaku stone personages now made a more symmetrical presentation (Figure 4.20). In nearly all cases, in one hand the personage holds a ceremonial drinking chalice, or *kero*, and in the other a tablet for

Figure 4.20. Detail of the central prestation gesture of the Ponce personage. Photo by John Janusek.

ingesting psychotropic substances that were harvested from nearby valleys (Janusek 2008; Kolata 1993; Torres and Repke 2006). These were vehicles for mind-altering substances that enhanced ritual experience at Tiwanaku. Furthermore, they condensed complementary ritual attitudes—one relatively intimate (tablets) and the other relatively communal (*keros*)—that were simultaneously built into Tiwanaku's monumental spatiality, which conjoined intimate sunken courts with massive new plazas (Janusek 2008) and conjoined older, locally quarried sandstone to new andesite blocks quarried in mountains across the lake (Janusek 2006). Possibly, this new gesture paired Tiwanaku's memorialized past with its new, expansive mission.

Collectively, Tiwanaku monoliths broke from earlier stone-carving traditions in that they did not overtly depict or embody ancestral personages. Their impassive faces and rigid form still indexed deified supra-human status, but the transformation from bodies covered with zoomorphic, generative chthonic figures to bodies with clear bodily elements and elaborately decorated woven garments makes more overt reference to idealized, elite persons dressed as ancestral personage or, perhaps, ancestral persons decked out as elites. Either way, the ambiguity of these personages may have been intentional. Indeed, it is during the Middle Horizon that we have the first clear evidence for the emergence of an elite class in the south-central Andes (Couture 2003; Janusek 2004). It was now that the first clear avian and celestial imagery (in the form of predatory

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

birds and solar imagery) was depicted on carved stone personages. These likely served to link these ambiguous "ancestral elites" with the incessantly recurring cycles of celestial bodies, thereby attempting to solidify their reified status.

Conclusions

Stone sculpture enjoyed a long history of development in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin. We have outlined a methodology for articulating a chronology of stone stelae in this region. This methodology is grounded in David Browman's (1972, 1995, 1997) seriation of Lake Titicaca Basin monoliths, in which he articulates a chronology based on the increasing rectilinearity and empanelment of carved stone stelae. We add further elements to this chronological stylistic analysis, including changes in the materiality of monolithic sculptures, changes in the gestures of their primary personages, and changes in the emphasis on bodily form and clothing details. We believe that this seriation is a powerful method for temporally ordering the various monolithic stone sculptures that are found throughout the Lake Titicaca Basin.

There is a great deal of diversity, even across very short distances, in stone sculpture and iconography in the Lake Titicaca Basin (Chávez 1988; Janusek 2008). Much of this diversity is overtly spatial rather than strictly temporal and manifests a regional diversification of local ritual practices rather than pointing to a unilinear sequence of a pan-regional stone sculptural tradition. We suspect that further research will demonstrate that the strongest gradient of diversity in Formative stone sculptural style was geographical and sociospatial rather than chronological.

Until very recently, the entire corpus of Formative stone sculpture in the Lake Titicaca basin was limited to a couple of inclusive terms—most commonly, "Pa-Ajanu" ("Pajano") or "Yaya-Mama." Backed with a corpus of new research and evidence, we can now move beyond these broad frameworks and come to grips with the specific social and historical implications of shifts in styles of stone sculpture in the basin. We suggest that Yaya-Mama be retained in reference to an early, multicentered *ritual tradition* that characterized the Early to Middle Formative south-central Andes. We suggest retaining Pa-Ajanu (or Pajano) in reference to an encompassing body of Formative *stone sculpture* in the Lake Titicaca Basin. As our knowledge of the Formative Lake Titicaca Basin grows, it becomes increasingly vital to distinguish terms and frameworks referring to a broad chronological phase and ritual traditions from those referring to the rich, ever-changing, and highly diversified material styles that drove prehispanic history in the region.

Notes

1 We list them here in stylistic order according to our own seriation. Stig Rydén (1947) originally labeled the three monoliths known during the time of his research in the late 1930s as Monoliths 1 to 3, such that Wila Kala is Monolith 1, Jinchun Kala is Monolith 2, and Tata Kala is Monolith 3. Maks Portugal later located the stela that we now term, hopefully fittingly, the Portugal, or Monolith 4. According to our stylistic seriation and following Browman's principles of rectilinearity and empanelment, the Portugal is Khonkho's earliest stela.

2 The remnant five fragments of the Portugal monolith may in reality comprise two paired monoliths. Pieces 1 and 2 (P1 and P2 in Figure 4.10) share very similar imagery, though when united the images are staggered in an unnatural way. This kind of mismatch would be unique in pre-Columbian art. Especially in that the Wila Kala and Jinch'un Kala monoliths constitute paired monoliths, the mismatch suggests that the same may hold for the earlier Portugal.

3 Excavations under Tata Kala revealed a group of stones that had fixed the base of the monolith under the surface of the Main Plaza at the center of Khonkho Wankane's central platform.

4 We know of several other Mocachi-style monoliths from Tiwanaku. These are three pilasters located near the precise middle of the east, west, and north walls of the Sunken Temple (Ponce 1969:65, 78). Monoliths with Mocachi-style elements are currently housed in the Lithic Museum of Tiwanaku, although details of their recovery, and thus whether or not they are not later "knock-offs" or archaisms, remain unclear. Finally, the Chunchu Kala monolith, located in the structure of the same name at the northwest corner of Kalasasaya, depicts a being with arms crossed over the chest in typical Mocachi fashion. Nevertheless, other stylistic elements of the Chunchu Kala may suggest that it was crafted during the Middle Horizon to mimic Mocachi style.

References

Albarracín-Jordan, Juan V.
1996 *Tiwanaku: Arqueología Regional y Dinámica Segmentaria*. Plural Editores, La Paz.

Albarracín-Jordan, Juan V., and James E. Mathews
1990 *Asentamientos Prehispánicos del Valle de Tiwanaku*. Vol. 1. CIMA, La Paz.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Anton, Ferdinand
1972 *The Art of Ancient Peru*. Putnam, New York.

Bandy, Matthew Sebastian
2001 Population and History in the Ancient Titicaca Basin. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Benitez, Leonardo
2007 Montañas, Plazas Semi-subterráneas y la Constelaciones de la Llama Obscura: Arqueoastronomía en el Khonkho Wankane y en Tiwanaku. In *Khonkho e Iruhito: Tercer informe preliminar del Proyecto Arqueologico Jach'a Machaca*, edited by John W. Janusek and Victor Plaza Martinez, pp. 192–201. Research report submitted to the Bolivian Viceministerio de Cultura, La Paz.

Bennett, Wendell C.
1934 Excavations at Tiahuanaco. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* XXXIV(Part III):359–494.

Berenguer, Jorge A.
2001 Evidence for Snuffing and Shamanism in Prehispanic Tiwanaku Stone Sculpture. *Eleusis* 5:61–83.

Browman, David L.
1972 Asiruni, Pucara-Pokotía, and Pajano: Pre-Tiahuanaco South Andean Monolithic Stone Styles. Paper presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Miami, Florida.
1995 Pa-Ajanu: Formative Titicaca Religious Stela Tradition. Paper presented at the 60th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Minneapolis, Minnesota.
1997 Pajano: Nexus of Formative Cultures in the Titicaca Basin. Paper presented at the 49th International Congress of Americanists. July 7–11. Quito, Ecuador.

Burger, Richard, Karen Mohr-Chávez, and Sergio Chávez
2000 Through the Glass Darkly: Prehispanic Obsidian Procurement and Exchange in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia. *Journal of World Prehistory* 14(3):267–362.

Casanova, Eduardo
1942 Los yacimientos arqueológicos en la peninsula de Copacabana (Bolivia). *Anales del Museo Argentino de Ciencias Naturales Bernardino Rivadavia* 40:333–399.

Chávez, Sergio Jorge
1988 Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Province of Chumbivilicas, South Highland Peru. *Expedition* 30(3):27–38.

Chávez, Sergio Jorge, and Karen L. Mohr Chávez
1970 Newly Discovered Monoliths from the Highlands of Puno, Peru. *Expedition* 12(4):25–39.
1975 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno, Peru and the Definition of an Early Style of Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:45–83.
1997 Copia de los informes entregados a la Direccion del INAR. Official research report submitted to the Instituto Nacional de Arqueologia (INAR), La Paz.

Cohen, Amanda, and Andrew Roddick
2007 Excavations in the AC (Achachi Coa Kkollu) Sector. In *Kala Uyuni: An Early Political Center in the Southern Lake Titicaca Basin*, edited by Matthew S. Bandy and Christine A. Hastorf, pp. 41–66. University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Berkeley.

Couture, Nicole C.
2003 Ritual, Monumentalism, and Residence at Mollo Kontu, Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, Vol. 2, edited by A. L. Kolata, pp. 202–225. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Haberli, Joerg
2001 Tiempo y tradición en Arequipa, Perú, y el surgimiento de la cronología del tema de la Deidad Central. In *Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias, Segunda Parte*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 89–138. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Hastorf, Christine A.
1999 (editor) *Early Settlement at Chiripa, Bolivia: Research of the Taraco Archaeological Project*. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 57. University of California, Berkeley.
2003 Community with the Ancestors: Ceremonies and Social Memory in the Middle Formative at Chiripa, Bolivia. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 31:305–332.

Janusek, John Wayne
2003 Vessels, Time, and Society: Toward a Chronology of Ceramic Style in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, Vol. 2, edited by A. L. Kolata, pp. 30–92. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
2004 *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*. Routledge, London.
2006 The Changing "Nature" of Tiwanaku Religion and the Rise of an Andean State. *World Archaeology* 38(3):469–492.
2008 *Ancient Tiwanaku*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
2009 Residence and Ritual in Tiwanaku: Hierarchy, Specialization, Ethnicity, and Ceremony. In *Domestic Life in Ancient Capitals: Hierarchy, Specialization, and Ethnicity*, edited by Linda Manzanilla and Claude Chapdelaine, pp. 149–169. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2010 El surgimiento del urbanismo en Tiwanaku y del poder político en el altiplano andino. In *Señores de los Imperios del Sol*, edited by Krystof Makowski, pp. 39–56. Banco del Crédito de Peru, Lim

2011 Contextualizando el sitio de Khonkho Wankane: Objetivos, antecedentes, y resultados preliminares del Proyecto Jach'a Machaca, 2001–2006. *Nuevos Aportes* 5:3–30.

Janusek, John Wayne, and Alan L. Kolata

2003 Prehispanic Rural History in the Katari Valley. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, Vol. 2, edited by A. L. Kolata, pp. 129–172. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.

Janusek, John Wayne, and Arik T. Ohnstad

2006 Nuevas Fechas Radiocarbonicas y la Cronologia Emergente de Khonkho Wankane. In *Khonkho Wankane: Segundo Informe Preliminar del Proyecto Arqueologico Jach'a Machaca*, edited by John W. Janusek and Victor Plaza Martinez, pp. 213–215. Official Research Report submitted to the Viceministerio de Cultura, Bolivia (www.khonkhwankane.org).

Kidder II, Alfred

1943 *Some Sites in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology XXVII. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

1956 Digging in the Titicaca Basin. *University Museum Bulletin (University of Pennsylvania, University Museum)* 20(3):16–29.

Kolata, Alan L.

1993 *Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilizatio*n. Blackwell, Cambridge.

Lémuz Aguirre, Carlos

2001 Patrones de Asentamiento Arqueológico en la Península de Santiago de Huata, Bolivia. Licenciatura thesis, Universidad Mayor de San Andres.

Lémuz, Carlos, and Matthew S. Bandy

2004 Normalizacion de datos de asentamiento en la Cuenca Sur del Lago Titicaca. Report submitted to the Direccion Nacional de Arqueologia de Bolivia (DINAR), La Paz.

Marsh, Eric J.

2012 The Emergence of Tiwanaku: Domestic Practices and Regional Traditions at Khonkho Wankane and Kk'araña. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Mathews, James E.

1992 Prehispanic Settlement and Agriculture in the Middle Tiwanaku Valley, Bolivia. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Mohr Chávez, Karen

1988 The Significance of Chiripa in Lake Titicaca Basin Developments. *Expedition* 4:17–26.

1997 The Temple Site of Ch'isi on the Copacabana Peninsula, Bolivia: A View of Local Differences and Regional Similarities within the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition. Paper presented at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Nashville, Tennessee.

Moseley, Michael

1993 *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru*. Thames and Hudson, New York.

Ohnstad, Arik

2005 La Escultura de Piedra de Khonkho Wankane. In *Khonkho Wankane: Primer Informe Preliminar del Proyecto Arqueológico Jach'a Machaca*, edited by J. W. Janusek, pp. 52–68. Research Report submitted to the Bolivian Viceministerio de Cultura and the Unidad Nacional de Arqueologia, La Paz.

2013 The Stone Stelae of Khonkho Wankane: Inventory, Brief Description, and Seriation. In *Advances in Titicaca Basin Archaeology 2*, edited by Alexei Vranich and Abigail R. Levine. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press,, University of California, Los Angeles.

Ohnstad, Arik, and John Wayne Janusek

2007 The Development of "Tiwanaku Style" out of the Ideological and Political-Economic Landscapes of the Formative Period Titicaca Basin. Paper presented at the Southern Andean Iconographic Series: A Colloquium in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology. Santiago, Chile.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos

1961 *Informe de Labores*. Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Tiwanaku, La Paz.

1964 *Descripción Sumaria del Templete Semisubterráneo de Tiwanaku*. 2nd ed., rev. Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, La Paz.

1969 *Descripción Sumaria del Templete Semisubterráneo de Tiwanaku*. 3rd ed., rev. Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, La Paz.

1981 *Tiwanaku: Espacio, Tiempo, Cultura: Ensayo de síntesis arqueológica*. Los Amigos del Libro, La Paz.

1988 *Lukurmata*. Vol. 1. Los Amigos del Libro, La Paz.

1990 *Descripción Sumaria del Templete Semisubterráneo de Tiwanaku*. 6th ed. Juventud, La Paz.

1995 Arqueología política y el estado precolombino de Tiwanaku. *Pumapunku* 4(8):15–87.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Portugal Ortiz, Max
1998 *Escultura Prehispanic Boliviana*. UMSA, La Paz.
Portugal Zamora, Maks
1941 Las ruinas de Jesus de Machaca. *Revista Geografica Americana* 16:291–300.
1955 El Misterio de las Tumbas de Wanqani. *Khana* 11–12:51–67.
Posnansky, Arthur
1945 *Tihuanacu: The Cradle of American Man.* Vols. I and II. J. J. Augustin, New York.
1957 *Tihuanacu: The Cradle of American Man.* Vols. III and IV. J. J. Augustin, New York.
Rydén, Stig
1947 *Archaeological Researches in the Highlands of Bolivia*. Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, Göteborg.
Stanish, Charles
2003 *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Social Complexity in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia*. University of California Press, Los Angeles.
Torres, Constantino Manuel, and David B. Repke
2006 *Anadenanthera: Visionary Plant of Ancient South America*. Haworth Herbal Press, New York.
Whitehead, William T.
1999 Radiocarbon Dating. In *Early Settlement at Chiripa, Bolivia: Research of the Taraco Archaeological Project*, edited by Christine A. Hastorf, pp. 17–21. University of California, Berkeley.
Young-Sánchez, Margaret
2004a Envoltorios de tipo nuevo y los tejidos de la transición Pucara-Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: aproximaciones a sus contextos históricos y sociales*, edited by Mario A. Rivera and Alan L. Kolata, pp. 221–234. Universidad Bolivariana, Santiago.
2004b The Art of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 24–69. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 5: Introduction

Travels of a Rayed Head
Textile Movement and the Concepts of Center and Periphery in the Southern Andes

William H. Isbell

Yaya-Mama art, including imagery from Pucara, initiated Early Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) iconography and participated in a great sphere of interaction throughout the southern Andes. Did the multiethnic Paracas style and culture participate in this sphere, adopting from and contributing to Early SAIS cosmological sophistication and social complexity? If so, how intense were the relationships? In the highlands of the Titicaca Basin, Early SAIS imagery appears on stone sculpture and occasionally on ceramics or other media, but on the south coast, cloth preserves marvelously, showing that decorated textiles may have been one of the most important media for ritually important representation (Chapters 10, 17, and 24, this volume) and the promotion of social distinction and power. The spectacular Gateway Tunic (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.26a), belonging to the Provincial Pucara style, has been noted in the previous chapter, probably from a coastal Arequipa valley.

In Chapter 5, Ann Peters focuses her extensive knowledge of south coast textile art to explore Rayed Head iconography in the imagery of Paracas, Topará, and Nasca. She engages more briefly with some other media of the same styles and undertakes comparative examination of woven imagery from farther south. These include the Siguas Valley/Arequipa area and northern Chile, especially from the Azapa Valley to the Rio Loa region. Consequently, her emphasis is regional in scale but emphasizing the traditional Nasca cultural territory (including the Paracas Peninsula and lower Pisco Valley). But her comparisons do consider weavings from the far south, as well as sculpture from the altiplano. Peters's methods emphasize the careful distinction of icon from style, and both from technique and materials—including media, textile procedures and structures, ingredients, contexts of discoveries, and how and by whom weavings were used. Theoretically she advocates understanding the icon as "a conventional image linked to a verbal reference, typically a name, metaphor, proverb, or myth." Furthermore, she postulates that the southern Andes were characterized by "long-distance relationships and broad similarities, embedded in local communities and landscapes . . . analogous to the different levels of reference in a mythic-historic discourse like that recorded in the tales of Huarochiri (Salomon and Urioste 1991; Taylor 1999)." More than universal theory, Peters advocates Andean explanations. Archaeologists will celebrate the detailed information and careful discussions provided, especially for the famous but ill-understood textiles excavated by Tello and associates from the Paracas Peninsula.

There can be no question that the Rayed Head—as well as the formally and temporally similar Oculate Being—appeared with little or no antecedent in an Animas Altas (Ica Valley) wall relief and in Paracas, Topará, and early Nasca textile imagery at the end of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

the Early Horizon (EH)—in Phase 9 of the EH and continuing through at least the first phases of the Early Intermediate Period (EIP). More or less contemporaneously, the Rayed Head and several associated elements became widely established in Yaya-Mama art—especially its late, Pukara variant—in the Titicaca Basin (Chávez and Chávez 1975). Long-distance relationships must have been involved, but of what nature? Significantly, although Peters discusses Paracas Rayed Head relations with Chavin-sphere art only briefly, it seems that Paracas and its spectacular textiles offer the most significant collection of imagery for studying relations between the SAIS and the northern Andean tradition of art and iconography collectively known as Chavin.

Peters argues that south-coastal Rayed Heads of the late EH and early EIP were emplaced in socially meaningful landscapes, ritualizing objects, especially the clothed human body, and/or representations of a mythic body such as funerary and ancestral bundles. Numerous south-coastal traditions employed the Rayed Head to fulfill these functions. However, specifics of its materialization, such as style, form, techniques, and ingredients, distinguish numerous local traditions as significantly independent and different. On the other hand, Peters's careful comparisons demonstrate that some cases of intensive information exchange and probably shared meanings did occur, as with the Paracas, Topará, and Nasca tradition(s). Others such as Sihuas I, Provincial Pukara, and Arica, along with its neighboring coastal valleys of northern Chile, share only the icon and its general functions.

Peters concludes suggesting that although confirmation is wanting, it seems excessive to argue that the Rayed Head represents a diffused complex characterized by uniformity in form and meaning throughout the southern Andes. Rather, she postulates numerous mobile populations of herders/traders in the highlands who traveled extensively throughout a macro-region of long-shared mythology, where similar metaphorical features, like the Rayed Head, probably stimulated by visual imagery on clothing, bags, or tools, could be adopted to become locally imbued with meanings, as they participated in long-related but not unified local ritual and expressions of identity. Indeed, this sounds like a southern Andean interaction sphere. Significantly, Peters observes nothing like the keros associated with a widely dispersed and apparently shared drinking ritual, as discussed by Tarragó (Chapter 14, this volume) for temporally later northwestern Argentina and northern Chile. Such a materialization of shared international identity (Isbell 2008) must certainly have involved some uniformity in meaning as well as form.

Because of permissions restrictions, the figures for this chapter are not available online.

References

Chávez, Sergio, and Karen Mohr Chávez
1975 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno: Peru and the Definition of an Early Style Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:45–84.

Isbell, William H.
2008 Wari and Tiwanaku: International Identities in the Central Andean Middle Horizon. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 731–760. Springer, New York.

Taylor, Gérald
1999 *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*. Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú: Universidad particular Ricardo Palma, Lima.

Salomon, Frank, and George L. Urioste (editors)
1991 *The Huarochiri Manuscript*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret
2004 Tapestry Tunic. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca (with Essays by Sergio J. Chávez, Nicole C. Couture, Paul S. Goldstein, Alan Kolata, and Mario A. Rivera)*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 46–49. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 5

Travels of a Rayed Head

Textile Movement and the Concepts of Center and Periphery in the Southern Andes

Ann H. Peters

Sergio Chávez and Karen Mohr Chávez argued in 1975 that imagery carved on Formative stage stone monuments in the Titicaca Basin, including sculptures from the Cusco area, and the iconography of Pukara and early Tiwanaku ceramics constituted an interrelated set. They characterize this art as the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition, based on a set of recurrent, similar images. The two scholars went on to note that the set, with certain variation, occurs in other sites that vary widely in geographic location and chronology, ranging from the Central Andean Initial Period through a vast dispersal during the Middle Horizon (Chávez and Chávez 1975).

Chávez and Chávez also pointed out comparisons with both ceramic-based and textile-based imagery from the Paracas Peninsula region, a rock formation that juts into the Pacific Ocean far to the northwest of Lake Titicaca. This corpus includes (1) objects of the Paracas tradition as defined at the Paracas site and in the adjacent Pisco and Ica Valleys, (2) Topará tradition materials recovered in sectors of Arena Blanca and the Necropolis of Wari Kayan at the Paracas site, and (3) the early Nasca style, including materials emergent from the interaction between late Paracas and Topará. These styles were roughly contemporary with Pukara and some of the other Formative Titicaca basin sites, approximately 250 BC to AD 200 (Figure 5.1).

The main points of comparison between the altiplano-based traditions and these contemporary traditions of the south-central Andean coast are head motifs with recurved ray appendages and the checkered cross. They cited similar motifs that range in time and space from the Central Andean Initial Period to a wide distribution in the Middle Horizon. Most specifically, Chávez and Chávez (1975) identified rayed head motifs, whiskered mouth masks with a similar rayed form, double-headed figures, and "eared" serpents that appear in both Paracas and early Nasca. This tantalizing comparison raises an essential question common in studies of formal similarity. To what degree are we seeing a specific relationship between two "culture areas," and to what degree are we seeing two expressions of iconic and stylistic elements present throughout the central Andes? It also raises related issues. How might these two regions have been linked? Specifically, what forms of long-distance travel and exchange might have fostered contact, mutual influence, and shared concepts, and what elements of material culture might have become models for specific icons and styles of representation?

Since the Chávezes' early work, a great deal of new evidence for early images incorporating rayed heads has been discovered. Based on looted textiles that appeared in the international art market in the mid-1990s and a salvage investigation with the INC-Arequipa at sites in the Sihuas Valley, Joerg Haeberli has defined a previously unknown textile style—Siguas 1—contemporary with Pukara and Paracas, prominently featuring rayed

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 5.1. South-central Andes locating places discussed in the text.

heads as well as double-headed creatures and insect-like representations. Other textiles reputedly from the same cemeteries, radically different in style, have been classified by Haeberli as "Provincial Pucara" and considered by some others as "Early Tiwanaku" (Haeberli 2001; Young-Sánchez 2004:19, 42–43, 47).

A second important corpus of rayed head images on textiles appeared in salvage excavations conducted by Focacci (1980), Muñoz (1980, 1987), and other researchers in the Azapa Valley of northern Chile during the 1970s. First analyzed by Ulloa (1974, 1982), they are part of a series of Azapa Valley textiles characterized by Rivera (1975, 1984) as Pukara—or Pukara influenced—and as an antecedent to Tiwanaku. At the same time, the north Chilean rayed head tunics have many technical and iconographic antecedents in textile traditions of the Occidental Valleys and Rio Loa regions (Agüero and Cases 2004; Horta 2004).

Inspired by this southern textile-based imagery, in 2001 I began to research the incidence, forms, and associations of rayed head imagery from a Paracas-centered perspective. Many researchers have posited some kind of contact between the south-central coast and the circum-Titicaca region. From a macro-perspective, abundant evidence appears for long-distance travel, exchange, and mutual influence as a normal condition of Andean life and a constant factor in Andean history. Resources from distant sources—whether obsidian from high Andean volcanic deposits, feathers from birds of glacial lakes and the Amazon rainforest, or shell from the equatorial Pacific—were basic to the toolkit and personal adornment of the people of Paracas and Topará tradition communities.

"Horizon styles" (Willey 1948) are not just about the long-distance dispersal of iconography and style elements. They also involve basic techniques and habits of production, which have been traced most intensively in ceramics. Incised and painted ceramics were produced throughout the central Andes by this time. At the southern ends of a sphere of fineware ceramic production, the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

altiplano types prioritized color-fast fired slips over the chromatic diversity achieved in resin-painted wares typical of the Paracas tradition. Bright resin-based paints are occasionally preserved in other contemporary central Andean incised ceramic traditions, ranging from the central highlands (Browman 1975; Matsumoto, Palomino Cavero, and Gutierrez Silva 2013) to Salinar on the north coast. White-slipped and monochrome wares appear next throughout the central Andean highlands and coast and also in the northern Titicaca Basin. Some of these widely dispersed vessels share other formal characteristics.

Human bodies also suggest constant contact between lowlands and altiplano. Elongated head modifications characteristic of the Titicaca region resemble those of some of the late Paracas- and almost all the Topará-associated peoples. Buried overlooking the sea or coastal rivers with lowland foods such as fish stew, corn, manioc, beans, sweet potato, and peanuts, Paracas and Topará tradition ancestors are wrapped in textiles constructed of cotton from valley margins and maguey-type fibers from desert hillsides, but also of exquisitely fine camelid hair characteristic of altiplano-based herds. The headwaters of the Pisco, Ica, and Nasca Valleys converge in an ample *puna* grassland environment that no doubt constituted the principal resource area for herding in the south-coast region. At the same time, linguistic research (Hardman 1985; Torero 1974) identifies many pastoral communities of the central Andes as speakers of proto-Aymara languages, suggesting that by this time, herders and caravans maintained a "vertical" circulation between the Pacific desert coast, Andean highlands, and circum-Amazonian rainforests.

Chronology of the Rayed Head between Pisco and Nasca

A review of south-coast images of rayed heads with large round eyes, whiskered mouth masks, eared serpentine appendages, or vertical and staff-like serpents turns up a complex set of local and regional antecedents and associations. Zuidema (1972) was not the first scholar to ask whether the staff-bearing and ray-emanating figures of the Middle Horizon might not be related to concepts that endured into Inka and early colonial times, with roots in much earlier societies of the central Andes. Tello's exploration of the widespread Andean concept of "Viracocha" constituted one of the first systematic applications of historic information about Andean mythic cycles to the interpretation of the prehistoric archaeological record (Tello 1923). Staff-holding feline-mouthed figures appear early in the Paracas region, as identified in painted cotton textiles with features of style and iconography that link them closely to late Chavin stone carving. These textiles come from the lower Ica Valley and coast south of Paracas and are said to be from burials at Carhua, Callango, Samaca, and Coyungo—where the earliest rayed figures seem to be cotton plants (Cordy-Collins 1979; Wallace 1991:99). Structural diversity in the textile samples, as well as differences in the painted imagery, suggests diverse origins and inspirations, marking local involvement in a Chavín-related interaction sphere (Burger 1995 [1992]; Menzel et al. 1964).

However, our first examples of the type of rayed head characteristic of the Paracas tradition appear in contexts ascribed to Paracas Phase 9. At the Paracas occupation site of Animas Altas in the Callango Basin, a ceremonial structure is decorated with a modeled clay frieze depicting a frontal face surrounded by hook-like and arrow-like "rays" adjacent to feline-like imagery, all in a Chavín-related Paracas style (Figure 5.2; Massey 1991:326). A similar combination of images appears in portable media—textiles allegedly from funerary contexts in the lower Ica Valley (Figure 5.3a–c). A series of narrow bands with rayed head motifs have lower Ica or Ocucaje Basin provenience (King 1965). Each specimen is distinct in details of image style and textile structure, but all are constructed in partial triple cloth, with three sets of warps intersecting three sets of wefts of corresponding color in the center section of an independently woven narrow band, with unengaged warps "floating" on a backside. Clearly made to leave only one surface for viewing, they are structurally similar to bands sewn as side borders on some tunics from Phase 9 and 10 burials at Ocucaje (see Rowe 1986:cover). A second feature shared by these bands and the Ocucaje tunic borders is the recurring use of certain colors, as well as well-developed fiber selection and dye techniques. Here we observe a color set combining a yellow- to brown-gold, very dark blue (dyed on brown fiber in one case), and strong medium green.

To briefly consider the evidence available for contexts of the production, use, and deposition of these "rayed head" objects, the striking dichotomy between large-scale architectural display and small-scale display on elaborate garments from ritual contexts may provide some insights. The clay frieze at Animas Altas structures a ritually charged public space, associated with a site that appears to have been the main center of socioeconomic

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 5.2. Section of a frieze on the sides of a platform at the site of Animas Altas, a predominantly Paracas Phase 9 site located in the Callango Basin of the lower Ica Valley. Sarah Massey first located and described this frieze; this drawing is based on her 1981 sketch, her dissertation, and a published description (Massey 1991, figure 8.4).

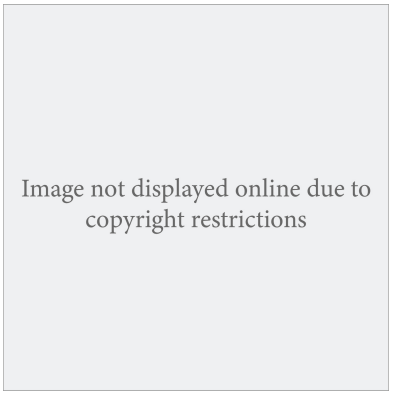
power in the lower Ica Valley during a historic period associated with Paracas ceramic Phase 9 (Bachir Bacha and Llanos Jacinto 2013; Deleonardis 1997; Massey 1991). The face of the frieze presents evidence for remodeling and renewal, perhaps annual or other cycles, that marked periodic events of ritual and political significance linked to its symbolic referent.

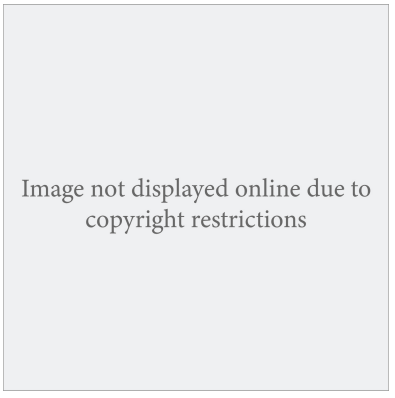
The stylistically analogous imagery on one of the triple-cloth bands (Figure 5.3a, TM 91.855) links this textile closely to the Animas Altas frieze. The ochre tones of the base fabric, spun, plied, and woven of fine camelid hair in the natural color range of wild camelids, also may link this band to earthen building materials and the desert landscape. The length and condition of the band indicate that it was probably not used as part of a tunic or other garment. More likely, it was part of a headdress, either constructed on the head of the deceased or on a "false head" on the outside of a funerary bundle. Most burials from the Callango Basin have been dismembered by *huaqueros* (grave robbers), so the specific regional pattern of funerary practice for this period has not been described. Furthermore, we cannot even be certain that this textile was produced or buried at Callango. However, based on related mortuary assemblages from the south coast, it is likely that this band was used as a garment border or headdress element in public display associated with the social identity of an important individual, whether only in the funerary context or in life as well.

The other examples of "rayed head" triple-cloth bands are fragmentary and may have been either independent bands or garment borders. Although alleged to come from the same Ocucaje 10 burial, they are diverse in style and form part of a larger corpus of complex woven bands from late Paracas culture that includes examples stylistically related to the Paracas Necropolis and early Nasca styles (Bird and Bellinger 1954:77). One specimen (Figure 5.3b, TM 91-878) has disk-like faces with salient canine teeth similar to those in the mouths of felines placed next to rayed heads in the example above. These disk-like rayed heads are similar to the disk-like ceramic masks ascribed to looted burials at the Pisco Valley site of Chongos. The third band (Figure 5.3c) has heads that are rectangular, with small curled projections creating a very different effect. The three bands depict the same icon in the same structural technique but demonstrate important differences in style.

The Chongos rayed head masks, of which three similar examples are known (see Lapiner 1976:Figures 146, 148–150; Paul 1990:Figure 7.24), are ceramic domes, built like an inverted bowl enhanced by a thin protruding nose in the form of a rectangular panel (Figure 5.4). Perforated designs through the nose are reminiscent of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD





a b c

Figure 5.3. (a,b,c) Three styles of narrow bands, woven in variants of a triple-cloth structure, with reported provenience in the Ocucaje basin of the lower Ica Valley. Bands TM 91.878 and 879 are reported to be from the same burial. TM 91.855, 91.878, 91.879.

repoussé decorations on contemporary sheet gold facial ornaments. Sunken eyes, constructed as hemispherical pits perforated at the bottom, have incised and painted rings around their circular openings. One specimen (Dawson 1979:Figure 20; Lapiner 1976:Figures 148–149) has segmented wavy lines, incised and painted, that cross the face and extend beyond. These ray-like protrusions are incised to imitate serpentine heads projecting from the rim of the mask. A protruding tongue and two appendages extend from the rim below the mouth. A broader protrusion from the top of the mask is the modeled and incised head of an anthropomorphic figure whose incised body descends onto the forehead. The head of this miniature human is reminiscent of the mask, with circular face, sunken and ringed eyes, and a protruding nose. The little figure wears an upper garment with a tabbed fringe like those of skin tunics typically associated with elder male burials at the Necropolis site (e.g., Yacovleff and Muelle 1934:104, Figure 12). Woven tabbed fringes are associated with embroidered garments in some later Necropolis and early Nasca gravelots (e.g., Paul 1990; Sawyer 1997) but are not characteristic of Paracas tradition textiles.

The sunken eyes and the serpentine figures emerging like maggots suggest reference to death and bodily decay. These unusual masks—the mortuary assemblage as a whole is unknown for the looted materials—provide at least some evidence for regionally distinct funerary practices that may mark a different sociopolitical entity that nonetheless shared common elements such as ceramic production practices and similar mythic and ritual referents with the Ocucaje region.[1] I propose that these "rayed" masks may have been displayed on or near the top of a conical textile-wrapped mummy bundle, in funerary ritual or the honoring of an ancestor, like the "false heads" present in other contemporary mortuary contexts in the region. They also may have been worn in life.

Style attributes of the rayed masks suggest their assignment to Paracas Phase 9, a proposal consistent with the occupation history of the Chongos site (Peters 1997). At that time, Chongos was a regional center of Paracas tradition in the Pisco Valley. The location of the Paracas Phase 9 burials at Chongos is unknown. The Paracas occupation at this site lies on a somewhat steep hillside on the southern rim of the Pisco Valley at a key point for control of water and travel. After Phase 9,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

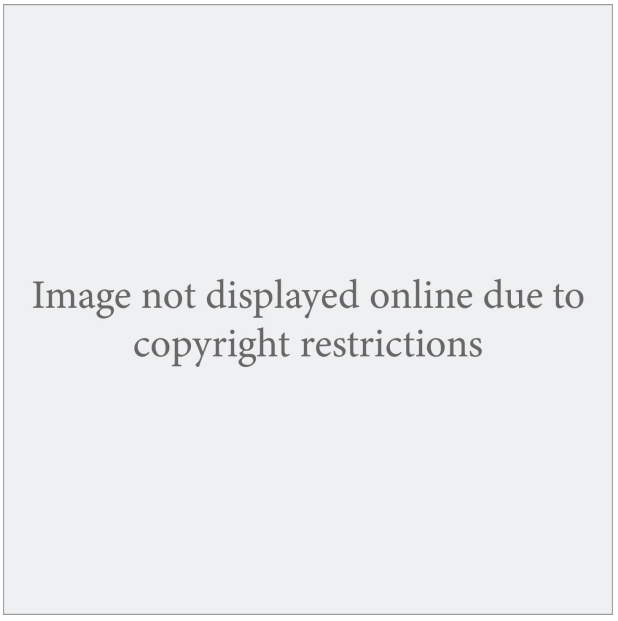


Figure 5.4. Ceramic mask allegedly excavated in the site of Chongos in the Pisco valley. The nose-like central flange protrudes 11 cm above the domed surface. A series of perforations along the rim of the mask would facilitate its attachment to a costume or mortuary bundle. BMA 64.94.

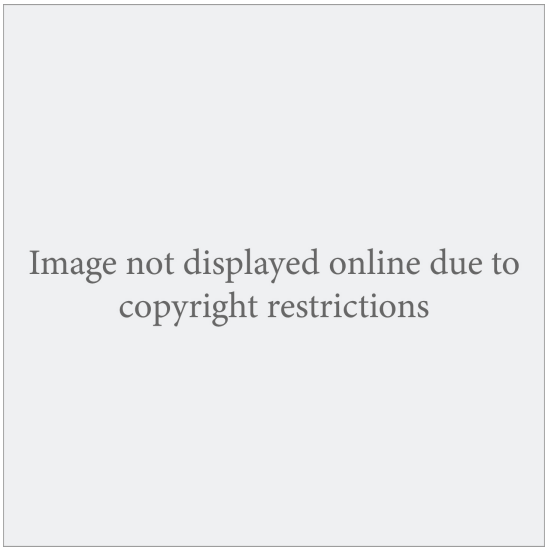
this sector was abandoned. Its upper slope was reused for burials of the Topará tradition, while large new sections of Topará-associated occupation were built in gently sloping areas to the south. Each sector includes open plazas, rectangular walled enclosures (*canchas*), and a built-up mound of smaller rooms and occupation debris.

On the neck of the Paracas Peninsula to the southwest of Chongos, at the "type site,"[2] a contemporary Paracas tradition occupation area rises on platforms on the steep hillside of Cerro Colorado, with Paracas tradition shaft tombs ("Cavernas") and pit tombs on the ridge above. After Paracas Phase 9, the occupation zone was abandoned but the upper slope was used for Topará tradition burials, the famous "Necropolis of Wari Kayan." However, burials on Cerro Colorado include Paracas Phase 10 ceramics, indicating continuing use of the site for burials associated with both ceramic traditions. Meanwhile, the Topará tradition occupation area of Arena Blanca to the west of Cerro Colorado consisted of a series of sectors built as clusters of small rooms and larger walled enclosures arrayed in gently sloping rows facing the bay. Burials (the Cabezas Largas and Arena Blanca burial clusters) were also placed into some of these sectors. No architectural friezes have been found, but textiles and other artifacts incorporating rayed head images in several different techniques and styles have been found with burials in the Cavernas, Necropolis, and Cabezas Largas cemetery areas.

A close-knotted band found on the surface of the Arena Blanca sector of the Paracas site (Figure 5.5) differs from the bands described above in image style and color, as well as production technique. Knotted bands appear as headdress elements in the Paracas tradition burials on the top of Cerro Colorado, including several examples incorporating rayed heads as part of a repeating design or as the head of a figure (e.g., Carrión Cachot 1931:41, Figure 2j; Yacovleff and Muelle 1932:36, Figure 8). These appear to be fragments of a genre of complex headdresses built around close-knotted bands of varying width and design, flanked by panels of diagonal interlace, weft-faced weaving, and long fringe. They have been found in association with both late Paracas and Topará tradition burials at the Paracas site and also at Ocucaje. Other knotted bands incorporate motifs such as Linear-style figures, bird figures, and step-frets, imagery characteristic of Paracas Phases 9 and 10. These bands were wrapped around the head of an interred individual or on the "false head" on the exterior of the mortuary bundle, with the knotted panel typically hidden below layers of wrapped fringe. Therefore, as wrapped in the mortuary context, the knotted design probably was not visible. However, this arrangement may not reflect the way such a headdress was arranged while the body or bundle was in public view or during its possible use in life.

Rayed head figures also appear on close-knotted or openwork "netted" headdresses, like those cited by Chávez and Chávez (1975). These include relatively subtle figures in delicate openwork examples (Figure 5.5) but also include a genre of explicit rayed heads in diamond-shaped areas that imitate the spatial arrangement of openwork knotted netting, worked in close knotting on large, bulky headdresses from both the Paracas site and Ocucaje (Figure 5.6). Here, the close-knotting technique is used to create a rectangular panel, and the end is extended with a net-like sequence of diagonally knotted yarns, joined together and linked to a single cord, creating a hammock-like shape. The illustrated example is ascribed to an Ocucaje gravelot transitional from Phase 10 to early Nasca 1. Unfortunately, we have no evidence to date of the exact disposition of these objects in a mortuary bundle. However, their shape is analogous to small hammock-shaped net headdresses that have been found in situ in several of the Necropolis burials. They are found on or near the head of an interred individual or formed part of a "false head" created at the peak of the conical mortuary bundle (e.g., Yacovleff and Muelle 1934:123, Figure 17).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD



a b

Figure 5.5. (a) Close-knotted band reported to have been collected on the surface of the Arena Blanca sector of the Paracas site, TM 1961.37.1B. (b) Close-knotted panels separated by sections of unknotted yarns to form an openwork fabric typical of hairnets found in both Cavernas and Necropolis tombs., TM 91.1066.

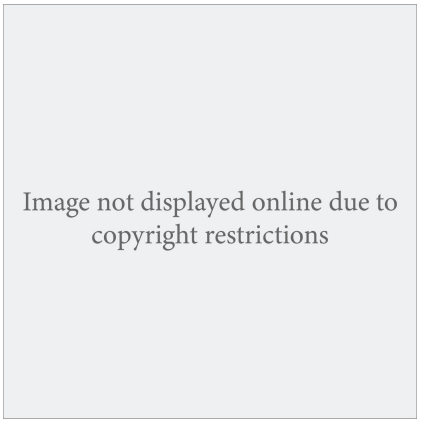


Figure 5.6. Close-knotted panel with drawstrings at one end; the other end, now incomplete, probably had a similar arrangement, creating a hammock-shaped wrap. Fabricated with much heavier yarns than analogous objects known from the Paracas site, this knotted "headdress" seems too bulky to have been worn in life. It is alleged to be part of an Ocucaje gravelot transitional from Phase 10 to early Nasca 1. TM 91.935.

While the rayed head images worked in close knotting come from objects of several different genres, they all share a series of characteristics. First, all are made to be wrapped around the head of a person or funerary bundle. Second, densely worked panels in knotting or diagonal interlace create diamond patterns reminiscent of openwork knotted netting. Third, all are constructed in a similar color range, combining a dark red or purple-red with green, yellow-brown, and bright yellow.

Dwyer illustrates a similar image of rayed heads set in diamond-shaped lozenges created by interlocking double-headed serpents, produced in doublecloth, with provenience from Caverna V at the Paracas site (Dwyer 1979:116, Figure 11). Kajitani illustrates a headcloth combining

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

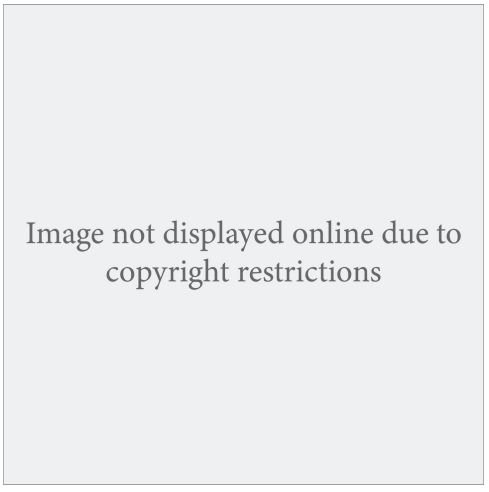


Figure 5.7. Probably a headcloth, this cotton fabric combines plain weave, in some places with discontinuous wefts creating a pattern of short slits, with areas where pairs of warps are crossed before wefts are inserted to create an openwork image of the rayed head. The embroidery is in a distinctive technique that uses diagonal stitching in both figure and ground areas to create Broad Line images. TM 91.1009.

Figure 5.8. Fragments of an embroidered border from a small mantle or possibly a headcloth, found among the textiles packed close to the body in Paracas Necropolis Burial 352 and catalogued as Specimen 115. MRI DB-7.

squares of doublecloth depicting a profile linear figure, alternating with squares with this style of rayed head image produced in warp-cross gauze (Kajitani 1982:Figure 13)—unfortunately without provenience. Warp-cross gauze weave is used to create a large-scale classic rayed head on a cotton textile that also appears to be a headcloth (Figure 5.7). (Note the Broad Line–style embroidered figures in the corner panels.) A warp-crossed gauze weave tunic in yellow cotton from Paracas Necropolis Burial 114 (AMNH 41.2/8753) prominently features large rayed head images as well as full figures with head appendages, felines, serpents, and double-headed birds.

These gauze-weave headcloths and tunic provide valuable evidence for the continuing presence of the rayed head, in a form quite similar to the Animas Altas frieze, as a principal motif in combination with full figures with prominent head appendages. Many complex figures with rayed heads and ringed eyes are depicted in similar designs carried out in either warp-cross gauze weave or in diagonal-interlace sprang (e.g., Dwyer 1979:Figure 1; Frame 1995:Figure 1). Both of these openwork techniques are used to create bag-like "hoods" or head wraps found at Ocucaje, as well as more fragmentary textiles from the Paracas Cavernas (for technical description, see Emery 1994; O'Neale 1942). Difficult to perceive and define, these images would have been even more elusive when worn. In contrast, the rayed head images embroidered on the border of a mantle or headcloth from Paracas Necropolis Burial 352 stand out in both color and texture (Figure 5.8). Necropolis Burials 114 and 352 are both early in the cemetery sequence, contemporary with Paracas Phase 10B according to the Dwyer-Paul chronology.

Further insights into rayed heads can surely be gleaned by examining the "Oculate Being," an iconographic corpus with which they substantially overlap. Defined by Menzel et al. (1964), the Oculate Being has large ringed eyes. It appeared as a distinct icon in Paracas Phase 9, typically associated with rays or radiating serpents. However, in Paracas Phase 10, "oculateness" appears to have diffused into an attribute shared by a wide range of images in a diversifying anthropocentric iconography presenting assorted figures holding weapons and human heads and often combining human attributes with those of other species.

Oculate Beings

The relationship between the rayed head, the Oculate Being, and a diversity of oculate images can best be explored beginning with the burials of Paracas Phases 9 and 10 from the Ica Valley Ocucaje Basin. They were excavated in several cemetery areas on the sandy slopes surrounding the basin floor and on the outcrop called

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Cerro Max Uhle, located near the northern end of the basin and near the main water source.

Late Paracas Ocucaje Basin burials sometimes sport a "false head" of a type that seems to have been widespread throughout the basin but unique to it. These were constructed from a thick square of cleaned, unspun cotton fiber, covered with a coarsely woven panel of cotton cloth with the remaining warp left unwoven and extending like hair from the upper side of the panel, over the top of the funerary bundle (Figure 5.9; see also Dawson 1979; King 1965; Lapiner 1976:86–87). The upper cotton and "hair" was bound with headdress elements, typically one or more headbands, and could also be adorned with several kinds of feathered headdress. The cotton panels were painted, mostly with Linear-style motifs, using ferrous and carbon-based mineral pigments. While there are a few with images of a face, most of the panels carry full-figure representations. Some cloth masks dated by Dawson (1979) to Paracas Phase 9 have imagery similar to Chongos ceramic masks, with serpent-like appendages extending either radially or horizontally and sometimes linked to orifices such as the eyes, nose, and mouth. Most of Dawson's Paracas Phase 10 figures have multiple appendages issuing from the head and body or hanging from the arms. Small figures of humans, birds, or felines may stand on the top of the head of the main figure or appear in the body or surrounding spaces. In this example, a rayed head motif appears between the legs.

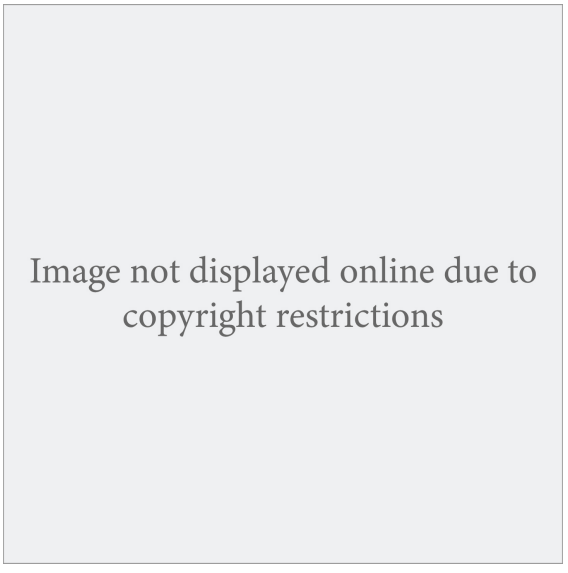


Figure 5.9. "False Head" construction from the top of a mortuary bundle from the Ocucaje Basin, with several of its original components. These include bound rolls of cotton fiber, a warp-patterned band, a tapestry band, and the "mask" panel with its unwoven warp extending from the top like hair and wrapped by the headbands. TM 91.890.

In and around the Ocucaje Basin, the Phase 9 occupation is not replaced by a Topará-associated occupation. Instead, the Ocucaje Phase 10 is characterized by inclusion of both Topará vessel types, some probably locally produced (Menzel et al. 1964), and a range of Paracas tradition wares that demonstrate a high level of innovation. Despite this evidence for change and exchange, distinctive Ocucaje regional mortuary practices continued in graves dated to Phase 10 and even Nasca 1.

Two incised and resin-painted jars attributed to Ocucaje gravelots depict a figure that appears to wear masks or panels depicting oculate and rayed heads. The large jar (1) (Figure 5.10a,b) is part of the Rubini Collection in the Museo Regional de Ica, while the smaller jar (2) (Figure 5.11a<@150>c) is now in the Textile Museum, Washington D.C. They share interesting attributes, the most salient being that each depicts a being with two faces—a human-like face oriented frontally relative to the body, which has almond-shaped or semicircular eyes and facial painting, and a second face on the back of the head with ringed eyes, protruding lips, and hanks of hair (Jar 2) or serpentine bands (Jar 1) framing the features. Interlinked (Jar 1) or draped (Jar 2) double-headed serpentine bands appear on the back. The hands are not entirely human but resemble the clawed paws of a predatory mammal such as a fox, feline, or sea otter. Jar 1 has curved legs decorated with the stepped Andean cross, while the legs of Jar 2 have a single stepped margin and merge with the base. Jar 2 adds a human head hanging from the neck under the "reverse" face and what looks like the back of a head or a hairpiece held in the hands of the front figure. Rayed faces are depicted on the shoulders—and in one case also the hips—in radically different styles. The Jar 1 shoulder plaques resemble the faces of Chongos masks. The Jar 2 shoulder and hip panels look more like textile-based rayed heads—even a bit like those of the "Provincial Pukara" or "Early Tiwanaku" shoulder panels. In their overall shape, both jars resemble mortuary bundles.

These Janus-faced figures are part of a large corpus of double-headed imagery from the central and south-central Andes, a dominant theme among Chavin—and earlier—images and pervasive in both Paracas and Topará

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 5.10. (a,b) Front and back views of a face-neck jar of Paracas Phase 9 style, with mask-like motifs in the Chongos style on the shoulders. Museo de la Nación, Lima. MRI DA-01.

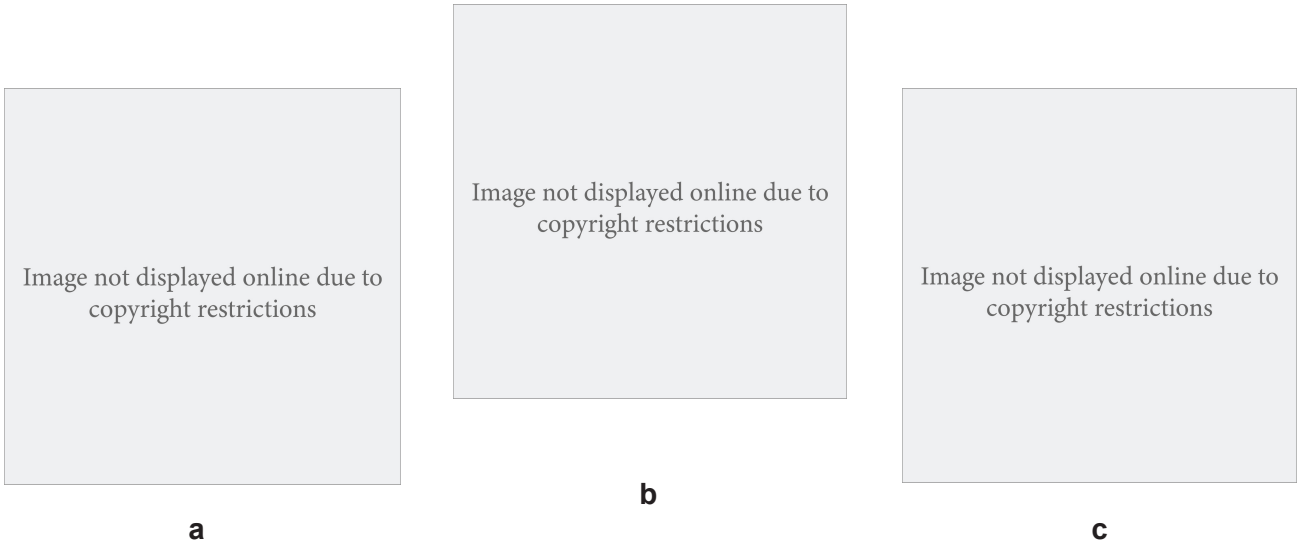


Figure 5.11. (a,b,c) Face-neck jar of an unusual style combining features of Paracas Phases 9 and 10, with rayed head panels on shoulders and hips. Reported to have been excavated on Cerro Max Uhle in the center of the Ocucaje Basin. TM 91.163.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

tradition imagery. The metaphor of a trophy head hanging at the back of the neck is still found in contemporary Andean discourse, linked to warrior identities (Arnold and Yapita 2006). These two jars are key to our exploration of the rayed head, as they depict images of this icon worn by a being whose body suggests a dichotomy between human and spectral existence. Large ringed eyes may refer to death or suggest that vision, or the gaze, is privileged as a vehicle for power: perhaps that of observation, interpersonal dominance, or life force. Moreover, rayed heads are shown worn on the body, much as ceramic or textile objects might have been "worn" or displayed on a mortuary bundle.

Rayed heads can appear as elements of a larger figure, both in objects associated with the Paracas tradition and in contexts associated with the Topará and early Nasca traditions. These figures typically have serpentine appendages that issue from other orifices associated with sensual perception—mouth and ears—but also from other points on the head and body. Full-body figures with rayed heads may appear to carry staffs or be flanked by vertical serpents: an iconographic parallel, on a very general level, with images like those carved in stone at Chavin and Tiwanaku.

Among late Paracas ceramics, there are several recurrent varieties related in diverse ways to disk-shaped and rectilinear rayed heads. One type alleged to be associated with the site of Chucho, on the coast south of the Paracas Peninsula, has a circular head with tape-like appendages ending in a straight perpendicular line (Dawson 1979:Figure 23; Lapiner 1976:Figures 209–213), possibly incorporating a reference to headdress bands. A second type has an oval to circular face emanating small triangular projections (Anton 1972:Figure 32; Dawson 1979:Figure 21), possibly related to more literal representations of figures wearing feathered headdresses (e.g., Tello 1959:Plate XXXV, Figure 22). Both of these genres of round-faced rayed head figures sometimes include a "V"-shaped element at the forehead, a feature shared with the figure jars above, reminiscent of the small figures at the top of the Chongos masks and the forehead perforations of "trophy heads." A third type has a set of vertical lines above a face flanked by two lateral sets of horizontal lines, possibly incorporating a reference to sheet gold facial ornaments, as well as streaming locks or braids of hair (e.g., Carrión Cachot 1931:60, Figure 8G). It would appear that the concept of the rayed head in each of these different images bears a metaphoric relationship with a type of object that is worn by deceased men in mortuary bundles and was probably also worn in ritual settings during life. The second and third types can appear together, alternating on four sides of a vessel (Figure 5.12a,b), and associated with a rainbow arch—reminiscent of arches ending in two serpent heads associated with some full figures on double-cloth mantles (e.g., Carrión Cachot 1931:60, Figure 8I).

Sheet gold ornaments with details inscribed in the repoussé technique are quite common in the Ocucaje burials, and a few full-size examples occur in burials at the Paracas Peninsula—both Cavernas and Necropolis. Several recurrent forms resemble objects also illustrated on the faces of figures in contemporary—and later—imagery. The "diadem"—depicted and in some cases actually found on the forehead—has one or two serpent-like rays extending from each side of a central disk with facial features and one or two serpent-like rays that extend vertically. Some examples look like a bird flying directly at the viewer. The whiskered mouth and bird features of the repoussé

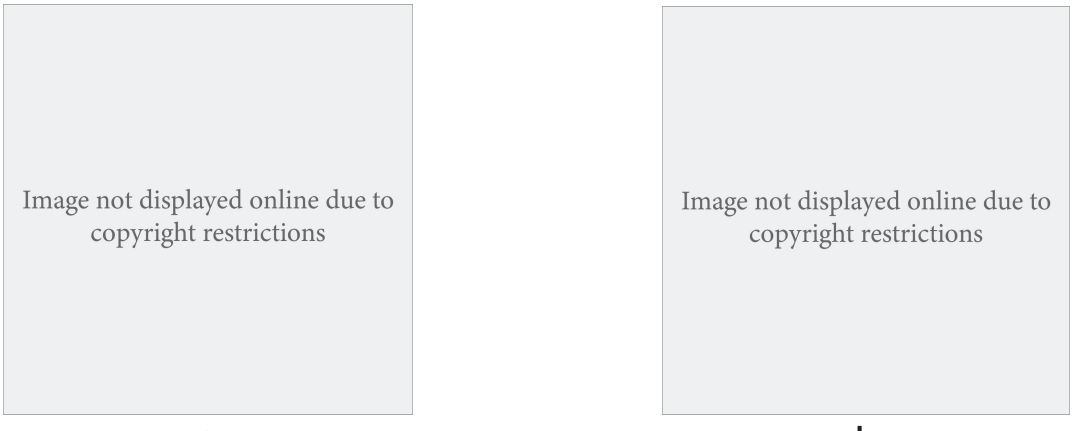


Figure 5.12. (a,b) Two views of a bowl from Rubini Gravelot M, excavated in the Pinilla sector of the Ocucaje Basin. MRI 430, ARD-118.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

decoration on most sheet gold diadems link them to the "goatsucker" icon, while their curving "smile," large round eyes, and squared nose resemble both the Chongos rayed heads and the "back" faces on the Janus-headed jars. The typical sheet gold "pin" or "tassel" is shaped like an elongated, rounded diamond and in some cases inscribed like a vertically diving bird. The "nose ornament" or "mouth mask" has two or more rays extending laterally on each side of a central disk perforated with a mouth opening and may be equipped with curved flanges to hook on the nasal septum. Other ornaments may include disks to attach to ears or hair and wristbands—but the facial ornaments all have a rayed design and may be referenced by many of the late Paracas "rayed head" figures. Pendant sheet gold figures of persons or animals occur in several Paracas Necropolis gravelots: one gold pendant from Burial 114 (Figure 5.13) depicts a standing figure with a rayed head in a style reminiscent of the shoulder band on the Ocucaje jar discussed above.

Figure 5.13. Sheet gold pendant representing a human figure with a rayed head from Paracas Necropolis Burial 114, AMNH 41.2/ 7511.

Most Necropolis and Cavernas burials do not bear full-size, whole, or intact facial ornaments, but almost all burials include at least several fragments of them located by body orifices. The more elaborate facial ornaments are best known from Ocucaje Basin or Nasca region burials, or Necropolis burials that also include other elements related to contemporary sites in the south. Some facial ornament masks alleged to be from the Nasca region include very elaborate designs with combinations of recurved rays and complex repoussé work (e.g., Sawyer 1997:Figures 42 and 44). Not only do these facial ornaments demonstrate semiotic overlap with representations of the rayed head, but they also constitute an artifact type that exists in late Paracas, in the Nasca tradition and at Tiwanaku—evidence for analogous practices and an analogous symbolic role played by gold as a material, as well as some strikingly similar forms.

A number of looped tunics are known from Ocucaje, including one with alleged gravelot provenience that was worked to represent a prominent, abstract rayed head image (Figure 5.14). Close-worked looping is a technique used in other regions of the south-central Andes to construct small flexible items, such as the bags and the tubular caps of Alto Ramirez and Caserones types in the Tarapacá region, but the Ocucaje looped tunics are distinctive in design and technique. Among the looped camelid hair tunics alleged to have been excavated in tombs in and around the Ocucaje Basin are examples with brightly colored zoomorphic imagery. A fragmentary looped panel that appears to have been part of such a tunic was worked to depict a classic rayed head but lacks provenience (Kajitani 1982:Figure 15). Complete

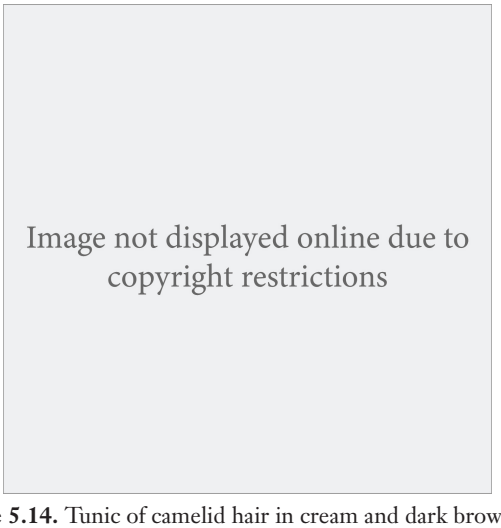


Figure 5.14. Tunic of camelid hair in cream and dark brown, in close-worked looping with a fringe of tufts of unspun camelid hair, created separately and sewn to the main fabric. TM 91.898.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

tunics have separately constructed fringe of unspun camelid hair and may have a woven border panel, in one case embroidered with Broad Line figures (Sawyer 1997:Figure 13). Given the technical and design features of these tunics, it is likely that they were emblematic of social identity and probably worn only on public occasions. They would have been very warm, like Ocucaje sprang hoods and in contrast to the largely cotton-based woven textiles that predominate in the Paracas tradition assemblage at Ocucaje and the Cavernas tombs.

Full figures with rayed heads and bodiless rayed heads are present on Paracas tradition mantles in two techniques that are never combined on the same object: either composed of doublecloth panels or of two plain-weave panels with embroidered borders. These mantles have been found in both Ica Valley and Paracas Peninsula contexts (no comparable textile sample exists for the Pisco Valley sites). Mantles were wrapped in the mortuary bundle or in some cases draped around the "shoulders" under the false head and would have been present during the public display that these bundles were obviously designed for—whether that was in an initial sequence of funerary rites or when a bundle was later honored as a biological, social, or mythic ancestor. In one doublecloth mantle from Necropolis Burial 349, a rayed head is depicted above the forehead of each front-face profile figure (Figure 5.15; Verde et al. 2009:Figure 50).

Figure 5.15. Detail showing four of the ten figures on a double-cloth mantle, allegedly from Paracas Necropolis Burial 349. Several burials in the Necrópolis of Wari Kayan cemetery area include Paracas tradition objects. MNAAHP RT1451.

Linear "mask-type" figures, designed as variants in repeating panels, cover the whole surface in the doublecloth mantles. Small rayed heads may appear as filler images or emerge like an appendage from the head (Dwyer 1979:Figure 10). Some mantles incorporate a set of double-weave panels with figures that appear to have been designed to fit together, while others appear to combine panels quite independent in both motif and style. Frontal human-like figures with head appendages are a common image in double-weave design, as are lateral figures with feline or monkey characteristics and the two-headed bird: the same range of figures found on Ocucaje ceramic masks and similar to those of early Necropolis Linear and Broad Line embroideries. Rayed head figures are set within interlinked serpents in a headcloth from Caverna V (Dwyer 1979:Figure 11), echoing the imagery on the knotted headcloths discussed above.

Embroidered figures create borders directly stitched to the base fabric of the plain-weave mantles (Figure 5.16a,b). The range of human figures, as well as figures with tails that have been called felines or monkeys, is also similar to those painted on the Ocucaje ceramic masks. One motif is dominated by a rayed head with strong diagonals, related to "mask figures" that Dawson (1979) assigned to Ocucaje 9. The other demonstrates greater similarity to Dawson's Phase 10, with multiple appendages issuing from the head and two from the waist. The consistent color scheme of these embroideries involves subtle contrasts among tones of red, maroon, reddish purple, and brown: similar to the color scheme of the doublecloth mantles but very different from the bright tones of textiles in Necropolis linear embroidery styles. The plain-weave fabric of the mantles consists of two densely woven cotton panels, quite unlike the plain weaves used for embroideries in the Topará tradition burials of the Necropolis of Wari Kayan at the Paracas site. One plain-weave mantle from Ocucaje (Figure 5.17) has Paracas tradition running- and straight-stitch borders with a repeat of two different "mask-type" figures. However, the large rayed head repeating over the central portion of the mantle is embroidered in stem stitch with a different set of colors: a dark red, green, yellow, and cream-white.

There is a close iconographic association—despite some important style differences—between the "mask-type" figures of Ocucaje and the Broad Line, Linear, and early Block Color embroideries best known from the Paracas Necropolis grave textiles. The Broad Line style was first defined by Anne Paul (1982) and shares features

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

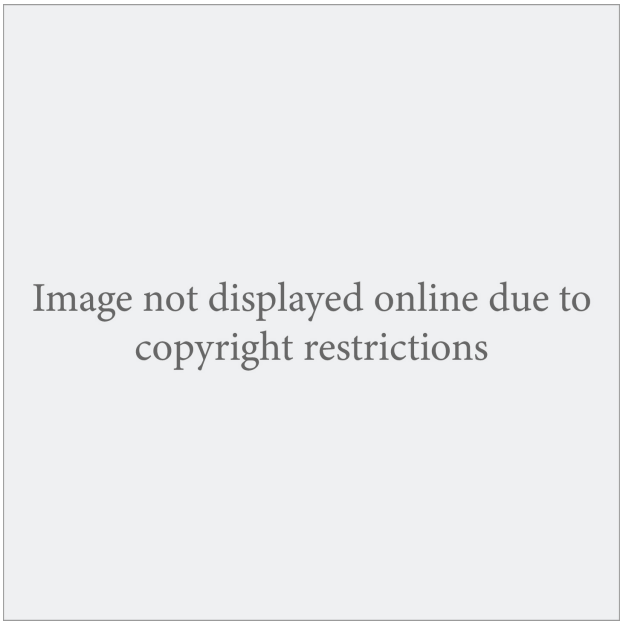


Figure 5.16. Embroidered borders in Ocucaje 9 and 10 styles, executed in dyed camelid hair on tightly woven, slightly warp-faced cotton base cloth, probably fragments of two mantles. TM 91.1032, TM 91.901.

Figure 5.17. Mantle with full figures embroidered on the borders in the Ocucaje 10 Style, with the addition of large rayed head figures in different yarn weight, dyes and stitching in the central area of the plain-weave panel. This textile is ascribed to a Nasca 1 Burial at Ocucaje. TM 91.906.

with both the simpler and apparently earlier types of the Block Color style and the Linear style (which has also been called Geometric or Abstract). Examples vary in the specifics of design canons and stitching, with directional stitching in the "background" areas as well as the design areas quite common. The embroidery styles that have been classified as early (contemporary with Paracas Phase 10) are based on four-color design and color repeats, although in some cases, other colors may be added in details. A Broad Line feline or monkey figure illustrated by Dwyer (1979:Figure 5) has a rayed head attached to the chin, suggesting a paradigmatic relationship to a trophy head or "tongue" appendage.

Early Block Color imagery appears at both sites in the transition between the styles that have been defined as late Paracas and those that have been defined as early Nasca. It is exclusive to textiles in Topará tradition contexts, but at Ocucaje, it appears on both ceramics and textiles. A shoulder poncho (*unkuña* or *esclavina*) in a Paracas Phase 10 Block Color style from Necropolis Burial 420 includes an image of a rayed head explicitly depicted in a Topará tradition context (Figure 5.18). This image provides a key link between the rayed head motifs of late Paracas and Nasca 1 textiles and those that appear on contemporary textiles preserved in the Paracas Necropolis burials. Embroidering figures on a woven border panel is a technique present among textiles in several early Necropolis burials. These figures demonstrate the simplest, and apparently earliest, variant of the Block Color style, considered by Dwyer to be contemporary with Paracas Phase 10B.

Images in the Block Color style explicitly depict items of dress and personal adornment referenced in a more abstract form on the doublecloth mantles and Linear-style embroideries. As a result, we can distinguish various types of feathered headdress elements and facial and head ornaments of sheet gold. A "rayed" impression is made by such headdress elements, including feather headdresses like those from the exterior of some Paracas- or Topará-associated mortuary bundles or part of sheet facial ornaments in a range of forms, some of which have been found in burials from Ocucaje, others—usually in fragmented or miniature form—from the Paracas Necropolis, and very elaborate ones from early Nasca contexts. One example from early Early Intermediate Period 1 Gravelot 243 depicts a rayed headdress on a standing "warrior"-type figure (Figure 5.19).

A rayed head in the "goatsucker" position appears above the head of a figure with human and bird characteristics (Figure 5.20), in a complex image repeated on a

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

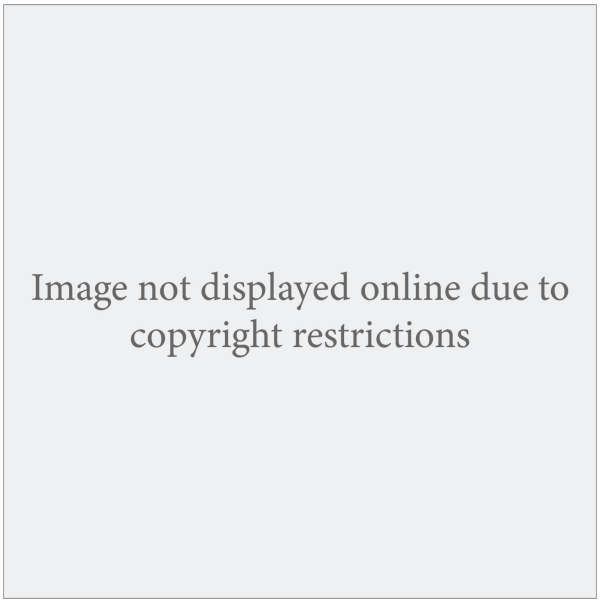


Figure 5.18. Paracas Necropolis Burial 420, Specimen 3. This very early Block Color embroidery, a detail of a rectangular tab hanging down the back of a shoulder poncho, shares design features with Broad Line, Linear and early Nasca embroideries. It is worked on a woven panel, with a simple contrasting fringe. MNAAHP RT2999.

mantle border from Paracas Necropolis Gravelot 420—the very one that contributed the shoulder poncho with the rayed head image (Figure 5.18). Suspended above the head or hanging from the neck, the placement of this rayed head is reminiscent of those depicted in doublecloth and painted figures of the Paracas tradition, yet the style of this embroidery appears to be much later (Early Intermediate Period 2) than that of the poncho (Early Horizon 10). Rayed figures of similar form in other Paracas Necropolis embroideries appear to be animate beings with insect-like features or related to the "goatsucker" motif (e.g., Dwyer 1979:Figure 4; Paul 1990;Figure I.18). The term "goatsucker" was developed by the Berkeley school[3] to refer to dorsal whiskered bird images, considered possible referents to an insect-eating swift *Caprimulgis longirostris* (Peters 1991).

In the Paracas Necropolis, the rayed head is most ubiquitous on the ends of double-headed "twisting strands," in serpentine figures in the four-color Linear 1 style, depicted in both looped headbands and bands of embroidery on mantles that were typically placed on what was once the exterior—display—layer of a mummy bundle. Despite the beauty and variety of their Block Color embroidered mantles and other garments, most prominent Topará tradition burials—until very late in the use of the cemetery—had their outer layer topped with an emblematic Linear 1 mantle. In relatively early gravelots, the Linear style was also used to construct whole garment sets, with tunics, shoulder ponchos, skirts, and mantles bearing Linear-style embroidery similar in design and motif (Figure 5.21).

These Linear-style images combine both the two-headed serpent and the rayed head motif in a single figure. Frame (1986, 1991) has analyzed them as representations of yarn and cordage structure, among her "twisting strands" motifs. A particular variant of the rayed head with twisted strands appears in small mantles associated with female burials at the Paracas Necropolis. Similar motifs are worked in "cross-knit" looped headbands, heir to the Paracas knotted headbands and antecedent to

Figure 5.19. Paracas Necropolis Burial 243, Specimen 7. This early Block Color style embroidered mantle border depicts a human wearing a sheet gold forehead ornament, mouthmask, and disks attached to a headband and carrying a knife and human head tassel. The rayed headdress incorporates the tail of a "goatsucker" figure. This image is repeated on a matching shoulder poncho. MNAAHP RT3173.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

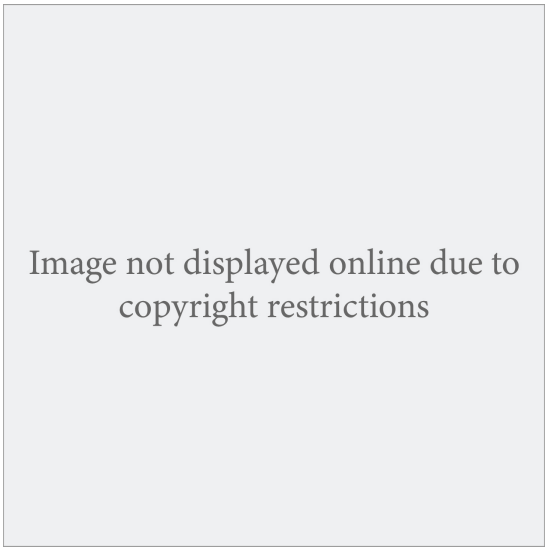


Figure 5.20. Paracas Necropolis Gravelot 420 Specimen 2. This detail from a complex figure shows a human-bird figure that tips a long appendage that emerges like a tongue from the mouthmask of the main figure. This secondary figure in turn has a mouth appendage ending in a feline, holds a sling or necklace in one hand and a forehead ornament in the other, with a rayed head in the position of a headdress ornament. MNAAHP RT5907.

the independent looping of early Nasca borders. They carry linear imagery that is similar to that of some of the complex knotted bands but are structured as a flattened tube ending in a fingerlike fringe, with dimensions like many of the diagonal interlace headbands typical of Topará tradition burials.

Tapestry bands are among the headdress elements in Ocucaje and Necropolis funerary bundles. In the sample known from the Necropolis, figurative motifs recur in a simple, bold style that resembles very early Block Color images. One tapestry band forms part of the headdress on the head of the deceased elder male seated at the core of Bundle 217 (Yacovleff and Muelle 1934:121, Figure 16). It is composed of a series of different motifs, including a frontal standing figure with a mask-like rayed head, holding a banded staff in one hand and a pair of poles (probably cane shafts or spears) in the other. A spotted object on one shoulder may represent a net bag, like those carried by embroidered rayed head figures in Necropolis Burials 310, 378, and 382 (Figure 5.22a,b). The yellow color and sets of vertical and horizontal rays suggest reference to sheet gold facial ornaments, an association that recurs in early Nasca rayed head images.

The rayed head figure of the Block Color embroidery style cited by Chávez and Chávez is found in a matching set of garments in Burial 310 and also on garments in related Burials 378 and 382. The set of garments from Necropolis Burial 310 includes a mantle, shoulder poncho (*esclavina*), and a garment that is

Figure 5.21. Paracas Necropolis Burial 421, Specimen 44. Detail of the neck of a shoulder poncho (*esclavina*) with borders and bands depicting interlinking bands attached to rayed heads. Felines are set into the triangular interstice. Note the tiny rayed motifs in the sub-border. MNAAHP RT205.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 5.22. Examples of rayed head figures on a headcloth and mantle from two related gravelots from the Wari Kayan cemetery (Paracas Necropolis) demonstrate similarities and differences on the levels of garment design, figure style and iconography. (a) Paracas Necropolis Gravelot 310 Specimen 39, MNAAHP RT1003. (b) MNAAHP Gravelot 378 Specimen 7. RT2673.

shaped like a headcloth but fringed like a mantle. All have a central ground of a single plain-weave panel in deep yellow camelid hair—an unusual color and an unusual fabric for headcloths. The mantle has versions of the same figure arrayed across the central panel and borders (now destroyed). The dominant colors of this garment set—yellow or beige, dark green, and purple-red—are like those we have observed in other rayed head images. Despite the apparent creation of these garments as a matched set, each differs in details of the motif, as well as in specific features of textile design such as the type of fringe. The garments with similar figures in Burials 378 and 382 share important features with those of 310 but also demonstrate redesign and reinterpretation.[4]

This highly consistent rayed head figure type recurs in several Necropolis burials but is not integrated into later complex images linking several figures. This sets it apart in Topará-associated iconography, like the hummingbird-and-flower representation, that also occurs among the Necropolis textiles—particularly on headcloths—but is rarely included in complex images from Early Intermediate Period 2 burials. These images may refer to mythic themes or social and ritual identities from outside the Topará tradition or a special category of mythic personages. One possibility is an allusion to the ancestral mortuary bundles at Chongos. Another is an allusion to the Paracas tradition communities of the oases of southern Ica, including the Callango Basin—location of the historic center of Animas Altas—and the Ocucaje Basin—contemporary crucible for the innovations of Nasca 1.

In an embroidered border with fragments now at the Textile Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Detroit Institute of Arts (Sawyer 1997:Figures 34, 35, 36), one figure has a head in the form of a rayed mouth mask (Figure 5.23). This combination of several different figures on a border is typical of early Nasca and rare in Topará-associated embroideries. Technique, style, and the canons of design all link these figures to those on early Nasca running-stitch samplers from the Cabildo site, as Sawyer has demonstrated. The rayed head figure appears adjacent to a figure in garments that resemble early Nasca women's dress (Frame 2004). It is closely related to the "female" figure characteristic of early Nasca from two known examples

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 5.23. Border fragment combining several different figures, including one with a mask-like rayed head, embroidered using techniques, design principles and a range of colors characteristic of early Nasca. AMNH 41.2 714.

of a paired figure, one in Göteborg, probably from the Paracas site, and the other in the Textile Museum (Bird and Bellinger 1954:Plate XXIII; Sawyer 1997:Figures 78, 79). The power of women is symbolically invisible in most of the corpus of Necropolis embroidered imagery but was apparently on the symbolic agenda in emergent early Nasca. It may be important to keep in mind the rayed mouth mask images painted above the crotch or buttocks of later Nasca female figurines. Might these have an antecedent in the rayed head depicted between the legs of our example of a painted mask on the "false head" of an Ocucaje funerary bundle? The combination of an array of standardized figure types in early Nasca, associated with the use of samplers, indicates fundamental changes in both the organization of production and the social role of the imagery.

The rayed heads of early Nasca do not appear to be closely associated with or derived from those of the Necropolis embroideries. Instead, they reveal a direct relationship with the rayed heads of the lower Ica Valley. A spectacular mantle composed of double-cloth panels was excavated at Cahuachi in the burial of a woman (Frame 2009; Orefici and Drusini 2003;154, Figure 44a). In this mantle, a classic rayed head in a yellow and dark blue panel is set among diverse other images in Broad Line style. Its antecedents clearly lie among late Paracas rayed head motifs, particularly images like those produced in warp-cross gauze weave. Another rayed head image is situated among a range of other motifs in a style and technique characteristic of early Nasca, an unusually curvilinear example of discontinuous warp and weft. This textile, currently in the Musée de Quai Branly, unfortunately lacks provenience (Rehl 2006). These fragments provide evidence of the continuing presence of the rayed head as an independent image in early Nasca and demonstrate an apparently motivated use of consistent colors that could be considered evidence for solar reference, as well as a possible association with gold face and head ornaments.

Earlier Necropolis headcloths did not carry embroidery in the central panel, but it becomes quite common in Early Intermediate Period 2 headcloths of variable dimensions and design. An antecedent to this kind of design can be found in the Paracas tradition knotted, gauge weave, and doublecloth headdresses discussed above. Early Nasca headcloths may incorporate double-faced running stitch and small repeated designs, including rayed head images that resemble mouth masks acting as free agents (Frame 1999:Plate 8). Another early Nasca-style headcloth in the Textile Museum (Bird and Bellinger 1954;Plate XIV; Frame 1999:Plate 2; Kajitani 1982:42) has an overall design of complex figures alternating with pairs of double-headed serpents arched over dorsal birds, all depicted as outlines in running stitch across the sheer fabric. The central figure gives the impression of having a rayed head; however, the "rays" are created by a prominent diadem, mouth mask, and arched feather headdress.

The mantle at the American Museum of Natural History illustrated by Mary Frame (1995:Plate 6, 1999:Plate 10) has a very unusual rayed head motif, proportioned like those of Ica and early Nasca but unique in having only six hooked rays (Figure 5.24). Frame cites a number of features that link this mantle to the early

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 5.24. Mantle combining an image similar to late objects from Paracas Necropolis gravelots on the central band, imagery and design features associated with contemporary objects of Nasca Valley provenience on the lateral borders, and a repetition of rayed head images across the central ground. AMNH 41.0 1501.

Nasca small mantles and headcloths. They include, first, the repetition of a figure over the central cloth that is unlike the figures on the border; second, the use of double-faced stitching in the figures; and third, the style and structure of the tabbed borders. While the central band resembles images from several late Necropolis burials, the integrated borders and tabs resemble embroidery design on textiles from the looted "Cabezas Largas" burials of the Arena Blanca sector at Paracas, as well as contemporary textiles from Cahuachi and the Cabildo site in the Nasca Valley, published by Sawyer (1997:98–105). The faces surrounded by six hooked elements have no exact match in our corpus of rayed head images. The closest analogy to their repetition across the ground fabric is found in a headcloth from the Cabezas Largas (Arena Blanca) sector of the Paracas site, often called "The Paracas Textile."

The headcloth known as "The Paracas Textile" is now at the Brooklyn Museum but was originally part of a looted "Cabezas Largas" gravelot offered for sale in Lima by Pisco merchant Domingo Cañepa in 1923. Identification as a headcloth is based on the fine spinning and low thread count of the cotton plain-weave fabric, as well as on the dimensions of the textile and the alleged description of its original location, draped on the peak of a mortuary bundle containing a male burial, looted in the Cabezas Largas section of the Paracas site (Levillier 1928; Tello 1959). Tello was able to analyze the textile at the time. The "Paracas Textile" was purchased by a Peruvian collector and sent to an exhibit at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, where it was published by Jean Levillier, who had first seen it in Lima, and by Raoul d'Harcourt (1934).

The rayed head images of "The Paracas Textile" (Figure 5.25) are created in camelid hair yarns in warp wrapping during the interlacing of fine cotton warps and wefts to create a plain-weave fabric. The heart-shaped faces resemble Broad Line figures and related late Paracas imagery, as well as the knotted faces on the openwork headdress in Figure 5.7. In contrast, the borders are a uniquely intensive example of the looping techniques previously used on edgings and headbands, here employed to create three-dimensional figures that presage those typical of early Nasca but are more diverse and complex than any other known example (Harcourt 1934). Tiny independent figures mediate between the independently constructed

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 5.25. Headcloth with rayed head motifs worked in camelid hair using a warp wrapping technique during the weaving of the fine cotton cloth of the central panel. A separately constructed border carries designs constructed in complex looping over separately woven cotton plain weave tapes and knotted extensions. Small embroidered motifs resembling hummingbirds with looped elements span the join between the borders and the central panel. BMA 38.121.

border and the central fabric, a feature typical of early Nasca borders. At the same time, interior subborders are typical of certain embroidery styles from the Paracas Necropolis gravelots, including many examples of the "goatsucker" figure that resemble this motif. The tiny subborder figures also physically resemble the headdress elements represented in images from Burial 243 (Figure 5.19) and Burial 420 (Figure 5.20) as well as the paired head-level and crotch-level motifs on the Taraco Stela from the Titicaca Basin, as noted by Chávez and Chávez (1975).

Context, Form, and Meaning

In summary, this corpus of rayed head images is embedded within specific production traditions, textile structures characteristic of Paracas tradition producers, different textile structures characteristic of Topará tradition producers, and both combinations and innovations in early Nasca times. Regionally specific object types were produced: objects that adorned the false heads and sloping sides of funerary bundles. In many cases, these—or others like them—may have been worn in life.

As we have seen in the discussion of objects from the Callango and Ocucaje Basins in the lower Ica Valley, the site of Chongos in the Pisco Valley, and the Cavernas/Cerro Colorado, Necropolis of Wari Kayan, and Cabezas Largas/Arena Blanca cemeteries of the Paracas site on the Paracas Peninsula, in each production tradition and burial complex at each historic period, the rayed head is embedded in a set of iconographic associations that are different from those of other times and places. As an independent element, it appears to be emblematic of a regional social identity in Paracas Phase 9, used in public display as an element on the architecture of Animas Altas, and displayed as part of the "false heads" of funerary/ancestral bundles in lower Ica, central Pisco, and the Paracas Peninsula.

The rayed head overlaps considerably with the "Oculate Being" as defined by the Berkeley school. It appears on Janus-headed figures both as an alternate face or "back of the head" and as disks or panels on the shoulders and hips. After the intrusion of the Topará tradition into the Paracas Peninsula region and its apparent hegemony in Pisco and Paracas (Paracas Phase 10-EIP 1), "rayedness" and "oculateness" diffuse into pervasive

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

elements of mythic or supernatural figures. The rayed head is most often depicted at the Paracas Necropolis as a feature of other images—but appears in early Nasca as an independent image or repeating motif. Throughout its history, it is particularly associated with headdress elements and appears to bear a paradigmatic relationship with sheet gold facial ornaments.

As a core symbol pervasive in south-coastal imagery from Paracas Phase 9 on, the rayed head has multiple denotations and connotations. Both images and contexts express ontology of the body focusing on the head, the face, body orifices, and the limbs—on the powers of life and the corruption of death. The ancestral dead, in their decay, are linked to the generation of new life expressed by the insect symbolism of the "goatsucker" motif. The rayed heads are materialized in objects that can be clustered into polithetic groups (Davis 1990) associated by similarities in function and in production techniques as well as an emblematic use of color. Recurrent color combinations suggest a motivated use of yellows, greens, oranges, and other bright hues found in fresh plant growth, fruits, and flowers, as well as a contrast like that of the sun and the sky—or water. Sometimes termed a "sun face" (e.g., King 1965), its association with sheet gold ornaments that reflect the rays of the sun and echo its color supports this reference and links to other connotations. Rayed head figures can be associated with arches, in some cases rainbow-like and in many cases ending in serpent heads—imagery associated in the Andes with celestial phenomena, including lightning bolts and the Milky Way. The rayed head may also be associated with a specific social group or ritual identity linked in historic and mythic discourse to the earlier rayed heads of late Paracas.

For the most part, in subsequent early Nasca ceramic-based and textile imagery, rayed images are part of facial and head ornaments. However, the rayed head also can appear in early Nasca ceramics as a principal image, as in one example with star attributes (Figure 5.26). Some independent figures have been interpreted as animated ornaments, rayed "trophy heads," or crab or insect representations (e.g., Kroeber and Collier 1998:182, Figure 271). In most later Nasca ceramics and textiles, the face with recurved rays appears to be relegated to the status of endemic metaphor, a constant elaboration on appendages and other bodily emanations. Its style and locus of representation have become so distinct at this period that the reintroduction into the region of rayed head figures in images of Tiwanaku-associated style gives the impression of a new and unprecedented

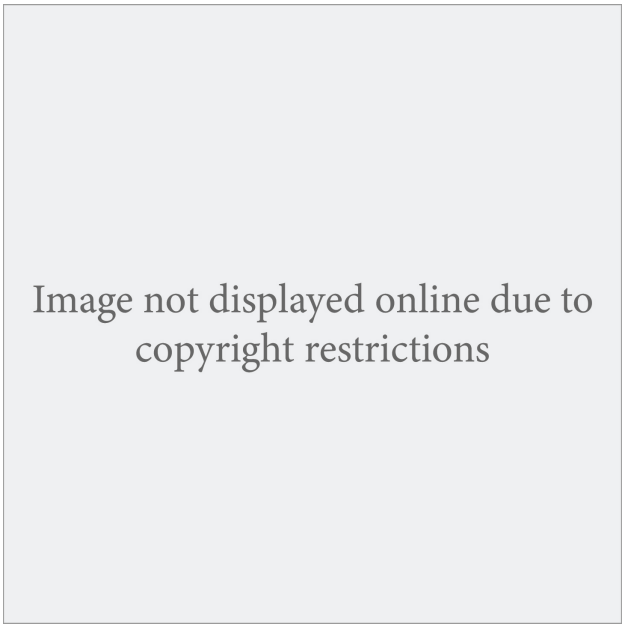


Figure 5.26. Early Nasca bottle featuring an "oculate rayed head" image, with ringed eyes and mouth, eight straight (star-like) rays and eight hooked rays. MRI DA-1016.

concept. Perhaps the best examples are the Pacheco urns, from a Nasca Valley site downstream from the great center of Cahuachi—as well as many examples from the south coast and Ayacucho highlands in early Middle Horizon styles.

One question that immediately comes to mind is the degree to which later Nasca and Middle Horizon images signify a range of rayed head denotations and connotations related to those we have discussed for the Paracas, Topará, and early Nasca traditions. Do these visually analogous images constitute a related body of iconography—or, in semiotic terms, do these signs share the same or similar referents or overlapping spheres of reference?

Circum-Altiplano and Desert Regions Comparisons

To explore the problem of long-distance contact and influence in the south-central Andes during Formative times, we must turn our gaze to the desert regions that lie between the circum-Titicaca region and southern altiplano and the Pacific Ocean, applying the same approach of close consideration of the rayed heads learned in the study of Paracas, Topará, and early Nasca contexts. This discussion is intended as a dialogue with colleagues working in these regions.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The Sihuas textiles include large mantles or funerary wrapping cloths produced using interlocking (scaffolded) warp and weft plain weave. This technique is also present in Ocucaje tunics and early Paracas Necropolis textile assemblages. Rayed head images also appear in a Siguas tapestry band, but its width suggests that it did not serve as a headdress band like those of Paracas- and Topará-associated burials. Specifics of form and technique link it more to Haeberli's (2001) "Provincial Pukara" tapestry panels. In short, the types of textile produced are not formally analogous to Paracas, Topará, and early Nasca examples. Only the purported final function as a mortuary wrapping cloth, which might have been visible as a display layer during funerary or ancestral rites, is comparable. However, the Siguas motif—in the sense of specific image, including its style or design—appears to be fundamentally distinct from those of Ocucaje or the Paracas site, except for an analogous range of colors, which might be emblematic or symbolic or primarily a reflection of dyestuffs and dye techniques common to these two regions. Only the icon "rayed head," associated with other iconic elements such as double-headed serpentine motifs and insect representations, appears to be closely related.

Moreover, the close relationships between the Siguas four-tie wrapping cloths (Haeberli 2001) and the Ocucaje corpus of rayed head images occur specifically in the Ocucaje looped shirts. Both the Textile Museum tunic (Figure 5.14) and the Ohara collection fragment (Kajitani 1982:Figure 15) demonstrate similarities to the Siguas warp and weft scaffolded panels on two levels. First, on the level of layout and associated icons, the rayed head appears as the central dominant motif, flanked in one case by double-headed zigzag serpents and profile birds, and incorporating zigzag elements in the other case. Second, on the level of design, the scale of the motifs, type of abstraction, and strong diagonals set these images apart from other rayed heads from Ocucaje. I hypothesize that the Ocucaje looped shirts are a garment type associated with high-altitude herding and long-distance travel, carried out by individuals and social groups who were in contact with others like themselves, circulating between the high-altitude grasslands and coastal valleys further to the south.

The "Provincial Pukara" or "Early Tiwanaku" textiles allegedly from Siguas cemeteries consist of densely woven tapestry panels, said to have been set into tunics as shoulder panels. Might such tunics be depicted on the Janus-headed jars of Ocucaje (Figures 5.8 and 5.9)? Colors deployed include a four-color alternation (five colors with two reds), similar to that of Ocucaje and some Topará Linear styles. The shoulder panels have a color range more analogous to that of EIP 2 Block Color embroideries from the Paracas Necropolis or the Nasca region. Both the production process—including the types of loom that would have been used—and the specific sorts of textile that it produced are profoundly dissimilar to the Siguas mummy bundle wraps. Taking into consideration production technology, functional elements of form, image style, canons of design, and the aesthetic of the object as a whole, these textiles must come from a different production tradition. Only in the tapestry bands is there evidence for influence in style and technique between the Siguas mortuary bundle wraps and these tapestry tunic panels, similar to that which we have been able to trace between diverse Paracas, Topará, and early Nasca textile-based imagery.

Rayed heads are known from the Azapa Valley on four extremely similar tunic panels (Figure 5.27). Each is constructed of a single warp-dominant panel with fine warp striping, in some examples created by alternating beige and white fine stripes overdyed with red. A second set of paired warps was scaffolded onto some of the warp ends at the bottom of the woven panel, both loom ends (front and back), apparently when the textile was already folded at the shoulder with the side seams joined, and tensioned. A tapestry panel incorporating rayed head images was then woven on this scaffolded warp, and alternating weft shots in beige and white fill the final centimeter at both the beginning and end of the extra warp, masking the join to the previously woven warp-dominant panel.

This unique production technique was used to create the two known tunics from San Miguel de Azapa and a fragment of a third tunic recovered in the Cuya site in the Camerones Valley. Fragments of the warp-dominant panel and tapestry panels were reused to construct two elongated bags or pouches also recovered in the Azapa Valley—one associated with a snuff tube. Similar combinations of a warp-faced cloth flanked by weft-faced panels were used to construct many tunics and loincloths recovered from the Azapa Valley and the surrounding region south to the Tarapacá Valley (Agüero and Cases 2004). The rayed head motifs are not similar to contemporary imagery on objects from the Titicaca region (Chávez 2004). Instead, they are equivalent in both iconography and style to a rock art image painted in the upper Rio Loa (Horta and Berenguer 1995), in the Atacama region to the south. Not far from there, a late Formative loincloth and other fragments based on

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

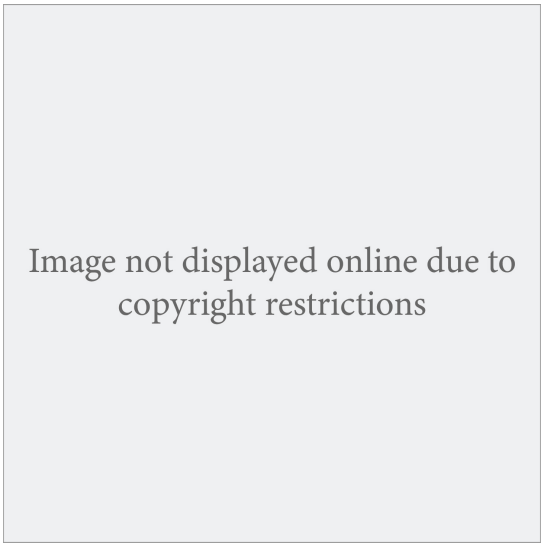


Figure 5.27. Lower panel of a tunic excavated in a group of offering and burial pits set into an anthropogenic mound at the site of San Miguel de Azapa. The slit tapestry panel was woven on paired white warps that had been scaffolded onto the loomstring end of a previously woven warp-striped tunic. MASMA.

warp-faced panels bordered with tapestry panels include a fragment found by Latcham at the Chorrillos site near Calama (Horta 2004; Sinclaire 1999:Figure 7) in which full figures with rayed heads alternate with paired zigzag lines, similar in iconography to late Paracas doublecloth mantles and similar in style to the rayed head figure on the tapestry headband from Paracas Burial 217.

Two other textiles that have been cited as evidence for Azapa-altiplano contact are fundamentally different in construction, using different types of yarn, dye processes, and tapestry joins, while weaving on a long band-type warp. One of these textiles, which has been considered to be a cranial modification band, is decorated with a head bearing a striking resemblance to some Pukara ceramics—and the Moho stela—in iconographic reference and image style (Agüero and Cases 2004:Figure 3b; Horta 2004:Figure 9). This band has a good claim to be an actual Pukara textile, as its technical features—spin and ply, dye processes and colors achieved, dovetailed tapestry joins, and weave density—are different from other textiles from the Azapa Valley. Based on its proportions and structure, I suggest that this may be an early example of the belt-bag (*faja-bolsa*).

The second Azapa "rayed head" tapestry band has features of a frontal face with ringed eyes and mouth among stepped motifs, alternating with profile camelids and dorsal frogs or toads (Figure 5.28). It is part of a later production tradition associated with burials in large baskets at site Azapa 115, considered related to those from Caserones and contemporary with both Nasca and Early Tiwanaku (Santoro 1980). The iconography of this band and aspects of image style are certainly related to that of the Azapa tunics, but crosses are a new feature, and the rays consistently depicted around those bipartite frontal faces have here dissolved into a stepped motif. Technically distinct from the Formative textiles discussed above, this band is part of the textile assemblage characteristic of the Valles Occidentales region from Azapa to Tarapacá at a later period.

The Azapa and adjacent valleys run straight up to the altiplano south of Lake Titicaca. Historic records of regular camelid and mule caravanning in this region have led to models of regional history that posit high degrees of vertical integration in every historic period. Despite the small populations of these narrow coastal valleys and the spans of desert that separate them, closely related regional artifact traditions were maintained over long periods of time in coastal valleys ranging from Moquegua to Tarapacá. These desert communities interacted with more populous altiplano centers, including Tiwanaku and later polities that came under Inka rule, without losing their regional artifact styles. It would appear that this was also the case at the time the rayed head tunics were produced, worn, and modified for reuse as bags. Both their production techniques and imagery style are internally consistent throughout the "Valles Occidentales" and Rio Loa regions, as well as distinct from contemporary imagery known from the altiplano, the "Provincial Pukara," of the Siguas Valley, and the other traditions to the north.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

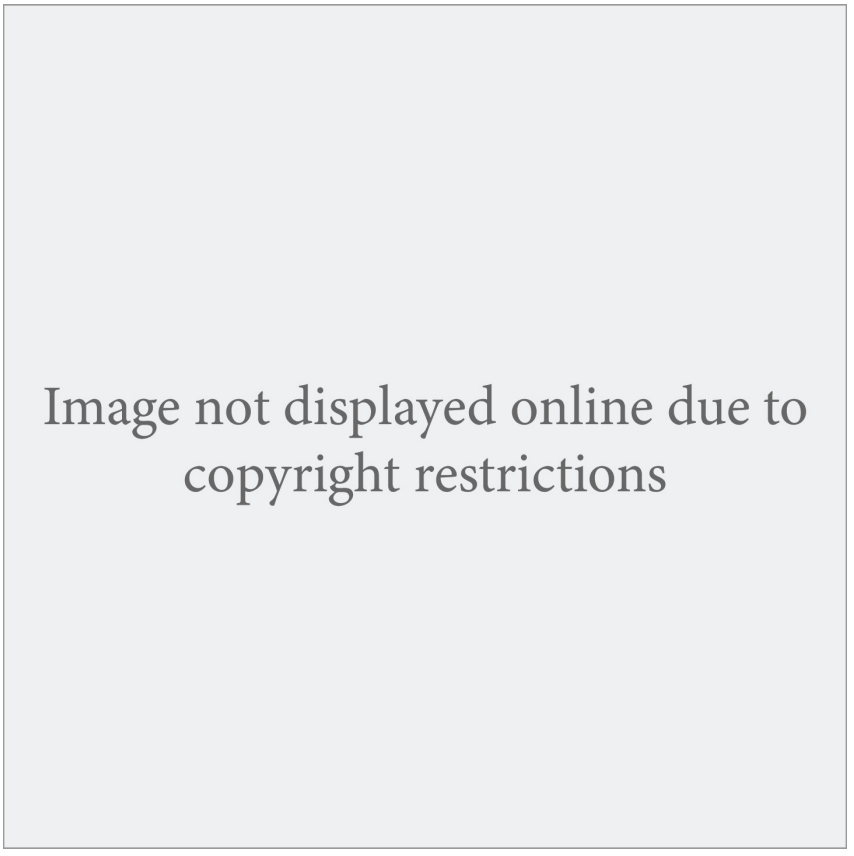


Figure 5.28. Band constructed in interlinked tapestry on paired warps, excavated in a sector of burials placed in large baskets at the Azapa Valley Museo site (Azapa 115) MASMA.

The broader regional comparisons considered above neither prove nor discount direct contact in any specific historic moment between communities resident in the oases around Paracas and communities resident in the Titicaca Basin. However, they do suggest that travel and contact over great distances was an integral part of the social world of the Andean societies participating in rayed head imagery. A vast, multicentered interaction sphere of mutual influence can be inferred. The Azapa Valley, for example, could maintain a regional emblematic style while exercising influence, as well as being influenced by the constant circulation of camelid caravans between the rich Pacific Coast, highland valleys, and altiplano grasslands. In another region, communities associated with the Paracas, Topará, and early Nasca traditions were at once antagonists and exchange partners, each oasis with its own type of relationship to the high grasslands of what is today Castrovirreyna and the Puquio region of Ayacucho, as well as more distant regions. Within the greater interaction sphere, history pulsated north and south along the coastal deserts and through archipelagos of highland pasture, as well as over trans-Andean routes from Pacific bays to Amazonian forests.

No evidence has been found that rayed head images had a single origin center or emanated from a political capital. However, on more specific regional and historical levels, particular types of rayed head images and associated objects appear to have been linked to individuals who held forms of ritual and political power, as well as to places that were seats of power.

Iconographic Referents and Style Differences

So what was the nature of interaction that brought the rayed head to so many regions of the south-central Andes during the Formative pre-Tiwanaku era? Few rayed head images appear on early carved stone monuments from the Titicaca Basin or on smaller objects of stone and pottery in Pucara style, while we have contemporary evidence for diverse rayed heads throughout the coastal regions where textiles are preserved. However, it should not be surprising to find a central icon expressed in more ephemeral, portable media earlier—and more frequently—than we find it carved in stone.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

An icon, strictly speaking, can be defined as a conventional image linked to a verbal reference such as a metaphor, proverb, or myth. The image of a rayed head—even in the mobile form of textiles—did not necessarily need to travel or have been already inscribed in stone at a pilgrimage site for it to recur widely as an icon across the south-central Andes. That said, it is important to recognize that those rayed head images on headdress elements, tunics, and mantles were very likely worn in life as well as on mortuary bundles, and their prominent public nature indicates that they constituted emblematic styles of dress that asserted personal and group identities. Objects like these probably would have traveled with their wearers and been displayed in important social encounters and on ritual occasions. Specific similarities in style as well as iconography could mark such direct contact.

There is a specific formal similarity between the Arapa Stela and Siguas 1 rayed heads. There is a specific formal similarity between the Taraco stela and the small recurved rayed motifs found in some Topará Linear 2 embroideries, in late Topará to early Nasca transitional textiles, and in the Siguas tapestry band. There is a striking formal similarity between the rayed head figure tapestry band on the head of the man in Necropolis Burial 217 and the Chorrillos figures from the Atacama region. But should we consider these visually similar motifs as equivalent icons, sharing the same referent? Likewise, if we consider the phrase "rayed head" to be a reference to a recurring icon, if that icon is depicted in dissimilar styles and techniques in different places, does that distribution constitute evidence for social contact among persons residing in those places?

Attributes such as specific similarities in form, color use, or production techniques may be cited as evidence for direct influence: visual and tactile examination of an object or observation and imitation of production practices. Evidence for these kinds of influence abound within the Paracas tradition, Topará tradition, and early Nasca objects that incorporate images of rayed heads. The Ocucaje looped tunics and the Siguas four-tie mortuary wrapping textiles demonstrate common features of both iconography and image style, suggesting contact and direct influence, although lack of provenience for key objects limits the conclusions we might draw from such resemblances. Consistency on the levels of technique, design, and iconography is evident among the Siguas textiles and also among the "Provincial Pukara" tapestry panels, although generally not between these two groups—despite their alleged juxtaposition in cemeteries of the Arequipa region. Similar consistency is evident among the Azapa, Camerones, and Tarapacá tunics but not between these and the other groups of textiles to the north. While textile travel among neighboring regions was no doubt important in reproducing both images and meanings, the wider distribution of rayed head images may not be best explained by their movement in textile form.

These different regional artifact and image production traditions are characterized by distinctions in production techniques, component materials, object forms, and the contexts in which they were used and displayed. They appear to share an icon but otherwise demonstrate great disparity in image style and associated practices. In the sample discussed here, rayed heads appear in six general contexts: (1) wall art, architectural or natural; (2) headdress elements for a person or a mortuary bundle; (3) tunics worn in life, remade into pouches, and buried in mortuary contexts or as independent offerings; (4) masks that provide a head or face for a mortuary bundle; (5) large mantles and four-tie cloths wrapped around mortuary bundles; and (6) receptacles that probably held food and/or drink, placed in tombs. In short, rayed head images were set into loci on a historically defined landscape, onto objects designed for ritual use, onto the clothed human body, onto supernatural bodies in mythic imagery, and onto funerary and ancestral bundles.

Imagery styles, including apparently emblematic uses of color, occur within regional material culture traditions at each historic period. Each tradition is associated with certain production processes and preferred techniques. These are used to create sets of objects, each forming part of an artifact complex that can be defined on a local level and traced through space and time. The people who made and displayed the artifacts may have traveled long distances, fought each other, or exchanged goods, services, and even family members. There may be evidence for this in their tombs. At the same time, on the community and regional levels—to the degree this is visible in the archaeological record—they retain distinctive sets of practices. The rayed head images were created anew in different social contexts.

Between about 400 BC and AD 400, distinct regional traditions of the Andean coast between Pisco and the Rio Loa Basin appear to share an analogous mythic referent; more specifically, a set of myths with common elements—including fundamental pan-Andean concepts—also no doubt embedded in stories of local and regional personages, powers, and places. Mythic references are expressed in diverse textile, ceramic, and other

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

production traditions and regional mortuary practices. The long-distance relationships and broad similarities embedded in regional iconographic systems referring to local polities and landscapes might be analogous to the different levels of reference in mythic-historic discourse like that recorded in the tales of Huarochiri (Salomon and Urioste 1991; Taylor 1999).

Julio C. Tello, who was familiar with the central Andean mythic histories of travels, intrusions, battles, and new settlements by Wari and Llacuaz ancestors, saw the staff-bearing figures of Chavin, Paracas, Nasca, and Tiwanaku as historic and regional expressions of variants on the Inka myths of Wira Kocha documented in early colonial chronicles (Tello 1923). Subsequent archaeologists, many of us less versed in Andean mythic histories and most inclined to view such a broad vision as an argument for simple equivalence or absolute continuity, have tended to shy away from Tello's vision. Nonetheless, the term "Wari" has been applied to the evidence for widespread political integration that defines the Middle Horizon (e.g., Isbell 1988; Schreiber 1992), and the distribution of the mythic histories of Thunapu has led Andeanists time and again to explore its possible relationship to the sphere of Tiwanaku influence (e.g., Bouysse-Cassagne 1998; Chacama and Espinosa 1997; Rivera 1985).

Stories of a personage with a head that emits power—solar rays, or lightning bolts, or streams of water, or sprouting plants—may have been vital to communities in the desert oases and coastal fishing villages, in the exposed *lomas* and *punas*, and in the valleys that plunge from the altiplano to the sea. Regional versions of mythic histories like that known from early colonial Huarochiri could have been retold and reimagined in the context of ceremonial practice and social encounters: among close neighbors, in pilgrimage gatherings, or on traveling caravans—in each generation. Multiple incarnations or avatars of this powerful personage may have been associated with particular places and political powers. Depictions of the head alone or a full-bodied incarnation—with other attributes, staffs, linked beings, or attendants—may have been related as are different phrases in mythic discourse or variant texts.

At the same time, this attempt to explore similarities among the bodies of imagery produced in different regions over a series of roughly parallel historic moments has led to a caveat on both the levels of theory and method. In comparing images, we must carefully distinguish assertions of iconographic similarity from assertions of stylistic similarity. Of course, this is very difficult in the process of formal analysis, as we have seen on close examination of Paracas, Topará, and early Nasca. To ask more complex questions about Andean historic and social relations, our comparisons of iconography, style, and technique must become more detailed and specific.

Relationships of style may mark forms of social identity and social contact, including direct exposure to objects perceived by the senses—predominantly visually—as well as direct contacts with objects and their producers that could foster learning and imitation. Studies of imitation and innovation in contemporary Andean weaving demonstrate that influence, on the levels of production techniques and design, often occurs through study and replication of a textile rather than by one weaver teaching another (Franquemont and Franquemont 1987). The adoption of analogous concepts, motifs, design principles, and production practices can occur even across symbolically maintained social boundaries, like those that were reasserted in changing forms between the late Paracas and Topará traditions, as well as later between the early Nasca and late Topará traditions. Mythic discourse is produced and reproduced in interaction with material referents to elements from that discourse. Both may endure and transform in contexts of radical social change. These complex processes can be traced in Andean prehistory, as well as in historic Andean communities.

Acknowledgments

I thank my colleagues at the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología e Historia del Perú, Museo Regional de Ica, Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa, Brooklyn Museum, American Museum of Natural History, and Textile Museum for allowing and facilitating my research during various periods between 1979 and 2012 and for extending permission to publish photographs of objects from their collections. Library research and collections analysis were carried out while a fellow in pre-Columbian studies at Dumbarton Oaks during 2006–2007, where I experienced extraordinary hospitality and intellectual exchange. I discovered several more rayed heads from the Paracas Necropolis while documenting mortuary contexts in 2010–2012 with support from the Archaeology Program of the National Science Foundation (Grant No. 0852151). I thank Isabel Iriarte for generously sharing information from her extensive research on the provenance of Paracas-related textiles from early twentieth-century collections, as well as William Isbell, Mauricio Uribe, and Anne Tiballi for their organizational and editorial initiatives. Of course, I assume full responsibility for the character and limits of this analysis.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Abbreviations

AMNH American Museum of Natural History, New York
MASMA Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa, San Miguel
MNAAHP Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología e Historia del Perú, Lima
MRI Museo Regional de Ica, Ica
TM Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Notes

1 A more diverse range of mask-like objects with unknown provenience was published by Lapiner (1976), including fox-face masks in both late Paracas and early Nasca styles. Dawson (1979:Figure 19) illustrates one of these masks, noting its alleged provenience to be the Cahuachi site.

2 The Paracas site, excavated by Julio C. Tello from 1925 to 1929, includes the north slope and ridge of Cerro Colorado, the hill that lies on a north-south axis across the neck of the peninsula, as well as the "Arena Blanca" sector, a fan-shaped area of sand and limestone ridges to the northwest. The Cabezas Largas area is a cluster of previously looted burials in the Arena Blanca sector, provenience of the famous "Paracas Textile" (Figure 5.22).

3 The Berkeley school refers to graduate students and scholars working with John H. Rowe between 1950 and 1980, particularly the contributions of Dorothy Menzel, Lawrence Dawson, Jane Powell Dwyer, and Donald Proulx in developing a shared discourse regarding the iconography, style, and chronology of Paracas and Nasca.

4 Bundle 310 figures have a peculiar mouth resembling part of an insect or crustacean. I have argued that the rayed heads resemble spiny-bodied spiders (*Gastera macracantha*), master weavers of the region, while the figure bodies may make allusions to insect wings (Peters 1991). Some of these figures have a human head emerging from the net bag on their back. Their dress bears some similarity to early Nasca women's garments defined by Frame (2004) but also resembles elements of dress common to warrior-type figures. Burial 378 includes two garments with this image: one appears to alternate male and female gender roles, while th e other alternates brandishing weapons with carrying a head.

References

Agüero, Carolina and Bárbara Cases
2004 Quillagua y los textiles formatives del norte grande de Chile. *Chungara*, *Volumen Especial* 2:599–617.

Anton, Ferdinand
1972 *The Art of Ancient Peru*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Arnold, Denise Y., and Juan de Dios Yapita
2006 *The Metamorphosis of Heads: Textual Struggles, Education and Land in the Andes*. University of Pittsburg Press, Pittsburg.

Bachir Bacha, Aïcha, and Oscar Daniel Llanos Jacinto
2013 ¿Hacia un urbanismo paracas en Ánimas Altas/Ánimas Bajas (valle de Ica)? *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 17:169–204.

Bird, Junius B., and Louise C. Bellinger
1954 *Paracas Fabrics and Nasca Needlework*. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Browman, David L.
1975 Trade Patterns in the Central Highlands of Peru in the First Millennium B.C. *World Archaeology* 6(3):322–329.

Bouysse-Cassagne, Thérèse
1998 *Lluvias y Cenizas: Dos Pachacuti en la Historia*. Hisbol, La Paz.

Burger, Richard
1995 [1992] *Chavin and the Origins of Andean Civilization*. Thames and Hudson, New York.

Carrión Cachot, Rebeca
1931 La indumentaria en la antigua cultura de Paracas. *Wira Kocha: Revista Peruana de Estudios Antropológicos* 1(1):37–86.

Chacama, Juan, and Gustavo Espinosa
1997 La ruta de Tarapacá: Análisis de un mito y una imagen rupestre en el norte de Chile. Actas del Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Chilena. *Contribución Arqueológica* 5:769–792.

Chávez, Sergio
2004 The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 70–93. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Chávez, Sergio, and Karen Mohr Chávez
1975 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno: Peru and the Definition of an Early Style Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:45–84.

Cordy-Collins, Alana
1979 Cotton and the Staff God: Analysis of an Ancient Chavin Textile. In *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, edited by Ann P. Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, pp. 51–60. The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Davis, Whitney
1990 Style and History in Art History. In *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, edited by Margaret W. Conkey and Christine A. Hastorf, pp. 5–17. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Dawson, Lawrence
1979 Painted Cloth Mummy Masks of Ica, Peru. In *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, edited by Ann P. Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, pp. 83–104. The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Deleonardis, Lisa
1997 Paracas Settlement in Callango, Lower Ica Valley, First Millenium, B.C. Peru. PhD dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

Duviols, Pierre
1973 Huari y Llacuaz: Agricultores y pastores, un dualismo prehispánico de oposición y complementaridad. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 39:153–191.

Dwyer, Jane
1979 The Chronology and Iconography of Paracas-Style Textiles. In *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, edited by Ann P. Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, pp. 105–128. The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Emery, Irene
1994 *The Primary Structures of Fabrics: An Illustrated Classification*. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Focacci, Guillermo
1980 Síntesis de la Arqueología del extremo norte de Chile. *Chungara* 6:56.

Frame, Mary
1986 The Visual Images of Fabric Structures in Ancient Peruvian Art. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by Ann Rowe, pp. 47–80. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.
1991 Structure, Image and Abstraction: Paracas Necrópolis Headbands as System Templates. In *Paracas Art and Architecture: Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*, edited by Anne Paul, pp. 110–171. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
1995 *Ancient Peruvian Mantles. 300 B.C–A.D. 200*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
1999 Textiles de estilo Nasca. In *Tejidos Milenarios del Perú/ Ancient Peruvian Textiles*, edited by José Antonio de Lavalle and Rosario de Lavalle de Cárdenas, pp. 261–310. AFP Integra, Lima.
2004 What the Women Were Wearing: A Deposit of Early Nasca Dresses and Shawls from Cahuachi, Peru. *The Textile Museum Journal* 42–43:13–53.
2009 The Textiles of Cahuachi. In *Nasca; El desierto de los dioses de Cahuachi /The Desert of the Cahuachi Divinities*, edited by Giuseppe Orefici, pp. 188–211. Graph Ediciones and La Positiva Seguros y Reaseguros, Lima.

Franquemont, Christine, and Edward Franquemont
1987 Learning to Weave in Chinchero. *The Textile Museum Journal* 26:55–78.

Haeberli, Joerg
2001 Tiempo y tradición en Arequipa, Perú, y el surgimiento de la cronología del tema de la deidad central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:89–137.

Harcourt, Raoul d'
1934 *Textiles Anciens du Pérou, et Leurs Techniques*. Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, Paris.

Hardman, Martha J.
1985 The Imperial Languages of the Andes. In *Language of Inequality*, edited by Nessa Wolfson and Joan Manes, pp. 183–193. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Horta T., Helena
2004 Iconografía del Formativo Tardío del norte de Chile. Propuesta de definición e interpretación basada en imágenes textiles y otros medios. *Estudios Atacameños* 27:45–76.

Horta T., Helena, and José Berenguer
1995 Un ícono formativo en el arte rupestre del Alto Loa. *Boletín de la Sociedad Chilena de Arqueología* 20:23.

Isbell, William
1988 City and State in Middle Horizon Huari. In *Peruvian Prehistory: An Overview of Inka and Pre-Inka Society*, edited by R. W. Keatinge, pp. 164–189. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kajitani, Nobuko
1982 Andesu No Senshoku (Textiles of the Andes). *Senshoku no Bi (Textile Art)* 20:9–99.

King, Mary Elizabeth
1965 Textiles and Basketry of the Paracas Period, Ica Valley, Peru. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.

Kroeber, Alfred L., and Donald Collier
1998 *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru. Alfred L. Kroeber's 1926 Expedition*. Patrick H. Carmichael, ed. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Lapiner, Alan
1976 *Pre-Columbian Art of South America*. Harry N. Abrams, New York.

Levillier, Jean
1928 *Paracas: A Contribution to the Study of Pre-Incaic Textiles in Ancient Peru*. Librería Hispano-Americana, Paris.

Massey, Sarah
1991 Social and Political leadership in the Lower Ica Valley: Ocucaje Phases 8 and 9. In *Paracas Art and Architecture*, edited by Anne Paul, pp. 315–348. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Matsumoto, Yuichi, Yuri Palomino Cavero, and Roy Gutierrez Silva
2013 The Domestic Occupation of Campanayuq Rumi: Implications for Understanding the Initial Period and Early Horizon of the South-Central Andes of Peru. *Andean Past* 11:Article 15.

Menzel Dorothy, John H. Rowe, and Lawrence E. Dawson
1964 *The Paracas Pottery of Ica: A Study in Style and Time*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 50. University of California, Berkeley.

Muñoz, Iván
1980 Investigaciones arqueológicas en los túmulos funerarios del valle de Azapa. *Chungara* 6:57–95.
1987 Enterramientos en túmulos en el valle de Azapa: Nuevas evidencias para definir la fase Alto Ramirez en el extremo norte de Chile. *Chungara* 19:93–128.

O'Neale, Lila
1942 Textile Periods in Ancient Peru: II. Paracas Cavernas and the Grand Necropolis. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 39(2):143–202.

Orefici, Giuseppe, and Andrea Drusini
2003 *Nasca: Hipótesis y evidencias de su desarrollo cultural*. Centro Italiano Studi e recherché Archeologiche Precolombiane, Lima.

Paul, Anne
1982 The Chronological Relationship of the Linear, Block Color and Broad Line Styles of Paracas Embroidered Images. In *Pre-Columbian Art History: selected readings*, edited by Alana Cordy-Collins, pp. 255–277. Peek Publications, Palo Alto, California.
1990 *Paracas Ritual Attire: Symbols of Authority in Ancient Peru*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman
2000 Protective Perimeters: The Symbolism of Borders on Paracas Textiles. *Res* 38:144–167.

Peters, Ann H.
1991 Ecology and Society in Embroidered Images from the Paracas Necrópolis. In *Paracas Art and Architecture: Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*, edited by Anne Paul, pp. 240–314. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
1997 Paracas, Topará and Early Nasca: Ethnicity and Society on the South Central Andean coast. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Rehl, Jane W.
2006 Weaving Principles for Life: Discontinuous Warp and Weft Textiles of Ancient Peru. In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young Sánchez and Frolia W. Simpson. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Rivera, Mario
1975 Una hipótesis sobre movimientos pblacionales altiplánicas y transaltiplánicas a las costas del norte de Chile. *Chungara* 5:7–31.
1984 Altiplano and Tropical Lowland Contacts in Northern Chile Prehistory: Chinchorro and Alto Ramírez Revisited. In *Social and Economic Organization in the Prehispanic Andes*, edited by David Browman, Richard Burger, and Mario Rivera, pp. 143–160. BAR International Series 194, Oxford.
1985 Alto Ramirez y Tiwanaku, un caso de interpretación simbólica a través de datos arqueológicos en el area de los valles occidentales, S. del Perú y N. de Chile. *Diálogo Andino* 4:39–58.

Rowe, Ann
1986 *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Salomon, Frank, and George L. Urioste
1991 *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Santoro, Calogero
1980 Estratigrafía y secuencia cultural funeraria fases: Azapa, Alto Ramirez y Tiwanako (Arica-Chile). Fase Azapa, transición del Arcaico al desarrollo agrario inicial en los valles bajos de Arica. *Chungara* 6:24–45, 46–56.

Sawyer, Alan R.
1997 *Early Nasca Needlework*. Lawrence King, London.

Schreiber, Katharina J.
1992 *Wari Imperialism in Middle Horizon Peru*. Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Anthropology 87. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Sinclaire, Carol
1999 Pinturas rupestres y textiles formatives en la region atacameña. *Estudios Atacameños* 14:327–338.

Taylor, Gerald
1999 *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*. Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú and Universidad Particular Ricardo Palma, Lima.

Tello, Julio C.
1923 Wira Kocha. *Inca* 1(1):94–320; 1(3):583–606.
1959 *Paracas, primera parte*. Institute of Andean Research and Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima.

Torero, Alfredo
1974 *El quechua y la historia social andina*. Universidad Ricardo Palma, Lima.

Ulloa, Liliana
1974 Análisis del material textil, sitios: Chinchorro, Quiani, Camarones-15, PLM 7, Faldas del Morro y Alto Ramírez. *Chungara* 3:96–103.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1982 Evolución de la industria textil prehispánica en la zona de Arica. *Chungara* 8:97–107.

Verde, Ana (comp.)

2009 *Mantos para la Eternidad: Textiles Paracas del Antiguo Peru. Museo de América Setiembre 2009–Febrero 2010*. Instituto Nacional de Cultura (Peru) and Ministerio de Cultura (Spain), Madrid.

Wallace, Dwight

1991 A Technical and Iconographic Analysis of Carhua Painted Textiles. In *Paracas Art and Architecture*, edited by Anne Paul, pp. 61–109. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Willey, Gordon

1948 Functional Analysis of "Horizon Styles" in Peruvian Archaeology. In *A Reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology*, assembled by Wendell C. Bennett, Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology 4:8–15. Society for American Archaeology and Institute of Andean Research, Menasha.

Yacovleff, Eugenio, and Jorge C. Muelle

1932 Una exploración en Cerro Colorado. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 1(2):30–103.

1934 Un fardo funerário de Paracas. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 3(1–2):63–153.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret (editor)

2004 *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Zuidema, R. Tom

1972 Meaning in Nazca Art: Iconographic Relationships between Inca-, Huari- and Nazca Cultures in Southern Peru. *Artstryck* 1971:35–54.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 6: Introduction

Front-Face Deity Motifs and Themes in the Southern Andean Iconographic Series

William H. Isbell

There can be no question that Yaya-Mama art is ancestral to Tiwanaku and Wari imagery, but there is a significant hiatus, both stylistic and temporal, that breaks the iconic sequence. In Chapter 6, Joerg Haeberli interrogates imagery and dating throughout much of the southern Andes to fill the hiatus. His chapter is long, detailed, and meticulous. It is also groundbreaking, innovative, and thought-provoking. His iconographic observations are abundantly illustrated, facilitating the close reading that is necessary to follow this chapter. He presents a new and original understanding of the origins and development of Wari/Tiwanaku—or Late Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS)—imagery, combined with refinements of absolute chronology that are without equal in current studies of Andean prehistory. As a little tangent, he explores gender in clothing depicted on Early SAIS images, leading to his affirmation that early Staff Gods with outstretched hands grasping objects are females—so not Staff Gods, but Staff Goddesses (see Chapter 20, this volume).

Haeberli's achievements are possible because of his effective use of textiles, which he asserts have been underused in most analyses of the Andean past. As he explains, there are many problems with radiocarbon dates, especially the security of association between stylistically dated ceramics—the class of archaeological material most emphasized by Andean prehistorians for defining and tracking chronological changes in ancient styles/cultures—and carbon samples collected in the field. However, with weavings, style and iconography are constructed with yarns that can be dated themselves. Furthermore, since cotton and wool are harvested annually and biannually, respectively, there is little danger of excessively early dates that occur when already old wood was used in a prehistoric context and then collected by archaeologists as a radiocarbon sample.

A great deal of the southern Andean interaction sphere is embraced in this study, both spatial and temporal. The primary goal is to identify and describe what Haeberli calls the "Missing Link," the variant (or variants) of SAIS iconography from which he believes that both Wari and Tiwanaku iconography most directly descend. Haeberli rejects the long-popular belief that Wari's SAIS iconography spread from Tiahuanaco, long after its origin and gradual development at the altiplano center (origin center thinking). Rather, both Tiahuanaco and Huari experienced significant cultural changes between around cal. Southern Hemisphere (SH) AD 700 to 800, which included the appearance of new ceramic shapes and decorative techniques, as well as Late SAIS imagery represented by the Rayed Head, Staff God, and Profile Attendants.

Haeberli convincingly identifies and describes Provincial Pucara textile imagery as the pre–Middle Horizon SAIS representational system from which Tiwanaku and Wari iconography must have derived.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

But temporal, stylistic, and spatial hiatuses separate Provincial Pucara from Tiwanaku and Wari, implying intermediate cultures, or imagery repertoires, to fill the gaps. Employing calibrated radiocarbon dates with errors of BP ± ≤ 78—many from his own research—and including Southern Hemisphere corrections, Haeberli proposes new chronological revisions and divisions for many of the styles in which SAIS iconography appears throughout the southern Andes. He especially reevaluates imagery and dating for Siguas 1; Provincial Pucara; late Nasca, Chakipampa, and Huamanga; and a style he names Konchopata. For the Wari heartland, he proposes a new chronology of three phases and undertakes a reevaluation of Tiwanaku (Late Formative 2, Tiwanaku IV–V, Omo, and Chen Chen) as well. The key contribution of the chapter is probably the identification, dating, and description of "Missing Link" imagery, in textiles and other media. The new textile dates for several styles/cultures are also great contributions.

It has been clear for some time that Dorothy Menzel's (1964, 1968) 50-year-old chronology for Wari and the Middle Horizon requires revisions. Haeberli's is the first entirely original proposal, with new criteria for internal phases that are synchronized with a very convincing set of absolute dates. Haeberli's identification of "Missing Link" iconography provides the critical innovation around which three phases of style change in the southern Andes are established—what he calls "preincursion," "incursion," and "postincursion." Incursion refers to the intrusion of SAIS imagery into Ayacucho, from Missing Link sources, creating what Haeberli calls Wari (he does not consider Ayacucho styles to be "Wari" unless they include the SAIS component). In the Huari heartland, this occurred between about cal. AD (SH) 690 and 780. Of course, archaeological manifestation of the "incursion" is best documented at Conchopata, where oversize ceramic offerings such as the 1977 and the 1942/1999 offerings represent what for Haeberli were multiple incursions of Staff God imagery from diverse Missing Link sources.

In Haeberli's proposed chronology, arrival of the SAIS Staff God and associated images in Ayacucho initiated both Wari and the Middle Horizon. In this he departs from popular current usage that follows Menzel's (1964) formulations—that in turn were based on John Rowe's (1962) proposal that the chronology for Peru's Ica Valley serves as a master sequence for a single chronology of archaeological periods throughout the central Andean culture area.

Continuing Haeberli's logic, preincursion is the phase immediately preceding the SAIS intrusion, when Chakipampa-style pottery, combining local Huarpa with south-coast Nasca influence, became popular. Postincursion represents the phase following SAIS intrusion, when Staff God imagery was reinterpreted in local styles like Haeberli's Konchopata and Menzel's Robles Moqo styles. However, Haeberli argues that Chakipampa-style artifacts did not disappear with Missing Link incursion, so discrepancies with Menzel's seriation become even greater.

Haeberli imagines simple diffusion of images as virtually the only dynamic in his analysis and interpretation of the Andean past. Furthermore, his Missing Link artifacts do not identify a currently known culture or even a specific region of the southern Andes. Rather, they appear to have been spread across a huge portion of the south. These problems, as well as Haeberli's preference for defining Wari and the Middle Horizon based on the appearance of SAIS Staff God imagery, may represent problems for some readers. SAIS iconography was not traditional in either the Huari or the Tiahuanaco heartlands but appears as a highly developed system of imagery that must have materialized a complex new religious ideology. Indeed, better understanding of this complex religious imagery is exactly what the SAIS concept is intended to achieve. Defining Staff God imagery as diagnostic of an Andean culture named after a type site, whether Huari or Tiahuanaco, seems to promote confusion. Haeberli also fails to provide clear description of some of his newly created styles, such as the Konchopata style. Rather, he illustrates examples—Figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 in the case of Konchopata—and explains to readers that he is still determining the formal content of such styles, as well as their radiocarbon dates. So this is a work in progress that demands consultations with the illustrations.

Despite several difficulties, Haeberli's analyses and interpretations are well worth the effort. They constitute new thinking about the southern Andean past that stimulates critical reevaluations and creative new syntheses. Readers may experience confusion with the numerous abbreviations Haeberli employs in this chapter. Although he does define them all, and they are reasonably intuitive, I review the more frequent and important ones here and suggest that readers make a list to keep on hand while reading. SH refers to a radiocarbon date correction for the Southern Hemisphere. MH refers to the Middle Horizon, with its epochs—1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b, sequentially.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Very important and easy to confuse are A-SAIS, or Ayacucho SAIS styles; AI-SAIS, or Ayacucho incursion SAIS; and AP-SAIS, or Ayacucho postincursion SAIS. Similarly, in the chronology of the Tiahuanaco type site, LF indicates Late Formative, while ET IV, T IV, LT IV, T IV–T V, and T V refer to Early Tiwanaku IV, Tiwanaku IV, Late Tiwanaku IV, Tiwanaku IV to V, and Tiwanaku V respectively. In Table 6.1, PP indicates Provincial Pukara; N7 and N9 are Nasca 7 and 9, respectively, and Ch refers to Chakipampa, T to Tiwanaku, prW to preincursion Wari, inW to incursion Wari, poW to postincursion Wari, K to Haeberli's Konchopata style, R to Menzel's Robles Moqo style, and S to artifacts from the Sihuas Valley. INC refers to Peru's Instituto Nacional de Cultura, now replaced by the new Ministerio de Cultura in Peru. Of course, SAIS refers to the Southern Andean Iconographic Series, discussed in the volume introduction.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Menzel, Dorothy

1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–106.

1968 New Data on Middle Horizon Epoch 2A. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:47–114.

Rowe, John H.

1962 Stages and Periods in Archaeological Interpretation. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 18(1):40–54.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 6

Front-Face Deity Motifs and Themes in the Southern Andean Iconographic Series

Joerg Haeberli

The belief still lingers that classic Tiwanaku-style iconography developed gradually from type-site antecedents and spread from its capital city of Tiahuanaco in different directions. At the center of this assumed spread from Tiahuanaco was a religious iconography focused on a Staff Deity with its Attendants. Crowns or headbands with ray-like appendages characterize these mythic supernaturals. However, local, "gradually over centuries," on-site evolution at Tiahuanaco of this set of supernaturals is not documented by the available record of iconography through time, style, or radiocarbon dates. The goal of this chapter is to explore plausible evolutionary scenarios for the rayed mythic supernaturals, beginning at least during the Early Horizon (EH) and culminating with the Middle Horizon (MH). Information will be drawn from iconography, style, radiocarbon dates, chronologies, temporal sequences, and archaeological excavation data.

The core protagonists of this study are mythic front-face deities and their profile attendants. The front-face deities represented without a body will be called Rayed Heads and those with a body Staff Deities. They are named Rayed Heads because they wear a headband or crown with radiating appendages circling the head and named Staff Deities because these Rayed Heads with a body have outstretched arms holding different kinds of staffs; this bearing of the body is called the Staff God pose (J. H. Rowe 1971:117).

Rayed Head themes in the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) appeared at least as early as the EH, while Staff God themes emerged during the Early Intermediate Period (EIP). Associated with each theme are Attendants, who, particularly with Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku iconography, frequently occur by themselves. These themes culminate with the apparently sudden and coeval appearance of Ayacucho SAIS in the Ayacucho Valley and with Tiwanaku in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin, initiating the Middle Horizon.

In some social circles during the nineteenth century, strange-looking but fascinating and beautiful objects from Latin American locations began to be collected by Latin American nationals and foreigners alike. Some of these private collections eventually entered museums that were being established in many parts of the world. The artifacts composing these collections were excavated by grave looters and are without context, although some have varying degrees of provenience. It was in the 1880s that Max Uhle (Silverman 1993:14) became captivated by Nasca-style pottery at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. He went to Peru to discover the

Joerg Haeberli passed away on November 13, 2017, in Plymouth, Massachusetts.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

source of Nasca pottery, which he did in 1901 when he became the first archaeologist to scientifically excavate Nasca pottery at the hacienda Ocucaje in the Ica Valley. His excavation efforts in Peru led to the formation of collections deposited at universities and museums. It is the quality and beauty of a great many of these objects that sparked the activities and financial contributions of archaeologists, scholars, and patrons/collectors over the years, gradually accumulating the knowledge and understandings available today.

In this chapter, I present an overview of some Rayed Head deity themes that belong to the Southern Andean Iconographic Series. I describe Rayed Head themes from Siguas 1 materials, from Provincial Pukara textiles, from Qeya pottery, and a Kalasasaya Rayed Head. Staff God themes among Provincial Pukara textiles as well as Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku pottery and textiles are discussed. Most important, I also report progress in a search I began several years ago for what I refer to as "Missing Links" that bridge a stylistic and temporal gap of approximately two centuries between Provincial Pukara and Ayacucho SAIS/Tiwanaku iconographies. In addition, I will draw attention to similarities in iconographies among select North Chile and Far South Peru and Lake Titicaca Basin artifacts belonging to the Late Formative (LF) 2 Period. Some of these have been dated, and the resulting temporal coincidences suggest long-distance interactions. With this chapter, I especially seek to cross-date textile remains with ceramic iconography, establishing a unified chronology.

Uhle was the first to propose a pre-Columbian regional chronology for Peru-Bolivia based on excavation, stratigraphy, and association. His early success has been greatly advanced by more than a century of archaeologists working in the field of central Andean prehistory. Concurrent with regional perspectives have been the development of temporal sequences within individual styles or cultures, with many of these new chronologies appearing as early as the 1950s and 1960s. Such developments mean that reevaluations are in order, especially in light of new information that includes refined radiocarbon dates. Over the past decade or two, I have had the opportunity to use, and try to use, many of these chronologies, especially the Paracas pottery of Ica Phases 3 through 10 (Menzel et al. 1964), the Nasca ceramic phases of the Berkeley (Dawson) relative chronology (Proulx 1968, Phases 3–4; Roark 1965, Phases 5–6; Silverman and Proulx 2002, Phases 1–8 and Phase 9 now assigned to MH 1A), Menzel's (1964, 1968, 1977) Wari styles of Epochs 1A through 4, and the Tiwanaku heartland ceramic chronology (Janusek 2003). For me, the easiest to use is the Nasca chronology, and the most difficult is Tiwanaku, with Wari not far behind. Tiwanaku chronology is a particularly interesting case (see below). The ceramic styles defined by Burkholder (1997) for the Tiwanaku Period ceramics of the Iwawi site are easier to use and reflect the approximately simultaneous appearance of Tiwanaku styles. On the other hand, the artifacts characterized and named by Carlos Ponce S. (Ponce Sanginés 1981) lead to confusion. The names Tiwanaku I through III are misleading; they are not related to the Tiwanaku culture or its development. The current use of Kalasasaya and Qeya seems more appropriate. Furthermore, the names Tiwanaku IV and V give the impression of temporal sequence. But this is no longer acceptable; they are approximately coeval as the chronology of ceramic styles of the site of Iwawi clearly demonstrates (Burkholder 1997; Isbell and Burkholder 2002) and also implied by a comparative analysis of radiocarbon dates, mainly from the site of Tiahuanaco (see below). The chronology introduced by Ponce Sanginés (1981) for the southern Lake Titicaca Basin is obsolete and being replaced, but a conference to update chronologies, temporal sequences, and names might help resolve the confusion.

For this SAIS chapter, to avoid confusion, the following changes in nomenclature were adopted based on archaeological excavation results, radiocarbon dates, and dated textiles, with and without provenience, that possess iconography that relates to imagery on ceramics. Huari and Wari designate a geographic location and a culture, respectively (Isbell 2002). I suggest Conchopata and Konchopata stand for a geographic site and a Wari style, respectively. Konchopata differs from Menzel's Conchopata style, the name she assigned to iconography represented on ceramics excavated by Tello in 1942. This iconography was introduced into Ayacucho during a specific temporal period, namely, approximately cal. AD Southern Hemisphere (SH) offset 690 to 780; I call it the incursion iconography, and stylistically it is late Missing Link or Links. Their origin is unknown but must be from regions south of Ayacucho. Other examples of SAIS incursion iconography have been identified (see Table 6.1, n. 4; Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figures 25–32; and Figure 6.4 due to its incursion radiocarbon date). Konchopata is the earliest postincursion style derived from this incursion style. The Konchopata examples to be described below were not made before around cal. AD (SH) 780 (see Figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, and 6.5). A single Robles Moqo example appeared about

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.1. Postincursion SAIS, Konchopata style, detail of a tunic in interlocking tapestry with representations of the "Captive Staff God" theme, dated cal. AD 694 to 884 (SH 777–961).

Figure 6.2. Postincursion SAIS, Konchopata style, detail of a textile fragment in interlocking tapestry with representations of the "Fire Textile" theme, dated cal. AD 712 to 888 (SH 779–968).

100 years later; the temporal placement of Viñaque and Atarco with the aid of radiocarbon dates still needs to be determined. There is a textile fragment from the Sihuas Valley whose decoration is the Stepped Volute and Head design; its radiocarbon date precedes the incursion period into Ayacucho by approximately 80 years. Analysis of a second sample will be required to validate this date. However, it is likely other textiles with secular and mythic

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.3. Postincursion SAIS, Konchopata style, detail of a partially preserved tunic in interlocking tapestry with a representation of a "Running Winged Staff God" and remains of "Fire Textile" iconography.

Figure 6.4. Incursion SAIS, detail of a striped tunic in interlocking tapestry with a Stepped Volute and Head design, dated cal. AD 676 to 861 (SH 719–895).

SAIS iconography will be identified outside Ayacucho and the south coast that predate the incursion period. There are Chakipampa-style pottery (Isbell and Cook 2002, Figures 9.18; 9.19; Isbell, Chapter 15, this volume, Figures 15.16–1518, 15.21–15.23) and textiles (Figures 6.6, 6.7) devoid of an admixture of SAIS iconography that predate the incursion period. They represent Ayacucho and south-coast pre-incursion period art, respectively. In addition, Chakipampa objects fall into the incursion and postincursion periods (see Figures 6.8–6.10), which brings the temporal range of Chakipampa to approximately 300 years.

In summary, 12 textile radiocarbon dates are the basis for defining a chronology of three temporal periods between approximately cal. AD (SH) 650 and 950 in Ayacucho and the south coast. Chakipampa iconography is a local development that had its beginnings prior to the incursion period and is present during the next two periods. The incursion period is defined by the incursion of SAIS iconography into the region. Konchopata iconography, and somewhat later Robles Moqo, evolved locally out of incursion SAIS iconography. Additional dated textiles, hopefully with provenience and pottery association, are required to substantiate the above findings. For Menzel, the iconography of the above three periods would be that of Wari art and the beginning of the Middle Horizon, synchronized with Nasca 9 in the Ica Valley when the art of the south coast came under

Figure 6.5. Postincursion SAIS, bag in interlocking tapestry dated cal. AD 694 to 888 (SH 778–970).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.6. Chakipampa, humped animal represented on one side of a bag in slit tapestry, dated cal. AD 659 to 766 (SH 677–780).

Figure 6.7. Chakipampa, opposite side of the bag shown in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.8. Chakipampa, bag, shown inverted, in slit tapestry with cotton warp and camelid fibers for weft and binding in crosslooping, dated cal. AD 674 to 866 (SH 712–897).

Figure 6.9. Chakipampa, bag, with cotton warp and camelid fibers for weft and binding in crosslooping, dated cal. AD 690 to 893 (SH 779–975).

Figure 6.10. Chakipama, opposite side of the bag shown in Figure 6.9.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

the influence of a style related to Tiahuanaco (Menzel 1964). Reindel sets the beginning of the Middle Horizon to Nasca 8, cal. AD (SH) 620 (Reindel 2009). On the other hand, following my approach, (a) only the local postincursion SAIS iconography should be called Wari art, and (b) the Middle Horizon should begin with the approximately coeval appearance of SAIS iconography in Ayacucho and the southern Titicaca Basin; that is not earlier than approximately cal. AD (SH) 700.

Based on the above findings, it should be obvious that Menzel's seriation of Wari art is no longer valid. I do not consider Chakipampa iconography and incursion SAIS iconography as Wari art; the former belongs to the Chakipampa tradition/culture, and the latter is the late Missing Link. In my approach, Menzel's Conchopata style is a mixture of incursion SAIS and postincursion SAIS or Konchopata iconography. A clear definition for incursion/late Missing Link iconography and postincursion Konchopata iconography, derived from the late Missing Link art, will be challenging. Konchopata, Robles Moqo, Viñaque, and Atarco iconography are Ayacucho/south-coast postincursion SAIS and could be used to build a new, modified seriation of Wari art based on radiocarbon dates.

Under Ayacucho, I include the well-preserved textiles on which SAIS iconography appears, although their provenience must be a coastal region, as implied by excellent conservation.

Mythic Supernaturals

To begin the discussion of SAIS iconography, one must consider how modern scholars should distinguish supernatural beings from natural status in the corpus of imagery under study. I adopt the solution proposed by Sergio Chávez for Pukara iconography and by Patricia Lyon for the broader representation of female "supernaturals" in ancient Peru (S. Chávez 1992; Lyon 1978). The following attributes indicate supernatural status in the present chapter: vertically divided eye, crossed fangs, open mouth showing teeth, and a crown with appendages ending in different motifs or elements. We may include tear-line-like motifs that appear as straight, stepped, wavy, or zigzag lines emerging from the bottom of eyes, at times showing circles to suggest tears. The red band surrounding or outlining the divided eye suggested by Sergio Chávez (1992:193) is applicable for Pukara pottery iconography and frequently for Provincial Pukara, but with Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku, the outline may be red but also in other colors, as is the case with Provincial Pukara as well. Placing wings on beings other than birds and representing human hands and/or feet on animals, snake heads at the end of strands of human hair, or human heads on animal bodies are also powerful indicators of supernatural status. I have reservations about J. Rowe's (1971:117) "Staff God pose" as a supernatural indicator if it is not associated with any of the above indicators.

Identification of Gender

Representation of primary and secondary sex characteristics in SAIS iconography is infrequent except for Siguas 1 men and women. Gender distinction will have to depend mainly on differences in clothing. Since pre-Columbian times into the twentieth century, central Andean clothing has consisted of rectangular weavings made to measure. Where needed, pieces are joined using different stitches. Cutting of cloth is an exception. Native clothing traditions started to undergo changes particularly after the Spanish conquest. Comparison between fifteenth- and sixteenth-century dressed Inca figurines (Phipps 2004: for dressed miniature figurines 1 and 2, see p. 129) with drawings and paintings by native artists from around AD 1600 to 1700 (Adelson and Takami 1978:11; Adelson and Tracht 1983: for men and women, Figure 24; Gispert et al. 2003: see pp. 20, 99, 100 for women and pp. 20, 39, 95, 95 for men; Phipps 2004: see pp. 16, 18, 24, 30, 31 for women and p. 19 for men) to twentieth-century photographs (Adelson and Takami 1978:1, 3; Adelson and Tracht 1983:Figures 28, 32, 36; Gispert et al. 2003: see pp. 110, 112, 120, 207, 216, 217 for women and pp. 110, 120, 124, 182 for men) reveal clothing worn by women changed less than fashions of men. Women's clothing tradition was retained with few changes, particularly in several agrarian regions in Peru (Q'ero, department of Cuzco) and Bolivia (Charasani, Tarabuco, and Potolo regions) well into the twentieth century. Skirts reach below the knees but above ankles. The upper two corners of shoulder mantles fall over both shoulders and are gathered in the front over the chest while the remainder falls mainly over the back, a custom exclusive to women. These shoulder mantles vary in size, hanging down the back to between the hips and ankles. This custom of wearing shoulder mantles is apparent in Provincial Pukara (Figure 6.11) and Robles Moqo iconography from Pacheco (Lyon 1978:Figure 13; Morris and von Hagen 1993:Figure 101). In both cases, the shoulder mantel folding over the shoulders is clearly indicated. In the former case, it reaches to the heels behind a piece of clothing reaching slightly above

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.11. Provincial Pukara, Gateway Staff Goddess Theme represented on both shoulder panels of the Gateway Tunic (Figure 6.12), dated cal. AD 245 to 402 (SH 257–437).

the ankles. In the Pacheco case, the shoulder mantle and tunic reach slightly below the knees. Lyon (1978) identifies one of the Pacheco urn figures as female and emphasizes the woman's association with maize. Significantly, men's clothing, at least that shown for Inca men in chronicles, is different; all wearing tunics reaching down to the knees and mantles falling over the shoulders in a manner that contrasts with women's fashions. Of course, after the Spanish conquest, men's clothing underwent changes, becoming gradually Westernized.

Given these observations about Andean attire, we may infer that SAIS representations wearing tunics reaching between hips and knees are male, while shoulder mantles whose upper two corners are gathered in front over the chest and combine with garments reaching between knees and ankles are female. Thus, Provincial Pukara Figures 6.11–6.16, which show only garments reaching to the ankles, are female. One, Figure 6.13, is associated with maize just like the Pacheco Staff Goddess.

Radiocarbon Dates

During the past 20 years, the magnitude of atomic mass spectrometer (AMS) radiocarbon age errors, BP ± values, has diminished significantly. The result is a reduction in calibrated calendrical year ranges as dates for samples become much closer to their actual age range. This is illustrated by the calculated arithmetic average of BP ± errors and range of calendrical years obtained for three

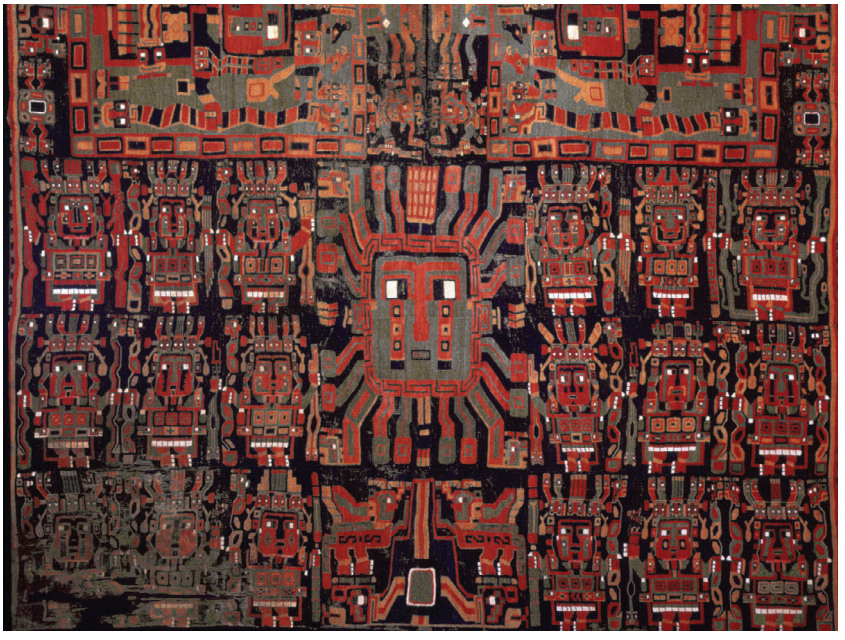


Figure 6.12. Provincial Pukara, Rayed Head Theme C represented on a tunic, dated cal. AD 245 to 402 (SH 257–437) See Figure 6.11 for complete image.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 6.1. AMS radiocarbon data, cal. conventional[a] dates, and cal. Southern Hemisphere[b] (SH) dates.

Lab. No. (Figure No.)	δ‰C	Result BP (Tradition)	Result 1 σ AD	Result 2 σ AD
R29308/5 (28)	–21.4	1935 ± 40 (PP)	25–91 SH 75–144	14–96 SH 66–149
R29308/1 Note 1	–19.9	1885 ± 30 (PP)	77–134 SH 135–224	59–140 SH 125–255
R29308/2 (16)	–20.8	1891 ± 30 (PP)	75–132 SH 133–223	56–219 SH 123–252
R29457/2 (19)	–21.5	1860 ± 30 (PP)	121–216 SH 138–249	74–237 SH 127–258
R24508 (13)	–19.5	1802 ± 62 (PP)	130–260 SH 230–388	125–275 SH 220–392
B70424 Note 2	–22.5	1770 ± 60 (PP)	210–342 SH 258–429	205–347 SH 240–433
R29308/3 (22–26)	–20.7	1756 ± 30 (PP)	239–333 SH 328–382	234–338 SH 320–398
R24807/2 (34)	–16	1725 ± 60 (PP)	240–406 SH 321–430	222–432 SH 295–450
R29551 (15, 17)	–19.4	1719 ± 25 (PP)	258–383 SH 344–421	245–402 SH 317–437
R29457/1 (27)	–21.9	1639 ± 25 (PP)	396–427 SH 431–534	380–509 SH 415–545
R29718/2 (37)	–17.7	1534 ± 25 (N7)	533–571 SH 560–615	524–591 SH 543–620
R29784/1 (40, 41)	–22.2	1317 ± 15 (Ch)	663–688 SH 694–773	659–708 SH 677–780
R32050/3 (51)	–19.1	1254 ± 30 (Ch)	689–778 SH 780–879	674–788 SH 767–897
R29905/2 (52,53)	–20.9	1211 ± 35 (Ch)	775–877 SH 860–901	762–893 SH 851–910
R29784/3 (39)	–17.9	1303 ± 15 (N9)	668–693 SH 728–779	664–700 SH 720–785
R32050/2 (38)	–20.0	1308 ± 25 (N9)	664–694 SH 711–779	659–700 SH 700–786
R29680 (49)	–19.2	1233 ± 15 (T)	768–782 SH 813–890	765–787 SH 805–895
R29308/4 (50)	–19.9	1008 ± 30 (T)	1013–1029 SH 1030–1048	986–1043 SH 1023–1152
R26167/8 Note 3	–19.6	1395 ± 45 (prW[S])	630–669 SH 648–694	612–681 SH 642–708
R32050/1 Note 4	–23.6	1277 ± 25 (inW)	685–770 SH 772–869	672–776 SH 765–886
R29745/1 (44)	–23.4	1253 ± 25 (inW)	691–777 SH 781–877	676–782 SH 770–895

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Lab. No. (Figure No.)	δ‰C	Result BP (Tradition)	Result 1 σ AD	Result 2 σ AD
R29718/1 (48)	–21	1240 ± 25 (inW)	692–782 SH 782–887	687–790 SH 773–899
R29933 Note 5	–20.4	1229 ± 20 (poW)	769–784 SH 870–893	766–790 SH 856–897
R29745/2 (42)	–22.2	1224 ± 25 (poW^{K})	771–807 SH 875–895	765–812 SH 860–901
R29905/3 (43)	–22.4	1218 ± 30 (poW^{K})	773–820 SH 855–898	765–814 SH 850–907
R29718/4 (45)	–23.6	1215 ± 25 (poW^{K})	775–818 SH 879–899	767–822 SH 862–907
R29754 (47)	–22.4	1162 ± 25 (poW^{R})	884–897 SH 898–981	880–898 SH 890–988

Submitted samples were camelid or cotton fibers. Radiocarbon laboratories: R = Rafter, B = Beta. The figure number is given in parentheses below the sample's laboratory number (Lab. No.). The Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory treated the samples with organic washes of hexane, acetone, and isopropanol followed by gentle treatment with aqueous hydrochloric acid, sodium hydroxide, and hydrochloric acid. PP = Provincial Pukara; N7 = Nasca 7; N9 = Nasca 9; Ch = Chakipampa; T = Tiwanaku; prW = preincursion Wari; inW = incursion Wari; poW = postincursion Wari; K = Konchopata style; R = Robles Moqo style; S = Sihuas Valley.

[1] For samples R26167/8, R24807/2 and R24508 according to M. Stuiver et al (1998), Radiocarbon 40(3):1941-1083; for all other samples according to P.J. Reimer et al (2004), *Radiocarbon* 46:1029-1058.

[2] For all samples according to F.G. McCormac, A.G. Hogg, P.G. Blackwell, C.E. Buck, T.F.G. Higham, and P.J. Reimer (2004), *Radiocarbon* 46, 1087-1092.

sets of five samples selected at random. Samples from 1994 produced an average of ± 103 and a range of 234 years, from 1997 ± 71 and 159 and from 2006 ± 32 and 69, respectively.

For this chapter, to reduce misleading, overextended calendrical ranges that make samples appear older, only results with BP ± ≤ 78 are employed.

Table 6.1 contains the 27 radiocarbon dates used for the current study. The calculated arithmetic average BP ± error for the calibrated calendrical years obtained for the set of 27 samples is 31 with a range of 167 years, respectively. The standard deviation is 52.8. The earliest determination was performed in 1994 and the remainder between 1999 and 2009. The corresponding set of SH dates was calculated in 2011.

Reindel (2009) used the ^{14}C-chronology of the Paracas and Nasca Periods determined by Unkel and Kromer (2009) for his Palpa Valley Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period archaeological reconstruction. This chronology is corrected for the SH offset. It is to be expected such corrections will become more frequent in the future. Accordingly, in Table 6.1, I present both conventional and SH dates for the 27 textiles

Figure 6.13. Provincial Pukara, "Maize Staff Goddess" holding in each hand a maize plant with cobs that sprouts from a front-face feline head, dated cal. AD 74 to 237 (SH 127–331).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 6.2. Temporal range relationships between traditions or phases using recently determined radiocarbon dates.

Site	Date	No. of Dates Available	Reference
Siguas 1	cal. 550 BC–AD 120	(11)	Haeberli 2002:Table 1
Pukara	cal. 200 BC–AD 200[a]	(15)	Klarich 2005
Provincial Pukara	cal. AD 25–427	(10)	Haeberli, this chapter, Table 6.1
Nasca 7	cal. AD 533–571	(1)	Haeberli, this chapter, Table 6.1
Nasca 8	cal. AD 570–650	(1)	Görsdorf and Reindel 2002
Nasca 9	cal. AD 668–694	(2)	Haeberli, this chapter, Table 6.1
Chakipampa, fancy	cal. AD 663–877	(3)	Haeberli, this chapter, Table 6.1
Chakipampa, fancy	cal. AD 675–777	(1)	Isbell and Cook 2002:269
Huamanga[b]	cal. AD 600–858	(5)	Tung 2007:Table 3
Preincursion Wari[c]	cal. AD 630–669	(1)	Haeberli, this chapter, Table 6.1
Incursion Wari[d]	cal. AD 685–782	(3)	Haeberli, this chapter, Table 6.1
Postincursion Wari[e]	cal. AD 769–897	(5)	Haeberli, this chapter, Table 6.1
Tiwanaku	cal. AD 768–1029	(2)	Haeberli, this chapter, Table 6.1
Tiahuanaco, LF 2[f]	cal. AD 340–635	(3)	Based on Janusek, pers. info. 2007
Tiahuanaco, T IV + V[g]	cal. AD 710–1010	(12)	Based on Janusek, pers. info. 2007
Omo = T IV	cal. AD 785–1025	(5)	Goldstein 2005:Table 5.2, Figure 5.8
Chen Chen = T V	cal. AD 785–1017	(4)	Goldstein 2005:Table 5.2, Figure 5.8
Iwawi, stratum IV	cal. AD 708–874	(1)	Isbell and Burkholder 2002:224

Only BP ± ≤78 values were included to reduce misleading, overextended calendrical ranges. The calibrated conventional dates presented are at 1 sigma except as noted. E = Early; L = Late; F = Formative; T = Tiwanaku.

[a]At 2 sigma.

[b]Beringa site ceramics, Majes Valley, is an assemblage derived from Ayacucho lower quality Chakipampa-, Ocros-, and Viñaque-style pottery.

[c]Wari-style iconography from regions other than Ayacucho that predates approximately cal. AD 700 like a Sihuas Valley tunic with Stepped Volute and Head design.

[d]Wari-style iconography dated approximately cal. AD 690 to 770; it predates postincursion Wari iconography and includes incursion Staff God Theme and dated, difficult to assign Wari-style iconography.

[e]Postincursion Wari Konchopata, Robles Moqo, and other styles postdating approximately cal. AD 770.

[f]Group 1: three LF 2 (cal. AD 340-635) and one LT IV to ET V (cal. AD 605-670) must be in error, and both ET IV (cal. AD 535-650) must be questionable.

[g]Group 2: one T IV (cal. AD 780-950), one LT IV (cal. AD 710-870), one LT IV to ET V (cal. AD 820-980), and nine T V (cal. AD 710-1010).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

selected to be dated for this study. The mean shift, based on the earliest year in an age range, is approximately +53 years. For example, Provincial Pukara's currently earliest dated textile (Figure 6.17) is cal. AD 35 to 134, and the Southern Hemisphere correction is cal. AD SH 30 to 239. In the text below, where both conventional and SH dates are known, the above date would be given as cal. AD 35 to 134 (SH 30–239) or (SH) 35 to 239 without the conventional date. For interpretations/conclusions, the Southern Hemisphere dates presented in Table 6.1 at 2 sigma were used.

The majority of radiocarbon dates published by archaeologists were obtained from samples of archaeologically excavated charcoal or wood. Except for twigs, this implies issues regarding the date of cutting as well as wood recycling. Frequently, these samples were not directly associated with stylistically datable pottery, which adds additional degrees of uncertainty. On the other hand, radiocarbon dated textiles (whose iconography can be related to decorative styles on pottery, stone, or wood) provide firm associations between the fiber sample and the iconography, potentially furnishing the most secure temporal sequences of stylistic phases in calendrical years. To demonstrate the benefits of this approach, I have begun a project of dating select Nasca, Chakipampa, Ayacucho SAIS, Tiwanaku, and other SAIS style textiles. This approach especially helps date cultures for which pottery with iconography or archaeological excavation information is not available, as for example Siguas 1 and Provincial Pukara. Recently determined radiocarbon dates for Provincial Pukara, Nasca 7, Nasca 9, Chakipampa, preincursion SAIS, Ayacucho incursion SAIS, Ayacucho postincursion SAIS (Konchopata style, Robles Moqo style), and Tiwanaku textiles are presented in Table 6.1.

The temporal relationships among published traditions or phases discussed in this chapter are presented in Table 6.2. The number of available dates for each tradition/phase is shown in parentheses on the right side of the ranges. These ranges must be considered approximations, and future adjustments can be expected as additional dates become available. The calendrical range for Siguas 1 is cal. 550 BC to AD 120 but mainly cal. 350 BC to AD 120 (Haeberli 2002), while that of Pukara is cal. 200 BC to AD 200 (Klarich 2005:Appendix 1, at 2 sigma). Provincial Pukara, with a range of cal. AD (SH) 35 to 545 at 2 sigma, overlaps partially with Pukara.

Reindel (2009) and others place the beginning of the MH to the presence of the Loro and Chakipampa styles on the southern coast, which they assign to the presence of the Wari in the region. This assignment is based on archaeological excavations and radiocarbon dates. Menzel's MH chronology (Menzel 1964:2–3), used by many archaeologists, places the beginning of the MH to the presence of Nasca 9 in the Nasca drainage and Conchopata A and Chakipampa A (or plain Chakipampa) styles of Epoch 1A in the central highlands (Menzel 1964:Plate I). Her MH Epochs 1A through 4, including Nasca drainage and central highland styles, are considered to represent consecutive temporal intervals (Menzel 1964:Plate I). Styles assigned to Epoch 1A are Nasca 9, Chakipampa A, and Conchopata. Styles assigned to Epoch 1B are Nasca 9, Robles Moqo, and Chakipampa B or fancy Chakipampa. These chronologies are based on pottery styles and iconography but without the aid of radiocarbon dates. Table 6.2 presents temporal range relationships among traditions or phases using recently determined radiocarbon dates. The data show that Nasca 9 and fancy Chakipampa appear prior to the incursion of Staff God theme iconography into the Ayacucho Valley, and consequently their emergence, including fancy Chakipampa, belongs to the EIP 9. The intrusion of Staff God theme iconography into Ayacucho is evident by the admixture of this iconography with Chakipampa-style neck-face jars bearing fancy Chakipampa and Nasca 9 derived iconography. Table 6.1 demonstrates that Konchopata appears shortly after this incursion while the single Robles Moqo–style textile appears approximately 100 years later. Fancy Chakipampa coexisted with both of these Ayacucho SAIS styles. The appearance in Ayacucho of incursion (late Missing Link) SAIS-style Staff God theme iconography may be assigned tentatively to approximately cal. AD SH 690 to 890. Konchopata-style iconography evolved out of incursion iconography being introduced at and/or produced in Ayacucho around approximately cal. AD SH 780 to 900. These initial results suggest that revisions of chronologies are necessary. For the author, this rather sudden introduction of SAIS iconography to the Ayacucho and south-coast regions is the beginning of the Middle Horizon.

There are a significant number of southern Lake Titicaca Basin LF 1 and 2 and MH Tiwanaku (ET IV, T IV, LT IV, T IV–T V, T V) dates available, but many do not meet the BP ± ≤ 78 cutoff value (Janusek 2003:Tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.3). John Janusek advised Patricia Knobloch and me at the 2007 Santiago de Chile SAIS colloquium that without being informed by editors, his Tiwanaku type-site pottery phase assignments published in Table 3.1 were changed. He kindly supplied us the original

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.14. Provincial Pukara, Staff Goddess A with the Staff Goddesses D and B partially visible above and below A, respectively; detail from the "Four Staff Goddesses Mantle," dated cal. AD 218 to 382 (SH 255–414).

Figure 6.15. Provincial Pukara, Staff Goddess B with the Staff Goddesses A and C partially visible above and below B, respectively; detail from the "Four Staff Goddesses Mantle," dated cal. AD 218 to 382 (SH 255–414).

submitted tabulation. From this tabulation, 14 type-site dates met the set limit of BP ± ≤ 78. It is difficult to comprehend that 9 (64 percent) of these 14 dates in the published Table 3.1 had been assigned to LT IV–ET V, which is supposed to be a brief, transition phase. Four additional dates that met the limit were added to the above 14—namely, three dates from Table 3.3 and one Puma Punku date (Kolata 2003:193) that Janusek had not included in his tabulation. The phase attributions of the 18 samples are three LF 2, two ET IV, one T IV, one LT IV, two 2 LT IV–T V, and nine T V. Among the published information for these samples were their calibrated dates at 1 sigma. The data in Table 6.2 reveal two temporal groups, namely, Group 1 cal. AD 340 to 635 and Group 2 cal. AD 710 to 1010 but mainly cal. AD 770 to 1010. The two groups are separated by approximately 60 to 100 years. Group 1 contains six dates; three LF 2 dates fall into the expected temporal range while one LT IV–ET V date must be in error, and as a consequence, both ET IV dates must be questioned; they are separated by 60 to 140 years from Group 2 T IV and T V dates. Group 2 contains one T IV, one LT IV, one LT IV–T V, and nine T V dates. Unfortunately, the T IV dates in this group are underrepresented. The data suggest that T IV and T V pottery styles were coeval and their sudden appearance occurred between cal. AD 710 and 770 but closer to AD 770. This conclusion is consistent with the appearance around cal. AD 780 of the two stylistic components of Moquegua pottery—namely, Omo, dated around cal. AD 780 to 1050 (two earlier dates were omitted that probably represent recycled wood, as discussed above), and Chen Chen, dated around cal. AD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.16. Provincial Pukara, Staff Goddess D with the Staff Goddesses C and A partially visible above and below D, respectively; detail from the "Four Staff Goddesses Mantle," dated cal. AD 218 to 382 (SH 255–414).

760 to 1020 (Goldstein 2005:Table 5.2, Figure 5.8). Not surprisingly, Omo and Chen Chen pottery styles were approximately contemporary with Tiwanaku type-site T IV and T V pottery.

The incursion range for Tiwanakoid (SAIS) styles discussed above is substantiated by the date cal. AD 708 to 874 at 1 sigma and cal. AD 665 to 946 at 2 sigma obtained from the soot on the interior of a Tiwanaku-style incensario from Iwawi's Stratum IV, the stratum where Tiwanaku-style pottery suddenly appears (Isbell and Burkholder 2002:Figure 7.10). The incensario has a dramatic modeled feline head, and on the vessel's wall there is a slip-painted feline with two difficult to miss L-shaped appendages emerging from the head ending in rings, a powerful reminder of Provincial Pukara iconography (see below). The above details—namely, Stratum IV, date, and slip-painted feline iconography—suggest the Iwawi vessel dates to the incursion or the beginning of Tiwanaku in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin. The incursion of Tiwanaku-style pottery iconography into the southern Lake Titicaca Basin may be assigned tentatively to approximately cal. AD 700 to 770 (SH 770–880).

For radiocarbon dating, the "Gateway Tunic" is a case of special interest, with two inconsistent and two consistent dates. Archaeologists and art historians became acquainted with this tunic through the magnificent exhibition "Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca," organized by Margaret Young-Sánchez at the Denver Art Museum (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.26a,b) and James Blackmon's paper presented in January 2005 at a conference held at the museum in conjunction with the exhibition. At that time, radiocarbon dates from two laboratories were available, but they differed, so no conclusion could be reached as to the tunic's age (Beta cal. BC 380 to 40 and BIOCAMS cal. BC 160 to AD 10). In 2005 and 2007, two additional samples were assayed. Blackmon was kind to share the four analysis reports with me. The 2005 and 2007 dates obtained by the Livermore National Laboratory and the Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory are virtually identical, 1735 ± 35 BP and 1719 ± 25 BP, respectively. The calendrical age of the "Gateway Tunic," based on these duplicate results, is approximately cal. AD (SH) 257 to 437 at 2 sigma. The temporal range of Provincial Pukara based on 10 dates at 2 sigma is approximately cal. AD (SH) 30 to 545 (see Table 6.1). This places the Gateway Tunic comfortably into the second half of Provincial Pukara's calibrated temporal range. Based on the above, the author assumes discrepancies of approximately 20 years in radiocarbon age determinations may be expected, but differences above this margin of error (e.g., 50 years) may be used to distinguish age differences among samples.

The Problem of Differences in Style and Iconography According to Media

Among the questions that throw a shadow across iconographic analysis is why the representational themes of a particular culture may differ stylistically, or not, according to media employed—pottery, weaving, carved wood, engraved canes, decorated gourds, or stone sculpture. Suggestions were proposed for some cases. For example, south-coast Nasca 2 and 3 textiles with complex iconography are relatively abundant but become scarce in later Nasca phases, while representations on pottery become more complex mainly after Nasca 3.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.17. Provincial Pukara, Anthropomorphic Winged Fish B motif represented on a pouch with three tabs on each side with the upper portion of the back-flap missing, dated cal. AD 35 to 134 (SH 30–239).

Apparently, the answer is not differential preservation of textiles over the time span of Nasca culture. Silverman (1993:302) argued that the change may be due to the difference in energy and time required for what was relevant to be represented. Effort required to produce textiles with complex iconography is much greater than for pottery. However, in the department of Arequipa, farther south, the abundance of iconographically elaborate textiles exceeded that of pottery throughout this time. Both local Early Nasca-style and Arequipa Proliferous Nasca-style textiles are abundant in mortuary remains, while south-coast style and local Nasca-style pottery were apparently always scarce (Haeberli 2006). Two Arequipa informants told the author the ratio between textiles and pottery with iconography is about 10:1.

EH Siguas 1 and EIP Siguas 3 pottery is plain; examples with incised or painted designs or figures are unknown. The ratio between three-dimensional figurative and plain Siguas 3 or Ramada-style pottery is unknown, although the former is less abundant in collections (see Haeberli 2002:Figures 22–26). This absence of pottery with iconography contrasts with the abundant and magnificent Siguas 1 and 3 textiles with complex iconography (Haeberli 2002). It appears Siguas 1 and Siguas 3 artisans intentionally avoided producing incised and slip-painted pottery. Decorated Siguas 1 canes (Figure 6.18) and gourds (Haeberli 2002:Figures 1, 2, 8–10) differ in style and themes from what is represented on textiles (Figures 6.19–6.26; Haeberli 2002:Figures 6, 7, 12, 13), although they all were part of burial inventories according to looter discards (Haeberli 2002). I am not aware of any pottery with iconography resembling Provincial Pukara, nor did Janusek (personal communication, March 2007) encounter decorated LF 2 pottery at Khonkho Wankane. These differences in style and iconography according to media and culture deserve closer attention.

Rayed Heads with Recurving Appendages

In the southern Andean regions under consideration, during the EH and EIP (mid to late Formative), we encounter Rayed Heads, occasionally with a body, from southern Peru south to northern Chile and Argentina. Contrary to Chavin heads, the heads under consideration have radiating appendages encircling a front-view head. We find Rayed Heads with radiating appendages

Figure 6.18. Siguas 1, roll-out drawings from bands of one engraved cane from a set of nine.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.19. Siguas 1, Rayed Head Theme A, textile in discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft, both warp and weft in camelid fibers.

Figure 6.20. Siguas 1, Rayed Head Theme B, textile in discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft, both warp and weft in camelid fibers, dated cal. 206 BC to AD 116.

Figure 6.21. Siguas 1, Rayed Head Theme C, textile in discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft, both warp and weft in camelid fibers, dated cal. 176 BC to AD 134.

whose ends recurve (S. Chávez 2004; Haeberli 2002) and others that do not (Haeberli 2002; Horta 2004; Isbell and Knobloch 2006). Below I discuss only Rayed Heads whose appendages recurve. These appendages tend to emerge from the sides, top, and bottom of the head in pairs, and their ends recurve in opposite directions. At present, we know of three geographic regions that during the EH to early EIP depicted Rayed Head iconography meeting the above criteria: (a) the Lake Titicaca Basin with Yaya-Mama/Pukara (K. Chávez 1988; S. Chávez 2004 and Chapter 2, this volume), (b) the department of Arequipa with Siguas 1 (Haeberli 2002; see below), and (c) the Peruvian south coast with Paracas, Topará,

Figure 6.22. Siguas 1, Rayed Head, detail of a band fragment in interlocking tapestry, warp in cotton and weft in camelid fibers, dated cal. 359 BC to AD 1.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.23. Siguas 1, man with mythic attributes represented in the Staff God pose, detail of a narrow textile.

Figure 6.24. Siguas 1, man with mythic attributes holding a staff and a severed head hanging from a cord, detail of a tunic in discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft, both in camelid fibers.

Figure 6.25. Siguas 1, a crouching woman and a standing man (implied) with mythic attributes.

and Nasca (see Chapter 5, this volume). These heads with recurving appendages can be subdivided into those that have one or two diagonal non-recurving appendages emerging from the head's four corners and those that lack them. We find these Rayed Heads with diagonal appendages particularly among Siguas 1 (Haeberli 2002:Figures 12, 13) and some Paracas Ocucaje textiles (Dwyer 1979:Figure 11; Kajitani 1982:Figure 15; see also Chapter 5, this volume) and one Pukara-style example (S. Chávez 2004:Figure 3.23 and Chapter 2, this volume).

The number of Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition Rayed Head examples with appendages that recurve is limited. The shape of Yaya-Mama heads is roundish. Rayed Heads from Arequipa tend to be rectangular and south-coast examples are both roundish and rectangular.

In the Titicaca Basin, there are two variations in the arrangement of Rayed Head appendages. One variant has only vertical appendages that recurve, a form occurring on Chiripa-style stone slabs/grinding stones and Yaya-Mama stelae (K. Chávez 1988; S. Chávez 2004:Figure 3.21; S. Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1975;). The second variant is limited to a single published example, the Taraco stela (S. Chávez 2004:Figure 3.2). It has vertical and horizontal appendages. Yaya-Mama Rayed Heads most frequently appear together with single and double headed snakes as well as quadrupeds and Maltese and checkered crosses. Long-distance similarities between Yaya-Mama, Paracas, and early Nasca Rayed Heads and double-headed snakes were described by S. Chávez and Mohr Chávez (1975) (see also Chapter 5, this volume).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.26. Siguas 1, four partial representations of a crouching woman with two felines between her legs. Textile fragment from Panarcana, lower Ocoña Valley, in interlocking tapestry.

Similarities exist particularly between Siguas 1 and some Paracas Rayed Heads (Haeberli 2002; Chapter 5, this volume). A set of appendages that recurve emerge from each of the head's four sides, although diagonal appendages appear frequently as well. These diagonal appendages may or not recurve. For both cultures, we find numerous examples, with at least 44 known for Siguas 1. However, the Paracas examples show greater variability in details.

Siguas 1 and Paracas Rayed Heads suggest the probability of long-distance influence or interaction. Four radiocarbon dates are available for Siguas 1 Rayed Head textiles. The earliest date is cal. 373 to 65 BC (Haeberli 2002:102). On the south coast, Paracas Rayed Heads appear during EH 8 to 9 and become particularly numerous among Paracas 9 artifacts. These heads are generally on the rounded side, although rectangular ones do occur. Unfortunately, I am unaware of recently published radiocarbon dates for Paracas textiles with Rayed Head iconography. Typical examples of Paracas 9–style Rayed Heads include a looped textile from Karwa (Kajitani 1982:Figure 15); a Paracas Ocucaje 9–style painted cloth mask from Cerro Uhle (Goodman 1987:lot 31, ex. Pablo Soldi collection); a Paracas Ocucaje 9–style doublecloth textile from Caverna V, Paracas Cavernas (Dwyer 1979:Figure 11); and the magnificent Brooklyn Museum textile No. 38.121 consisting of a Paracas 9 to 10 center cloth (Silverman 2002:84), with representations of the Oculate Being head in wrapping but a Nasca 2 border-band to which are attached a multitude of small three-dimensional figures all in crosslooping on a cotton foundation (Haeberli 1995; Peters 1997:867; Silverman 2002:83–86).

The site of Animas Altas is unparalleled in its complexity in the Ica Valley. On three interior walls of a small mound are incised 12 Paracas 9–style mythological figures (Massey 1991:Figure 8.4). One of these figures is an Oculate Being, a roundish Rayed Head with round eyes and eight recurving appendages, four diagonal ones in addition to the two horizontal and vertical ones. The conservation is not the best, but an additional eight appendages ending in triangular points must have surrounded the head based on the position of three such appendages. There are figures with animal bodies whose heads have chavinoid eyes and one has round eyes with tearlines. Among the textiles Uhle collected in 1905 in Arequipa's Yauca Valley, there are a small number of Paracas-style, Phase 8, chavinoid textiles (J. Rowe 1985:320, 321, Figure 355). The Yauca Valley is the southern-most valley from which chavinoid textiles have been reported. No Siguas 1 representations/figures with chavinoid eyes or other features have been observed.

Of particular interest regarding long-distance influence between Arequipa and the south coast is the occurrence of double-sided heads (virtually identical top and bottom), a rather rare motif in Andean iconography at best. The occurrence of double-sided heads among Siguas 1 Rayed Heads (Figure 6.21) numbers 28 (64 percent of the sample of 44 known to me, see below), while the frequency of Paracas Ocucaje examples is more limited (King 1965:Figure 37d; Sawyer 1966b:Figure 2). Two Paracas 8 bowls from Callango have double-sided heads on the inside, with chavinoid eyes, but the appendages surrounding the heads have no counterparts in Chavin iconography (Menzel et al. 1964:Figure 45b-1; Sawyer 1966a:Figure 199).

The number of recently determined radiocarbon dates and their temporal ranges in calendrical years available for Siguas 1 and Paracas textiles with Rayed Head iconography is inadequate to establish a direction of flow in the probable interaction between Arequipa and the south coast, so either direction is possible. To the pool of shared characteristics may be added a particular hairdo among Siguas 1, Paracas, and Nasca populations (see below).

The direction of cultural influence between the Arequipa and Paracas cultures does seem to be implied by the temporal appearance of two textile techniques, the number of examples known, and their geographical provenience. The two textile techniques in question are

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

crosslooping and discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft. The earliest examples of Siguas 1 crosslooping are border bands directly applied onto interlocking tapestry. One with three rows of stitches is dated cal. 543 to 395 BC while a "tubular" border band in this technique applied as edging to a tunic's head opening worn by a mummy (INC, Arequipa, rescued by Marko López at Santa Ana, Sihuas Valley, Figure 6.27) is dated cal. 392 to 160 BC (Haeberli 2002:97). On the south coast, crosslooping appears during EH 10 (Anne Paul, personal communication, 2002). Examples are Topará textiles from the Paracas Necropolis with bands two to four stitches wide and as tubular bands or "fingers" among EIP 1A, 1B, and 3 headbands (Frame 1991). Presently, the earliest Siguas 1 example of crosslooping on a cotton foundation known to the author is a band that is attached to a section in interlocking tapestry dated cal. 202 to 53 BC at 1 sigma (Haeberli 2002:97). The earliest occurrence of this technique on the south coast is during Nasca 2 (Haeberli 1995; Silverman 2002:83–89) as bands and as intricate, delicate three-dimensional figures on a cotton foundation. The earliest published Nasca 2 date listed for the Nasca-Palpa Archaeological Project is approximately cal. AD 100 to 180 at 1 sigma (Reindel 2009; Unkel and Kromer 2009:240, Figure 14.4). Consequently, the diffusion of crosslooping seems to have been northwards, from Arequipa to the south coast. However, the direction of flow was reversed with the introduction of three-dimensional figurines in crosslooping on a cotton foundation during Nasca 2 to 3. Nasca 1 textiles in general, and those with sections in crosslooping in particular, have yet to be described since none have been found associated with diagnostically Nasca 1 pottery (Silverman 2002:80).

The earliest date available for a Siguas 1 textile executed in discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft is cal. 200 to 36 BC, and at least 80 textiles in this technique are known (Haeberli 2002:97). This textile technique appears on the south coast during Paracas 9, but examples are rather limited (King 1965:151; A. Rowe 1972:67). Thus, currently available information suggests that crosslooping and discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft weaving techniques were introduced to the south coast from Arequipa during the EH. This suggests that Rayed Heads with appendages that recurve also diffused from Arequipa to the south coast.

Figure 6.27. Siguas 1, mummy, INC Arequipa, rescued by the archaeologist Marko López at the site of Santa Ana, Sihuas Valley, department of Arequipa.

Siguas 1

The location from which Siguas 1–style artifacts originate, identifying the culture's homeland, was verified in the field by collecting fragmentary artifacts discarded by looters at Cemetery 1 of the burial site of La Chimba, Sihuas Valley, department of Arequipa (Haeberli 2002). Petroglyphs with Siguas 1 iconography occur in the Majes Valley at Toro Muerto. The author is not aware of the occurrence of Siguas 1 artifacts in the valleys of Ocoña and Vitor; their presence has yet to be demonstrated. Siguas 1 iconography appears on textiles, engraved canes, pyroengraved gourds, and worked stone, particularly petroglyphs. However, textile iconography differs from other media both in motifs and style. Woven designs are linear, probably due to constraints of the medium, while those of other media are more fluid. Prominent among Siguas 1 textiles are representations of Rayed Head themes, along with humans, snakes, and an image that is difficult to identify but which I interpret to be Attendants. Less frequent are representations of men and women with tearlines, whose sex can often be identified by genitalia. Their hair is frequently rendered as snakes, a mythic supernatural attribute suggesting special status, perhaps something like mythic ancestors.

Although the number of Siguas 1 textiles with Rayed Head themes exceeds 44, my discussion and inferences

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

are based on a sample of that size. These textiles are square to rectangular, with the longest dimension being between approximately 1 and 1.5 m. Attached to the corners are long ties, if not damaged or lost, whose exact function is unknown since excavation information is completely absent. All are made in the demanding technique of discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft, using only camelid fibers. The Siguas 1 Rayed Heads are rectangular in shape, framed by a band from which eight appendages emerge, one from each corner and one from the middle of each side. All faces have zigzag markings, often called tearlines, below the eyes. These Rayed Heads may be divided into three groups: A (20 percent), B (42 percent), and C (38 percent) according to details associated with their faces, such as appendages, background color, and figures placed between appendages and flanking the head. All examples have a snake in the space between horizontal and diagonal appendages.

Appendages of the three groups differ in specific details. The end section of Siguas 1 Rayed Heads Group A (Figure 6.19; a similar textile was dated 373 BC to AD 65 at 2 sigma) and Group B (Figure 6.20, dated cal. 206 BC to AD 116 at 2 sigma) appendages splits and recurves in opposite directions. Group C appendages end in a square to rectangle except for the horizontal appendages that have no specific ending (Figure 6.21, dated cal. 176 BC to AD 134 at 2 sigma). Group A appendages have a wavy line "floating" along the sides of both vertical appendages. With Group B, these wavy lines become part of the vertical appendages and extend to the recurving ends. With Group C, the wavy lines of the vertical appendages extend to become the outline of a square to rectangular enclosure with center figure shaped like a "capital T."

Group A Rayed Heads tend to have a white, or occasionally red, background color. A human figure with raised arms and/or the difficult-to-identify figure are placed between the vertical and diagonal appendages. This difficult-to-identify figure is found with all three groups, but especially Rayed Head Groups A and B (A, 88 percent; B, 82 percent; and C, 47 percent). These figures have a rectangular trunk with a "snake head" at one or both ends. From the side of the trunk emerge several diagonal appendages descending toward the hem in a zigzag pattern. These appendages usually end in little red squares (see Figure 6.19 between diagonal and vertical appendages). This design may represent an insect, bird, or plant. The figures flanking the Rayed Head, if they occur, are humans and single- or double-headed snakes. One date is available for Group A, cal. 373 BC to AD 65 at 2 sigma.

The predominant background color ranges for Group B are blue to dark blue but occasionally red. The space between appendages is more crowded, although the secondary figures are essentially the same. The single available date for Group B is cal. 206 BC to AD 116 at 2 sigma. Three modifications of the horizontal appendages of Group B described above have been detected. These Group B modifications are infrequent; they are (a) appendages whose ends do not recurve; (b) appendages with two differently colored, not recurving, bars added to their midsection; and (c) appendages with a two-headed snake added to their midsection. In this latter case, the single-headed snakes between diagonal and horizontal appendages are missing.

The background color of Group C is hardly visible due to crowding by secondary figures. Images of humans become infrequent (7 percent), replaced by human heads with tearlines (20 percent). A concentric diamond with four pairs of recurving appendages emerging from each corner appears on Group C weavings (40 percent). The temporal range of a Group C textile (Figure 6.21) is cal. 176 BC to AD 234 at 2 sigma. No internal chronology can be proposed for the three groups, and without excavation information, it is impossible to infer anything about the meanings of their differences.

We encounter relatively naturalistic faces among Groups A and B. A double-sided head appears in Group B (23 percent) and becomes popular in Group C (80 percent). Here eyebrows, nose, and mouth become a capital I and the two sets of eyes are connected by zigzag tearlines. These faces are bilateral horizontally and vertically, a feature also observed in Paracas 8 pottery from Ocucaje and Callango (Menzel et al. 1964:Figure 45b-1, Plate 8b; Sawyer 1966a:Figure 199) and a Paracas 9 Ocucaje-style tunic in simple looping (King 1965:Figure 37d; Peters, Chapter 5, this volume; Sawyer 1966b:Figure 2). The Rayed Head represented on this tunic is unique and most ingenious in that the radiating appendages recur as part of the face. Two sets of eyes are linked by undulating tearlines analogous to Siguas 1 Rayed Heads Group C. However, an open mouth with teeth takes a central position. There is no nose, although perhaps a hint in the little trident between the two upper appendages.

Two unusual Siguas 1 Rayed Heads are represented in interlocking tapestry on a textile fragment dated cal. BC 202 to 53 at 1 sigma and cal. BC 359 to 1 at 2 sigma (Figure 6.22; Haeberli 2002:Figure 14). They differ from all other Siguas 1 Rayed Heads, having rectangular eyes

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

quartered in red and white, with stepped tearlines below. The mouth is open showing white teeth, accompanied by what are either whiskers or a mouth mask with whiskers. Eyebrows and nose are usually represented as a capital T and additionally, the two heads in question have hair falling down from the outer eyebrow corners and along the side of the face. Twelve stepped appendages emerge from the head. Eight of the appendages have concentric rectangles as filler elements, and at each end is a rectangle containing either an eye with a stepped tearline or a stylized snake, a possible precursor of appendages ending in elements that appeared later. One of the two heads is associated with double-headed snakes and the other with the concentric diamonds, a motif frequently associated with Siguas 1 Rayed Heads Group C, described above.

Siguas 1 Rayed Heads have yet to be found on engraved canes or pyroengraved gourds, but a petroglyph at the site of Pisanay at Tin Tin, Sihuas Valley, has a Rayed Head represented among zigzag lines and a multitude of animals (Figure 6.28). Pairs of recurved rays emerge from the top and lower sides of this square-shaped Rayed Head. Some details are obscured due to later reworking. Among animals not shown in Figure 6.28 are a bird on a stake and a backward-looking animal like those on Siguas 1 engraved canes (Figure 6.18; Haeberli 2002:Figures 8–10). Guillermo Flores, of the INC Arequipa, brought this petroglyph to the attention of Marko López, Jo Ellen Burkholder, and the author on July 15, 2006.

Currently, only one example of a Siguas 1 man in "Staff God" pose is known (Figure 6.23). He has stepped tearlines and wears a short tunic exposing his genitals. His outstretched arms are flexed, and he holds a spear thrower in one hand and a spear/dart or staff with colored stripes in the other. His mouth is open showing differently colored teeth. The tunic's field is divided into four sections with ascending and descending steps that have color change in the middle (see Figure 6.29 for the more complete form of this design). Although tearlines and an open mouth with teeth have been judged supernatural attributes, hair ending in snake heads, so common in Siguas 1 iconography, would have affirmed the mythic nature of this figure more convincingly.

Women and men with mythic attributes appear rather frequently in Siguas 1 iconography. They are represented on bands of different width, on tunics, mantles, and textile fragments whose functions cannot be identified. There are at least five tunics, all in discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft, with representations of four men with supernatural attributes, including

Figure 6.28. Siguas 1, Rayed Head, detail of a petroglyph at the site of Pisanay at Tin Tin, Sihuas Valley, department of Arequipa. Photo, July 15, 2006.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.29. Siguas 1, typical elongated bag in looping using camelid fibers.

tearline as facial marking, open mouth showing teeth, and hair ending in snake heads (Figure 6.24; Haeberli 2002:Figure 6). The tunics' background is either red or white. The men wear short tunics with quartered fields in two colors. Their heads are represented in three-quarter view, which is most unusual for central Andean textile and painted pottery iconography. A snake, representing hair, has its coiled tail protruding slightly beyond the forehead of some of the men. It covers the top and falls down the backside of the men's heads with the snake's head just above the men's shoulders. The snake's coiled tail probably represents the horn-like protuberance of folded and tied hair identified on the upper forehead of Siguas 1 mummies (Figure 6.27, INC Arequipa, collected by Marko Lopez at Santa Ana, Sihuas Valley, dated cal. BC 392–160) and depicted on humans represented on engraved canes (Figure 6.18; Haeberli 2002:Figures 8, 10), pyroengraved gourds and petroglyphs (Disselhoff 1967:148 bottom right, 150), and also among Paracas and Nasca mummies as well as ceramic imagery (Disselhoff 1967:66 top right; Lapiner 1976:Figure 200; Rickenbach 1999:Figures 132, 135, 152). A second snake hangs from the backside hem of each man's tunic. The men's bodies and arms are seen from the front; the legs and feet appear in profile, with both feet pointing in the same direction; their lifted arms are flexed and one hand holds a staff with colored bands while the second hand holds either a severed human head or a rope from which a head hangs. Noteworthy is an object hanging from an elbow of all these men; something similar appears later in Provincial Pukara (Staff Goddesses: ring or severed head), Niño Korin (Attendant: round disc, ring?), and Tiwanaku, including San Pedro de Atacama (Staff Gods and Attendants: ring, severed head, rectangular object) but infrequently in Ayacucho SAIS (Attendants: ring) iconography. It is noteworthy that Ayacucho SAIS Staff Gods represented on pottery lack these objects hanging from the elbows, but an Ayacucho SAIS textile has a Staff God with a ring (Bergh 1999:Figure 141, #365).

Siguas 1 weavings include the fragment of a textile band in interlocking tapestry that represents a woman beside what is probably a man (Figure 6.25). The pair recalls the male-female dualism represented (a) on the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition stela at Taraco (S. Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1975:Figure 2), (b) by a couple linked by their joined forehead ornaments represented on a Nasca 2 textile band (Sawyer 1997:Figure 78), and (c) by the same couple portrayed on a Topará EIP 2 band, the two holding a single forehead ornament between them (Sawyer 1997:Figure 79). The Siguas 1 pair in Figure 6.25 has tearlines, and their undulating hair ends in snakeheads. The woman is shown in a crouching position, and below her vaginal lips is a rectangle with a center line. Her partner is standing.

Siguas 1 women with the supernatural attributes discussed above are frequently shown in a crouching position with or without a colored square in the abdominal region and between the vaginal lips. I interpret the presence and absence of these colored squares to indicate different stages of pregnancy. Women with these indicators have been associated with the Siguas 1 Rayed Head; they constitute together a recognizable theme. One textile fragment shows tattered remains of four women (Figure 6.26). They have tearlines as facial marking, snakeheads at the end of their undulating hair, whiskers on the sides of their mouths, accentuated vaginal lips,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

and two upward facing felines (identified by their body spots) between their crouching legs. Their arms are outstretched and flexed, but all hands are unfortunately missing in this fragment. The significance of whiskers on these women and Rayed Head (Figure 6.22) is difficult to interpret with the information currently available for Siguas 1 iconography, except to link the felines of Figure 6.26 in some special way with the crouching women. Similarly, the function of mythic Siguas 1 men and women, mythic due to hair ending in snakeheads, is not evident; perhaps they represent mythic ancestors.

The pair of felines represented below the Siguas 1 women seems to relate to one or more similarly placed felines on the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition Stela 15 of Tiahuanaco (S. Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1975:Figure 3) and the Wila Kala monolith of Khonkho Wankane (see Chapter 4, this volume). This may suggest a shared mythical narrative distributed over this great geographic region. However, shared iconography does not mean shared style/belief, for Siguas 1 representational style differs significantly from Lake Titicaca Basin imagery.

Pukara

The time frame for Pukara's type-site occupation is cal. 200 BC to AD 200 at 2 sigma (Klarich 2005:293), corresponding to Late/Upper Formative in the northern Titicaca Basin chronology (Klarich 2005:Figure 3). Presently, no Rayed Head theme or Staff God theme, either above a stepped platform or not, is known from Pukara-style pottery or carved-stone iconography. Based on the published information, the number of Rayed Head representations in the large quantity of analyzed pottery is very small. Four differing Rayed Heads are represented on pottery fragments and two distinct Rayed Heads with 16 radiating appendages appear on one of five stone containers excavated in Pukara's temple complex (S. Chávez 2002:Figures 2.4e, f, g, 2.5a; S. Chávez 2004:Figure 3.23; S. Chávez, Chapter 2, this volume). One of two Rayed Head variants represented on a stone container has a pair of recurving appendages at the top, bottom, and sides of the head's crownband. A similar arrangement of pairs of recurving appendages occurs among Siguas 1 Rayed Heads. The oldest example was dated 373 to 65 BC (see above, the iconography of the dated example is similar to Figure 6.19). Pukara's temporal range is 200 BC to 200 AD, and no chronology and dates for its iconography is available. Siguas 1's second half overlaps with the first half of Pukara's first temporal half, so it makes it difficult to determine who influenced whom. Among the appendages that appear on Pukara Rayed Heads, only ring and feline/snake head terminals carry through to Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku. One Rayed Head appendage is similar to the upper portion of a plant associated with Pukara's Camelid Woman theme (S. Chávez has renamed the theme "Woman with Alpaca" in his contribution to volume), a feature unknown in later SAIS iconographies. It is relevant that the Camelid Woman is depicted front face, has ear pendants, is shown with two simple appendages ending in squares emerging from the sides of her head, and apparently wears a skirt reaching to the ankles (S. Chávez 2002:Figure 2.2). Both the Winged Man and the Feline Man are rendered in profile, and they have been proposed as prototypes for Attendants associated with Rayed Heads and Staff Gods that appear in the subsequent SAIS traditions/cultures. The Feline Man wears different crowns, appears to wear pants, carries an axe, and is associated with severed human heads and decapitated corpses (S. Chávez 2002:Figure 2.8). The Winged Man holds a severed human head (Chávez 2002:Figure 2.19a). Severed human heads and undulating snakes frequently are represented in rows; sometimes the severed heads occur with human limbs (S. Chávez 2002:Figure 2.12). Highly standardized female and male felines (S. Chávez 2002:Figure 2.14) usually associated with female (concentric rectangles, stepped rectangles, checkered crosses; S. Chávez 1992:Figures 355–393) and male (concentric diamonds, S-shaped; S. Chávez 1992:Figures 403, 407, 423) geometric designs, respectively, and severed human heads (S. Chávez 1992:Figures 227–294) outnumber other Pukara motifs and themes represented on pottery. Frogs/toads seldom if ever occur in ceramic iconography, but they are represented on stelae, as well as carved stone boxes and sculptures.

A relatively small oval to roundish frontal head motif has eyes and mouth that are frequently represented as lines and separated by an inverted capital V. This frontal head motif can be attached to the end section of a winged fish (J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figure 37) or may occur on different body parts of anthropomorphic stone sculptures (S. Chávez 1981:Figures 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b; Nuñez del Prado 1972:Figure 7; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 3.7a, 3.8). This kind of head appears frequently in Provincial Pukara textile iconography (see below) but has an inverted capital Y separating the mouth and eyes in Tiwanaku and Ayacucho SAIS iconography (see below). In this discussion, these frontal heads with an inverted V or Y will be abbreviated V-Head motif and Y-Head motif, respectively.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Heads with divided eyes circled in red, with the black portion most frequently closer to the nose, together with facial markings, including "tear-lines," are considered signs of supernatural power. They continue through the chronology of Rayed Heads into Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku iconography.

Provincial Pukara

Some Provincial Pukara textiles appearing in the literature have Rayed Heads above a three-step platform (Haeberli 2002:Figure 30; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 1.9, 2.22, 2.26) and Staff Goddesses (see below) whose iconography and style have certain similarities with Pukara, Tiwanaku, and Ayacucho SAIS iconography but differ from all of these in many details. Except for a few of its specific details (see below), no pottery, stone sculptures, or stelae are known in Provincial Pukara style. Three different informants have advised me that some of these textiles were found near Huancarqui and Cochate in the Majes Valley and near La Chimba and La Ramada in the Sihuas Valley, department of Arequipa. During 1997 and 2000, a search by Rómulo Pari (archaeologist at the Universidad Católica de Santa María, Arequipa), Marko López (archaeologist at the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Arequipa), and I failed to find any Provincial Pukara textile fragments among the many looters' discards at the severely looted sites of La Chimba, La Ramada, and San Juan in the Sihuas Valley and La Gamio in the Vitor Valley. Unfortunately, no archaeological finds of Provincial Pukara textiles have been reported either, although I was shown a photograph of a Provincial Pukara textile fragment uncovered near La Ramada (Figure 6.30).

The identification of Provincial Pukara textiles is based on three textile bands. One of these bands is now published (Moraga 2005:Figure 8), and another is illustrated in Figure 6.31 of this chapter. The iconography of the third band has the typical Pukara S-shaped design, but instead of having its ends capped by a ring

Figure 6.30. Provincial Pukara, fragment of a textile with winged Attendants found in the vicinity of La Ramada, Sihuas Valley, department of Arequipa. Photo of a photo, July 14, 2006.

(S. Chávez 2002:Figure 2.19C-I), there are bird heads with the two L-shaped appendages emerging from the head; this is iconography unknown in Pukara type-site ceramics. The radiocarbon date of cal. AD 139 to 432 (SH 246–534) for the band appearing in my Figure 6.31 demonstrates these textiles to be closer to Pukara in age than to Ayacucho SAIS or Tiwanaku.

Definition of the Provincial Pukara style was enhanced by the discovery of a tunic's shoulder panel (Figure 6.32; Haeberli 2002:Figure 30), already radiocarbon dated (cal. AD 80–382 [SH 130–421]). Three sources reported discovery of this weaving near the site of Cochate, Majes Valley, along with a pyroengraved gourd (Haeberli 2002:Figure 31). I also photographed the photo of a textile fragment with Rayed Head Theme B Attendants reported to have come from the vicinity of

Figure 6.31. Provincial Pukara, detail of a band in interlocking tapestry with representations of severed heads and crown bands with three appendages, dated cal. AD 139 to 432 (SH 246–534).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.32. Provincial Pukara, Rayed Head Theme A represented on a tunic shoulder panel, dated cal. AD 80 to 382 (SH 130–421).

La Ramada in the Sihuas Valley (Figure 6.30). Textiles illustrated in recent publications assigned to Provincial Pukara are Bergh (1999:Figures 126, 137, 138, 139, 140 top), Couture (2004:Figure 5.20), Haeberli (2002:Figure 30), Moraga (2005:Figures 8, 9, 87, 90, 101), and Young-Sánchez (2004:Figures 1.9, 2.20, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.24, 2.25, 2.26, 2.29).

In 2000, archaeologist Augusto Cardona (Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Arequipa [CIARQ], Arequipa) showed me a fragment of a typical Pukara-style female feline head, a shard found with local Socabaya-style pottery at the site of Sonqonata, Arequipa (Cardona 2002:54, 60–61, figure without number). Cardona (2002) and Mujica (1991) also refer to excavations by José A. Chávez in the vicinity of Laguna de Salinas and at Chiguata, Arequipa, that produced Pukara-style pottery that was never published or made available for inspection to Rómulo Pari and the author in 2000. Pukara-style pottery was collected by archaeologists at seven sites in the middle Moquegua Valley, associated with Huaracane assemblages, among them at Chen Chen in the 1960s and later at Cerro Trapiche, where double warp tapestry fragments were also found (Goldstein 2005:127, 132).

Although related to type-site Pukara art, Provincial Pukara artifacts have been found only in Arequipa, outside Pukara's heartland. Furthermore, heartland and other highland ceramic imagery that has been published are never quite like Provincial Pukara iconography. With Pukara's spread into Cuzco (K. Chávez 1988; S. Chávez 1988), it seems likely that a more or less contemporary movement westward into Arequipa gave rise to this new and distinctive textile tradition.

Presently, the geographic center(s) where Provincial Pukara textiles were made and the scope of their distribution are unknown, except for the poorly documented locations discussed above. The degree of preservation of the known textile sample suggests either burial in very dry alluvial terraces of far south-coastal river valleys or deposited in dry and cold highland caves, although the number favors burial. Based on currently available radiocarbon data, Provincial Pukara's temporal range, cal. AD 35 to 528 (SH 30–545), overlaps the second half of Pukara's range, cal 200 BC to AD 200.

Provincial Pukara apparently introduced an important theme, the Rayed Head placed atop a three-step platform. Presently, three varieties of these Rayed Head themes have been identified, A, B, and C. All three are

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

represented on tunics, Themes A and B on shoulder panels, and Theme C on the front and backside. The Rayed Heads in all of the themes have vertically divided eyes with a red band surrounding the eye, similar to Pukara. Facial markings in the form of tearlines are present, and crowns with radiating appendages encircle the face. The tunic with Theme C has shoulder panels depicting a unique Staff Goddess theme.

Provincial Pukara Rayed Head Theme A has 16 radiating appendages and six Attendants flanking the central figure, three stacked one above the other on each side of the Rayed Head forming three pairs. These Attendants are smaller versions of the central figure, and the three pairs differ in details of coloration and specific kind of appendages. Radiocarbon dates for two examples of Theme A are available. One is a tunic's shoulder panel (Figure 6.32; Haeberli 2002:Figure 30), dated cal. AD 80 to 382 (SH 130–421), and the other is a tunic (Table 6.1, n. 2; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.22), dated cal AD 126 to 407 (SH 135–435). Themes B (Figure 6.33) and C (Figure 6.12) Rayed Heads have 24 radiating appendages and full-bodied Attendants. Theme B has between 8 and 10 Attendants while Theme C has 20. All Attendants' feet of Theme B and C point toward the Rayed Head. The four to five Attendants who flank each side of Theme B's Rayed Head are a bird, a winged man holding a snail, a winged anthropomorphic fish, and a backward-looking winged deer (*taruca*) with antlers. The winged deer occasionally is represented anthropomorphically. Theme B Attendants also form pairs along opposite sides of the head. Theme C (Figure 6.12) appears twice, on the front and back of this unique tunic dated cal. AD 245 to 402 (SH 257–437). Theme C has 20 Attendants—two deer below the Rayed Head and 18 front-face Attendants differing in details, nine on each side of the head arranged in three stacked rows. They might represent Staff Goddesses, ancestors, or ritual performers.

There are differences and similarities among the Rayed Heads of Themes A, B, and C. Rayed Heads A and B and front-face C Attendants as well as the tunic's shoulder panel Staff Goddess (Figure 6.11) have dark rectangles on the chin, probably representing labrets, while Rayed Head C does not. The crownband design of Theme A heads is S-like while the design of Themes B and C is a meander or interlocking fret. The appendages emerging from each of the crownband's four corners in Themes A, B, and C end in the same animal heads.

Figure 6.33. Provincial Pukara, Rayed Head Theme B represented on a tunic shoulder panel. Interlocking tapestry, warp, and weft are in camelid fibers.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

From the top of these animal heads emerge two capital L-shaped appendages that end in either a white square or a colored ring that is usually about the same width as the appendage. These four animal-head corner appendages appear centuries later among Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku Rayed Heads but are lacking the L-shaped appendages. A striking difference between Rayed Head A and Rayed Heads B and C is the eight feather-like appendages of Head A compared with the 16 appendages ending in rings that radiate from Heads B and C. These differences and similarities in specific details—the number of rayed appendages, the kind of elements at their end, and their sequence—surely conveyed important cultural information. Today it is not evident whether different supernaturals were represented or only one with many differing attributes. The occurrence of several kinds of Attendants and their significance in relation to the various Rayed Heads is also unexplained, except that all have supernatural attributes.

On Rayed Head crownbands, representation of left- or right-oriented L-shaped interlocking frets changes the directional flow of the meander band. Frets linked to the outer rim of the band pointing toward the right give a dextrorotatory meander but, when pointing toward the left, a levorotatory meander. Both directional meanders appear in Provincial Pukara Rayed Head Themes B and C crownbands. Tiwanaku crownbands also flow in both directions, with each about equally popular. However, dextrorotatory crownband meanders were rare in Ayacucho SAIS, where a more or less equal frequency of levorotatory and mixed direction bands appears. In mixed-direction crownbands, the division between directional segments is either diagonal or vertical.

A fourth Provincial Pukara Rayed Head, Theme D, has no platform and is surrounded by 12 Attendants (Figure 6.34; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.24). This theme is represented in duplicate on a pouch with back-flap that is dated cal. AD 56 to 219 (SH 83–252). Rayed Head D lacks a crownband and apparently has 16 appendages radiating directly from the head. Eight of them are feathers similar to those of Rayed Head A, another four end in rings, and the remaining four terminate in two different kinds of elements. In Rayed Head D, the mouth is open showing two individual upper and lower fangs; the facial marking is a tearline and the black hair is similar to Rayed Heads A, B, and C. The Attendants are 12 severed profile human heads with tearlines, an open mouth showing teeth, and possibly a head cover or hair rendered in different colors that contrast with the dark background. These severed heads are arranged in four

Figure 6.34. Provincial Pukara, Rayed Head Theme D represented on a pouch with three tabs on each side and a back-flap, dated cal. AD 56 to 219 (SH 83–252).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.35. Provincial Pukara, textile fragment with a representation of a partially preserved Rayed Female Feline Head Theme in interlocking tapestry.

rows, one above, two to each side, and one below each Rayed Head. So far, all of these pouches with backflap have three tabs in crosslooping along their sides and a narrow band in crosslooping that outlines the sides and upper portion of the pouch and its backflap. Apparently, the pouches are specific to Provincial Pukara. Two groups of four fish heads represented on the narrow crosslooping band on the upper portion of the pouch face each other in the middle, as do the human heads above and below the Rayed Head. The front panel's iconography is rendered in tapestry where the colored weft yarns in camelid fibers are carried along with the single warp in camelid fibers until needed to create the designs. The warp of the front panel and backflap are horizontal, and the count for both is 8/cm while the weft counts for the panel and backflap are about 28/cm and 20/cm, respectively.

A Rayed Female Feline Head theme is partially preserved on a textile fragment in interlocking tapestry (Figure 6.35; Moraga 2005:Figure 9). The head is female due to an inverted U-shaped mouth analogous to Pukara-style female heads. The crownband is composed of linked concentric rectangles with unusual appendages. The crownband's top center tuft with two checkered crosses at its base is flanked by plants that may represent blooming cacti. Both feather-like side appendages include a bird head from whose scalp emerge two striped L-shaped appendages. Attached to the crownband's four corners is a band of linked concentric rectangles. This band splits in two, and each recurving section ends, in one case in a front-face feline head and in the other case in a profile feline head from which two L-shaped appendages emerge. The Rayed Female Feline Head is flanked by three front-face but profile body female Feline Attendants, one above the other. Striped bands ending in rings hang from their necks, and their bodies contain checkered crosses. These female Feline Attendants are similar to those represented in Figure 6.36 and differ from the highly formalized and standardized Pukara felines (S. Chávez 1992:232–255, Figures 330–448).

The Gateway Staff Goddess theme is represented on both of the Gateway Tunic's two shoulder panels (Figure 6.11; cal. AD 245–402 [SH 257–437]). Instead of standing on a stepped platform, she is positioned within an enclosure that has a triple-jamb gateway in the back of the enclosure. The Staff Goddess is facing a passageway entrance in the front of the enclosure. The passageway has three human footprints exiting through it. The passageway is flanked by Anthropomorphic Winged Feline heads (see below and Figure 6.37). Two running humans flank and face the gateway. These two humans lack

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.36. Provincial Pukara, female felines with a front face and a profile body represented on a pouch with a back-flap; tabs are missing.

Figure 6.37. Provincial Pukara, Anthropomorphic Winged Feline, detail of band in Figure 6.43.

wings and hold a staff in one hand and in the other what appears to be a snail (similar to the snails held by the Winged Snail Man Attendants of Rayed Head Theme B; see below and Figure 6.33). From their heads emerge a center feather tuft flanked by L-shaped appendages ending in rings, and below these are two appendages ending in fish heads. Three appendages ending in bird heads emerge from each side of the gateway.

The Gateway Staff Goddess is very similar to the front-face Attendants of Theme C. They are women as indicated by their clothing: long tunics with mantles that fall over the shoulders and down the back to the ankles. Their rather distinct crowns with appendages emphasize the difference in gender from profile men Attendants (with or without wings) who wear short tunics and loincloths. That the Gateway Staff Goddess is a woman is further indicated by her ear pendants analogous to Pukara's Camelid Woman (S. Chávez 2002:41, Figure 2.3a). The absence of ear pendants among the Rayed Heads above a stepped pedestal suggests they are male. The ears of the Staff Goddess differ from those of the Rayed Heads A, B, and C but they all have a similar hairdo.

Explicit gender differences distinguishing male and female Staff Gods appear in the MH, on Ayacucho SAIS Robles Moqo–style urns from Pacheco (Morris and von Hagen 1993:Figures 100, 101). The male wears a tunic belted at the waist, while the female's shoulder mantle and straight tunic are of similar length. Both have a similar hairdo, and maize appears in both male and female radiating crown appendages as well as among the woman's tunic decorations (Lyon 1978:110–111, Figure 14). Earlier representations of Staff Goddesses do occur on the south coast of Peru among Chavin-style painted textiles from Karwa (Cordy-Collins 1979:Figures 13, 19, 21; Lyon 1978:Figures 4–8). In Arequipa, no Siguas 1 Staff Goddess has been identified, although representations of Siguas 1 mythic females and males are known (see above). Characteristic Chavin style eyes, claws, and front and profile fanged mouths (Burger 1992) have not been identified among textiles with Siguas 1 style and Provincial Pukara-style iconography.

The crowns worn by the Gateway Staff Goddess and Theme C Attendants (from the same tunic) are similar but differ significantly from those of Themes A, B, and C Rayed Heads. The crowns for these Rayed Heads circle the face while those of the Gateway Staff Goddess and of Theme C Attendants presumably circle the top of the head. The crownband's design for Goddess and Attendants is the same, three upward-facing animal heads, probably felines judging by their ears. The Staff Goddesses' crownband's top center tuft appendage has two checkered crosses and is flanked on each side by two bird appendages. From the crownband's upper corner emerges a band ending in an upward-facing animal head. From the crownband's lower corner, a downward-pointing appendage hangs, ending in a ring. Two horizontal appendages, similar to Pukara's Camelid Woman, emerge from the crownband's sides. The crowns of 16 of the 18 Theme C Attendants have similar center tufts. One Theme C Attendant (Figure 6.12, top right row,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

second Attendant) lacks a center tuft but has a three-step pyramid divided in two by a deep slot in the top. A second Theme C Attendant (top left row, second Attendant) also lacks a center tuft but instead presents a three-step platform surmounted by two snake heads. The central appendage in 15 cases is flanked on each side by two projections ending in snake heads, judging by the absence of feline ears. The Attendant closest to the Rayed Head in the second row on the reader's right side has the outer snake head appendages replaced by appendages with a volute. This arrangement of appendages with a volute also appears in the crowns of the four Attendants directly below the Staff God on the Ponce monolith (Isbell this volume) and several Attendants on the Bennett monolith (Chapter 15, this volume). The Attendant to the right side of the one just described has the two pairs of snake head appendages replaced by a curving appendage and by a three-branched plant. This branched plant probably is a cactus, similar to the blooming cacti on the Bennett monolith and Provincial Pukara's Rayed Female Feline theme's blooming crown cacti (Figure 6.35). A second Attendant (bottom left row to the right) lacks the two pairs of snake head appendages; they were replaced by three-step triangles. These triangles flank the center tuft.

Similarities that Provincial Pukara crown appendages share with specific elements and motifs on Tiwanaku crowns suggest that transmission occurred through a "Missing Link" (see below). The second Attendant in the top row on the right side has a bisected stepped pyramid crown appendage, described above. John Rowe discusses a small statuette with a similar crown in which the tip of each side of the bisected stepped pyramid is topped with details that seem to represent a human head. Rowe considers this statuette a transition piece between Pukara and Tiwanaku (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 2; J. Rowe 1985:324, Figure 364; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.27a). Rowe's concept of a development of Tiwanaku from Pucara anticipated an intermediate like Provincial Pukara art.

The portal represented on the Gateway Tunic's shoulder panels should not surprise us, although it resembles Tiahuanaco's much later Gate of the Sun remarkably. We find similarly shaped doorways built using adequately shaped and placed stone slabs topped by a lintel at Chiripa (K. Chávez 1988:Figure a,b) and the four openings into chambers in each wall of Pukara's excavated sunken court (K. Chávez 1988:Figure 12; J. Rowe 1985:304, Figure 307b). At present, no above-ground Pukara gateway or structure similar to the one represented on the tunic is known, although little has survived intact. Perhaps the jumble of cut stones behind the excavated sunken court area at Pukara once belonged to such an entrance suggested by the three-step upper portion of a partially buried stone slab (slide in the possession of the author). The transfer of the lower section of the Arapa stela to Tiahuanaco demonstrates Tiwanaku's familiarity with Pukara stone works.

There seem to be several possible explanations for gateways at Tiahuanaco. One is that a gateway or structure associated with an enclosure, sunken or not, as represented on the Gateway Tunic existed somewhere around cal. AD 245 to 402 (SH 257–437) and served centuries later as a prototype for Tiwanaku gateways. Alternatively, a centuries-old heirloom or looted tunic with a Staff Goddess theme shoulder panel reached Tiahuanaco. The existence of several Rayed Head Theme A and B shoulder panels implies that spectacular shoulder panels like that of the Gateway Tunic were made in numbers, so this kind of transmission should not be considered farfetched.

The three-step platforms of Rayed Heads Theme A and those of Themes B and C differ in details. Within Theme A's platform is a supernatural front-face human head, and above this head is a quartered octagon. A similar head is placed in the middle of the Rayed Head's nose. With Theme B and C, a band emerges from each side of a concentric rectangle with rounded corners that links the rectangle with the top, bottom, and both sides of the first step of the stepped platform. Theme A's lowest platform step terminates in a profile human head with an open mouth showing teeth, a vertically divided eye, and facial markings of the tearline variety. This head wears a crown with five upright appendages, two of which are identical. With Themes B and C, the lowest step terminates in the head of an Anthropomorphic Winged Feline (see below and Figure 6.37). Significantly, the Anthropomorphic Winged Feline never appears as an Attendant flanking Rayed Heads.

Two additional textiles represent Staff Gods, a small bag and a striped mantle. These images probably represent Staff Goddesses, judging by their clothing, crowns, and ear pendants. The small bag, only 16 cm in height and dated cal. AD 74 to 237 (SH 127–331), has the same Staff Goddess on both sides (Figure 6.13), and she may be the earliest representation of a "Staff God" posture, from the far south of the central Andes, except for the possible Siguas 1 example (Figure 6.23). Her divided eyes are surrounded by a red band, and she has a cross on each cheek as facial marking that is repeated on her tunic

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

and arms. In each hand, she holds a maize plant sprouting from the top of an animal head, perhaps a front-face feline; we may call her the Maize Staff Goddess. The same feline head appears on the tunic between striped bands. These bands are somewhat similar to the "suspenders" of Conchopata's 1977 Staff God and Ponce monolith's Staff God (Chapter 15, this volume). When inverted, the maize cobs represent severed human heads, and as heads, they appear at the tunic's hem and suspended from the arms of the Goddess. Severed heads and rings appear centuries later, hanging from the elbows of open-armed Tiwanaku-style Staff Gods and Attendants, as well as Ayacucho SAIS-style Attendants, but seldom appear among Ayacucho SAIS-style Staff Gods (Bergh 1999:Figure 141 top).

The bag's Staff Goddess' crown (Figure 6.13) has a two-step platform as the center appendage that is flanked by maize cobs. Attached to the crown's upper corners is a bird head. Two appendages ending in rings emerge from the crowns sides. The two linked concentric squares below the appendages with rings are difficult to interpret. Both feet point in the same direction. The vertical striping below the bag's opening is interesting because this kind of vertical striping is found on certain Siguas 1 bags. Two fragments of this kind of bag were found in the vicinity of the town Tambillo, Sihuas Valley (Figures 6.38 and 6.39). Currently available radiocarbon dates do not exclude the possibility of interactions between late Siguas 1 and early Provincial Pukara.

Four Provincial Pukara Staff Goddesses similar to those portrayed on the Gateway Tunic and the small bag appear on the vertical stripes of a mantel (Figures 6.14– 6.16, 6.40 and 6.41; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 2.25a,b; Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figures 21 and 22a–g) dated cal. AD 218 to 382 (SH 255–414). This "Four Goddesses" mantel has single colored bands in black, white, and green as well as two kinds of stripes filled with representations. The design in a pair of narrow, 1.5-cm-wide stripes consists of checkered crosses made in crosslooping. Broader stripes, about 5.7 cm wide, in interlocking tapestry with representations of Staff Goddesses, about 7.7 cm high, are arranged one above the other. All yarns are camelid fibers 2Z-S. The warp count of single yarns colored brown is about 16/cm while the weft count is about 42/cm. At the top of each stripe, above the Staff Goddesses, is a bird image belonging to the Bird C class (see below). This bird probably represents an Attendant (Figure 6.40). On each leg above the ankle of the bird is an *Anadenanthera colubrina* symbol. Of particular interest are white chevron-like

Figure 6.38. Siguas 1, two fragments from the same bag collected in the vicinity of the town of Tambillo, Sihuas Valley, department of Arequipa.

Figure 6.39. Siguas 1, two fragments from the same bag collected in the vicinity of the town of Tambillo, Sihuas Valley, department of Arequipa.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.40. Provincial Pukara, Bird C Attendant, detail from the "Four Staff Goddesses Mantle," dated cal. AD 218 to 382 (SH 255–414).

designs at the heels and an appendage emerging from the left heel that ends in a ring. These details occur later in SAIS development, particularly with Ayacucho SAIS iconography, but instead of a ring we may encounter other elements.

The mantel's Staff Goddesses can be differentiated into four variants based on staffs held, their crown appendages, and their tunic designs. Only three of the four variants are illustrated (Figures 6.14–6.16; for the fourth, see Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 22 top). Their face markings are crosses analogous to the Staff Goddess on the small bag, discussed above. The eyes are divided with the black portion closer to the nose, and they are outlined by a red or green band depending on the background color. The eyes of the Gateway Tunic's Attendants are outlined mainly in green. So far, Provincial Pukara Staff Goddesses have a band circling the eye in red or green. Red is the outline color used for Provincial Pukara Rayed Heads and later Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku Staff God eye outlines.

The shape of the Staff Goddesses crownbands is unusual. They cover the top and part of the sides of the head, with step-designs framing the forehead. A central feather tuft is flanked by appendages ending in different elements—a ring, an *Anadenanthera colubrina* motif, or an element difficult to identify—while each side has two appendages ending in rings. The long tunics have various geometric designs, including rings. Each of

Figure 6.41. Provincial Pukara, two motifs of significance represented below the Staff Goddess A; detail from the "Four Staff Goddesses Mantle," dated cal. AD 218 to 382 (SH 255–414).

the mantel's four Goddesses A, B, C, and D holds two staffs. Furthermore, their background color alternates between red and blue as follows: A, blue; B, red; C, blue; and D, red. Each of the tapestry stripes has the following sequence downward toward the hem: A, B, C, D, A, B, C, D, A. The upper main distinguishing element of the two staffs is as follows: A, an *Anadenanthera colubrina* motif and an upside-down profile animal head (Figure 6.14, center); B, a square containing four concentric rings and x-shaped object (Figure 6.15, center); C, an *Anadenanthera colubrina* motif and "bottle-shaped" element outlined in white (Figure 6.15, bottom; Isbell and Knobloch 2009); and D, a yellow-colored staff and profile animal head (Figure 6.16, center). Rings hang from the elbows of the arms, as on the Gateway Tunic Staff Goddess and its Rayed Head Theme C Attendants. Their feet point in the same direction.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Below the Goddesses on the "Four Goddesses" mantel are two designs (Figure 6.41). One design has a three-stepped platform with two upright appendages ending in profile feline heads and an image within the platform with two uprights ending in *Anadenanthera colubrina* motifs. The other motif, by the hem, has two pairs of profile bird heads facing each other within an enclosed space and above them two pairs of profile bird heads looking in the opposite direction in an open space.

A miniature Provincial Pukara tunic has solid as well as patterned vertical stripes, the latter in interlocking tapestry (Figure 6.42; Young-Sánchez 2004:53, Figure 2.29). The single-strand warp is made of camelid fibers colored very light brown and spun 2Z-S with a count of about 14/cm, while the weft count is around 54/cm. The design of each patterned stripe is a zigzagging band subdivided into colored diagonal sections, alternating right and left. Bird heads emerge from these diagonal sections. Each section is a colored but unbordered rectangle measuring about 2.7 × 3.3 cm. The overall arrangement has an absorbing visual effect. This effect involves (a) diagonally arranging, distributing, and sequencing white, red, and yellow to form a pattern and (b) an alternating directional facing of bird heads emerging from the zigzag bands over a background color pattern of blue, green, and black. At the bottom of each zigzag band, by the tunic's hem, is a three-stepped platform motif similar to that of the "Four Goddess" mantle (Figure 6.41). In this case, the two uprights end in bird heads, and the *Anadenanthera colubrina* motif of Figure 6.41 is replaced by a ring.

The miniature Provincial Pukara tunic is dated cal. AD 349 to 528 (SH 415–545). Significantly, similar visual effects reappear some three centuries later among certain Ayacucho SAIS tunics (Bergh 1999:721–785, Figures 7.1–13.3). A fragmented tunic from the site Tarapaca-40B, Grave 3-SM, has partial striping with essentially the same zigzagging band, even including bird heads but different coloring, dated cal. AD 600 to 720 (Chapter 10, this volume). In this case, if we can trust the dates, the design would have reached northern Chile two centuries after its appearance in the far south of Peru.

Based on the current sample, Winged Attendants characteristic of Provincial Pukara iconography occur in 16 variants. Minor variations may occur in details and coloring of the same Attendant type. All the Attendants appear in profile. They have vertically divided eyes surrounded by a red band with the black half of the eye toward the front. This red band is green or bluish if the facial background color is red. Except for three Attendants, two

Figure 6.42. Provincial Pukara, detail of a miniature tunic with solid and patterned vertical stripes with a zigzag design, dated cal. AD 349 to 528 (SH 415–545).

capital L-shaped appendages emerge antennae-like from their heads, which terminate in different elements but most frequently a ring. The 16 Attendants are as follows:

1. Winged Snail Man: his face is divided by a tear-line into a red front and a white back section. He wears a short tie-dyed tunic with ring designs in two colors. The feet are shown in a running position. From the front of his chest emerges an arm with hand supporting, or holding, a snail shell. From the snail's shell emerges a rectangular head with three red lines suggesting the snail's tentacles. A band hangs below his chest or arm with details suggesting two fringes. Two diagonal bands below the wing, near the lower back, may be ties for a breechcloth. The Winged Snail Man is represented among Rayed Head Theme B Attendants on shoulder panels (Figure 6.33) and appears as one among 12 other

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.43. Provincial Pukara, fragment of a band in interlocking tapestry.

Attendants on a band with a Rayed Head B (Estabridis 1994:82, twelfth figure from the band's left end) and a textile fragment (Figure 6.30, middle left side) from La Ramada, Sihuas Valley.

2. Winged Panpipe Man: has a facial marking that partially encircles the eye but a diagonal tearline descends from the lower front section and terminates with a recurving end. The arm is flexed and his hand holds a three-tube panpipe. Due to damage, the only other recognizable features are a standing front foot, a partial wing, a small portion of the body's front, and two diagonally descending breechcloth ties (Figure 6.43, first and seventh figures from the band's left end).

3. Winged Panpipe Antropomorph: this Attendant is similar to the Winged Panpipe Man except he wears a collar with radiating lines and his body is animal-like, giving a centaur-like appearance. The body design consists of two horizontal S figures and two colored bands along his upper back and downturned tail. The feet are rendered in a running position (Estabridis 1994:82, first figure from the band's left end).

4. Winged Backward-Looking Anthropomorph: the backward-looking human head's facial marking partially encircles the eye but descends and recurves up, making a U-shape (Figure 6.30, bottom left). There is no evidence for antennae-like appendages. The figure appears to wear a headband with a chevron design, but damage makes interpretation difficult. Behind the head is a ring-shaped ear pendant similar to those worn by human heads at the hem of a tunic with Rayed Head Theme A shoulder panels (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.22). Below the head is a collar with radiating lines. The diagonally positioned body contains two S-designs with a square in between them. A thin red line, together with a dark-colored band, outlines the figure's upper back and downturned tail, which ends in a geometric "three-finger" design. From the chest emerge two upward-turning arms that appear to have empty hands. The feet are shown in the running position.

5. Anthropomorphic Winged Fish: this Attendant is most problematic in regards to its identity, but for many years, it has been considered a fish. It occurs in two variants, A and B. Variant A is an Attendant represented on Rayed Head Theme B shoulder panels (Figure 6.33, second from bottom on both sides; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 1.9; Estabridis 1994:82, tenth figure from the band's left end) while Variant B is only known from a pouch with a backflap, dated cal. AD 35 to 134 (SH 30–239) (Figure 6.17). Unfortunately, no date is available for a Variant A example.

Anthropomorphic Winged Fish A's facial marking consists of a band that partially outlines the face rather than the eye, with the front end of the band terminating in a ring. A neckband design depicts a meander. The two legs are shown in a running or kneeling position, and a single arm runs downward and turns upward again, U-shaped. The hand, turned horizontally, is empty, although in some cases, it could indicate the chin resting in the hand. The body is a horizontal bar composed of three rectangles with concentric nesting, although the center one is apparently the base of the wing. Attached to the last rectangle is the V-Head motif.

Anthropomorphic Winged Fish B is similar to Fish A except for details and added appendages (Figure 6.17). Rendering and placing of feet and arm differ. The hand holds an object, possibly a plant. The first of the three rectangles forming the body differs in having a vertical zigzag design in mirror image. Three appendages emerge from different parts of the figure; from its chest, heel, and wing. All end in an animal head.

6. Bird A: a facial marking that encircles the eye has two-backward pointing capital L-shaped tearlines. One or two nested rectangles appear in the body, and from the chest a band emerges ending in an animal head (Figure 6.33; Figure 6.47, second, fourth, and sixth figures from the band's left end; Estabridis 1994:82, fourth figure from the band's left end; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 1.9; Figure 6.30, bottom left corner of fragment allegedly from La Ramada, Sihuas Valley).

7. Bird B: a facial marking partially encircles the eye, and from below the neck element, a band runs through the middle of the body. A band ending in an animal head analogous to Bird A emerges from the chest (Estabridis 1994:82, second figure from the band's left end).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

8. Bird C: wears a crown and its facial marking is unusual. The divided eye is encircled by a green band "embedded" within a red-colored facial marking that has a wing-like design and a tearline with tears (Figure 6.40, textile dated cal. AD 218–382 [SH 255–414]). Similar wing-like facial designs characterize later Ayacucho SAIS Attendants and Rayed Heads, as well as Tiwanaku Attendants, Rayed Heads, and Staff Gods. Between Bird C's head and body is a collar with radiating lines. The horizontal body contains two concentric rectangles in the chest region and two more conjoined to form the back. A vertical wing with two horizontal bird head attachments springs from the back. A highly compressed concentric oval with three straight appendages (Menzel's "tail feather") emerge from the body's last concentric rectangle, constituting a tail. Significantly, this concentric oval with three zigzag/wavy appendages, or with three straight appendages element, occur with Provincial Pukara, although the former predominate in Provincial Pukara while the latter were more popular in Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku. Below the body of the bird are two legs with heel chevrons and curved claws. Within each leg there is an *Anadenanthera colubrina* motif. A band ending in an oval ring emerges from the heel of the hind leg, similar to later bands in Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku iconography.

9. Anthropomorphic Bird A: the facial marking that encircles the eye has three tearlines ending in rings. There is a simple neck band, and part of the body is a rectangle. The arm is flexed and the hand holds a small object difficult to identify. The bird has only one leg visible (Estabridis 1994:82, sixth and ninth figures from the band's left end).

10. Anthropomorphic Bird B: its facial marking is like that of Bird A. This bird lacks an arm, but two legs are shown in a running or kneeling position. Part of the body is formed by two nested rectangles, and attached to its hind section is the V-Head motif instead of tail feathers. From its chest emerges a band that ends in an animal head analogous to Bird A (Estabridis 1994:82, seventh figure from the band's left end).

11. Anthropomorphic Bird C: its facial marking, collar, horizontal body with wing and tail emerging from the last concentric rectangle, two legs with heel chevrons, and curved claws are similar to that of Bird C. However, it differs from Bird C by having an upturned arm emerging from its chest that holds a rather unusual staff. A ring hangs from the arm's elbow. No band emerges from the hind leg to end in some element (Moraga 2005:Figure 101). This bird icon is decorated with nine bird heads—three as crown appendages, one hanging from the crownband, one as part of the wing, one at the end of each limb's internal filet, and one at the top of the staff. Of the Provincial Pukara Attendants known, this is the only one with clearly defined internal filets in the arms or legs. Such limb filets appear on Pukara's Feline Man and characterize both Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku Attendants. A radiocarbon date for this textile might determine whether the Anthropomorphic Bird C icon should be assigned the status of "Missing Link" (see below).

12. Winged Male Deer: this is a male deer because of L-shaped, antler-like head appendages. Its head is turned backward. The facial and body markings are similar to the Winged Panpipe Anthropomorph. Below the neck is a collar with radiating lines. The body contains two S-designs and has a single band along its back and a downturned tail. The figure seems to be standing. From the chest a band emerges that ends in a concentric oval with three zigzag tassel-like appendages (Menzel's "tail-feather" design) (Figure 6.33; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 1.9). In Pukara and Provincial Pukara, the three appendages of this "tail-feather" design tend to be a zigzag, while in both Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku, they tend to be straight (see above).

13. Anthropomorphic Winged Deer: this Attendant is similar to the Winged Male Deer except it looks ahead and apparently lacks antlers. The two feet are rendered in a running position. A flexed arm emerges from the chest, with hand holding a staff (Figure 6.43, fifth figure from the band's left end, staff is linked to mouth; Estabridis 1994:82, third figure from the band's left end, staff is segmented and not linked to mouth).

14. Anthropomorphic Winged Feline: a bifurcate tongue identifies this Winged Feline Attendant (classified as feline because of the rounded ears). Facial markings consist of a zigzag tearline and short appendages above and on the sides of the eye. The neckband has a meander design. A circle appears where a single arm and a single leg separate from the body. The hand holds a staff ending in a white basal tip. A band of concentric rectangles extends along the upper part of the body to become a downturned tail ending in an animal head (Figure 6.37; Figure 6.43, third figure from the band's left end).

15. Anthropomorphic Winged Mammal: two narrow backward-pointing capital L-shaped tearlines characterize this Attendant's facial marking. There is a neckband. The body with its downward-pointing and recurving tail is formed by five consecutive concentric rectangles.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

A single flexed arm emerges from below the chest, and the hand holds a staff with a concentric rectangle at the upper end. The only leg is shown in a running position (Estabridis 1994:82, fifth and eighth figures from the band's left end).

16. Winged Mammal (Patricia Knobloch suggests it to be a monkey): although the shape of the head with its snout differs from Bird A, the facial marking, rendering of the body with tail feathers, and band emerging from the chest ending in an animal head are all similar to Bird A. The two legs also are different (Estabridis 1994:82, eleventh figure from the left end).

It is likely the number of Attendant types will increase as additional textiles are identified. A textile fragment (Figure 6.30) has the remains of an Attendant, the Winged Backward-Looking Anthropomorph, visible at the bottom left, with both arms turned upward and hands possibly holding something. To the left of this anthropomorph are visible two forward-stretched arms and hands grasping a staff ending in a fish head, the only such representations presently known to the author. This textile fragment is unique and extraordinary due to the greater number and more complex arrangement of Attendants than on those of Rayed Head Theme B examples.

Nothing comparable to Provincial Pukara's 16 different Attendants is known from Pukara-style pottery or worked stone iconography, except for two Pukara versions of a winged anthropomorphic fish (see below) and of a winged anthropomorphic feline. From what is preserved, Pukara's Winged Anthropomorphic Feline A is similar to Provincial Pukara's Winged Anthropomorphic Feline. The Pukara motif differs from the Provincial Pukara motif; the former holds at least two different objects (J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figures 30–35) and never grasps a staff as in the case of the Provincial Pukara motif (Figure 6.37). The second feline, Pukara's Winged Anthropomorphic Feline B motif, has facial markings that differ from those of Pukara's motif A and has tail feathers (J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figure 37). No Provincial Pukara counterpart is known.

There are two Pukara Winged Anthropomorphic Fish motifs, Variant A and Variant B. Variant A is represented on a figurative pottery trumpet fragment (Franquemont 1986:Figure 65; J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figures 71, 73, 74, 76) and Variant B on a design panel from the neck of a jar fragment that also has a Pukara Winged Anthropomorphic Feline B motif (J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figure 37). The trumpet's Variant A is similar to Provincial Pukara's Winged Anthropomorphic Fish Attendant A that accompanies all presently known Provincial Pukara Rayed Head Theme B examples. Both Pukara and Provincial Pukara examples have the rather peculiar arrangement of a U-shaped arm that turns upward. Pukara's Variant B is similar to Variant A except that it lacks the arm and has forward- and backward-stretching legs rather than running or kneeling legs. The two appendages emerging from the head also differ.

Provincial Pukara's known iconic inventory lacks Attendants with weapons, severed human heads, and decapitated human bodies so often represented with Pukara's Feline Man motif. Other violence-related motifs absent in Provincial Pukara are severed arms and legs appearing among severed human profile heads and a severed head with Pukara's Winged Man motif. However, the iconography of Provincial Pukara sashes includes representations of severed human profile heads, decapitated human bodies, and arrow-like weapons along with mythic animals or severed human heads, often associated with human hair (Conklin 1983; Moraga 2005:Figure 90; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 2.20, 2.21). One of these sashes in interlocking tapestry, dated cal. AD 59 to 233 (SH 85–255), represents two tail-to-tail anthropomorphic creatures, possibly foxes, based on the bushy tail and muzzle (Table 6.1, n. 1; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.21). Each mythic animal holds an arrow-like weapon in a hand linked to the animal's shoulder. Within the animal are a decapitated human body, two crossed arrow-like weapons, severed human heads, and the V-Head motif. Linked to the animal's nose and to a band emerging from the canine-toothed mouth is a human head. Human hair is attached to this head and similar heads on comparable sashes.

Siguas 3 textiles display heads somewhat similar to the Provincial Pucara sashes, but they wear turban-like head covers and the faces have tearlines. However, human hair is appended to the rounded chin. Long ties are attached to the two corners of the turban-like head cover, suggesting they were worn hanging over the chest or back. Unfortunately, no dates are available, but the existence of tearlines suggests they lie within the early Siguas 3 time range (Haeberli 2002:92). The earliest Siguas 3 radiocarbon date is cal. AD 144 to 343 (Haeberli 2002:92), and that is within Provincial Pukara's temporal range. They could be coeval with the early Provincial Pukara sashes, implying sharing of similar traditions in the use of human hair, possibly from ancestors or from enemies.

In the discussion above, Provincial Pukara textile iconography has been compared with imagery from Pukara pottery. Janusek and Ohnstad (Chapter 4, this volume)

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

emphasize Pukara stelae and other stone sculptures. Pukara stone sculpture and ceramic decoration also show similarities with Provincial Pukara textile iconography. They include the following:

1. A bifurcate tongue, as described above, emerges from the closed mouth of a feline head (for Provincial Pukara: Figure 6.37; for Pukara: J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figures 30–35).

2. The V-Head motif (for Provincial Pukara: Figures 6.17, 6.32, 6.33; Moraga 2005:Figure 90; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 2.21, 2.22; for Pukara: S. Chávez 1992:Figures 202, 209; 2004:Figure 3.8; J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figures 8, 37, 42; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 3.7b; for San Pedro de Atacama: Chapter 11, this volume, Figures 11.9b and 11.5c, the latter with a horizontal bar instead of a V). The Y-Head motif is found in Ayacucho SAIS (Bergh 1999:Figure 94, top) and Tiwanaku, including San Pedro de Atacama snuff tray iconography (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 1.12; Torres 1987:Plate 97).

3. Radiating appendages end in a ring or in an animal head (for Provincial Pukara: Figures 6.12, 6.32, 6.33; for Pukara: Chávez 1992:Figure 175). These radiating appendages appear later in Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku crowns.

4. Feather-like appendages appear among crowns worn by Provincial Pukara's Theme A and D Rayed Heads (Figures 6.32, 6.34; Haeberli 2002:Figure 30; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.22) and Pukara's Feline Man (S. Chávez 1992:Figures 205, 209, 210; J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figure 5).

5. Two L-shaped, antennae-like appendages ending mainly in rings emerge from the top of Attendants' heads (for Provincial Pukara: Figures 6.12, 6.17, 6.32, 6.33 and 6.43, which is dated cal. AD 35–134 [SH 30–239]); for Pukara: S. Chávez 1992:Figure 449; J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figures 30–34). These L-shaped appendages appear among Niño Korin textiles (Wassén 1972:Plate 2A), Caserones textiles (Chapter 10, this volume), and Tiwanaku pottery (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 140; Isbell and Burkholder 2002:Figures 7.8i, 7.10; Posnansky 1957:Figures XIIIc, XXVIIIb, XXXVc). I know of only two Ayacucho SAIS-style tunic fragments (with cotton warps) that have these L-shaped appendages emerging from the head of an iconographically atypical Ayacucho SAIS anthropomorphic camelid or deer attendant (see below) (for the published fragment, see Bergh 1999:Figure 81).

6. Projectile points represented at the tip of Pukara's Feline Man's crown appendages (S. Chávez 1992:Figures 209, 210) are similar to those at the tip of darts represented on Provincial Pukara's sashes (Moraga 2005:Figure 90; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.21).

7. The checkered cross (for Provincial Pukara: Figures 6.14, 6.36, 6.44; Moraga 2005:Figures 8, 9; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 2.23, 5.20; for Pukara: S. Chávez 1992:Figures 364, 373, 393; 2004:Figure 3.23; J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figures 62, 63).

8. A geometric design consisting of a square to rectangle with three appendages emerging, the middle one slightly longer. Each appendage ends in a square that may contain a line in its center (for Provincial Pukara: Moraga 2005:Figure 101; for Pukara: S. Chávez 1992:Figures 204, 205, 206a; for Ayacucho SAIS: Bergh 1999:Figures 54, 62; Menzel 1968:Figure 10a).

9. Hand with thumb and three fingers (for Provincial Pukara: Figures 6.11–6.16 for Goddesses, Figures 6.17, 6.43 for Attendants; for Pukara: S. Chávez 1992:Figures 143, 144 for Camelid Woman; Figures 204, 205, 206a for Feline Man; Figure 449 for Winged Man; J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970:Figure 35 for Winged Anthropomorphic Feline).

Figure 6.44. Provincial Pukara, a pair of facing snakes and a checkered cross are represented on a miniature bag with carrying cord, height 6.4 cm.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

10. Vertically divided eye surrounded by a red band (for Provincial Pukara: Figures 6.12, 6.13, 6.32, 6.33, 6.35, 6.40; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 1.9, 2.22, 2.24, 2.25, 2.26; for Pukara: Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.31; for Ayacucho SAIS: Moraga 2005:Figures 75, 103; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 1.13, 2.54, 2.53; for Tiwanaku: Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.28). With Provincial Pukara, Ayacucho SAIS, and Tiwanaku, the band can occur in colors other than red.

11. Crowns consisting of crownbands with upward-looking front-face feline heads and a center tuft flanked by appendages ending in snake heads (for Provincial Pukara: Figure 6.12; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.26; for Pukara: S. Chávez 1988:Figures 5a–c, 7; Chapter 4, this volume).

There are differences and similarities in the Pukara (S. Chávez 1992:Figures 197–199, 2002:Figure 2.6) and the Provincial Pukara Owl motif. The most notable difference is their association with geometric motifs: a three-step motif in Pukara and checkered cross in Provincial Pukara. Facing pairs of owls are rendered on a Provincial Pukara basket (private collection). This basket has three registers; the top and bottom registers have pairs of face-to-face snakes as described below. The middle register has representations of face-to-face owls. Their front-view rectangular heads are similar to those of female felines, but in addition they are framed by a yellow or red band with black dots. The upper corner of each head has a three-feather tuft tipped in white. The divided eyes are surrounded by a red band on the owl whose head is framed in yellow, and the colors are reversed on the second owl. From their necks hangs a band ending in a rectangle. Their wing and tail feathers are tipped in white, and the two feet have three white claws. Analogous to the snakes, there is a white band along the bottom portion of their bodies; however, this relatively wide band has black dots. What probably represents the chest area contains a checkered cross. A bar containing four checkered crosses is between the pair's feet.

Provincial Pukara crownbands with upward-looking front-face feline heads (Figures 6.11 and 6.12) are more complex than Pukara's Wiraqocha Orqo and Qaluyu examples (S. Chávez 1988:Figures 5a–c, 7; Ohnstad and Janusek, Chapter 4, this volume; J. Rowe 1976:Figure 11). These Provincial Pukara crownbands have horizontal appendages in addition to the upright appendages. Their crownbands have three upward-looking front-face feline heads while the Wiraqocha Orqo stela has but one feline head. The upward-looking front-face feline head in the center of the Qaluyu stela's crownband is flanked on each side by a profile feline head. The Qaluyu crown's middle appendage is a feather tuft that is flanked by snake heads emerging from an element with a half-moon design. The Japisi (S. Chávez 1981:Figure 1; J. Rowe 1976:Figure 11) and Pukará (Mujica 1991:Figures 217, 219) Pukara-style stone sculptures of humans have upward-facing animal heads in the front center of their headbands. The poorly preserved Japisi statue's head cover has, in addition, a rectangular base from which feathers project; they are flanked by two rounded appendages.

Reviewing the relevant differences between Pukara and Provincial Pukara iconography, we find the following:

1. The Staff God pose holding two staffs is not known in Pukara iconography. The Camelid Woman, represented in a similar front-face view, holds in one hand an unusual staff and apparently a bag. In the other hand, she holds a rope that is tied to the neck of an alpaca. Her headdress differs from Provincial Pukara ones.

2. Pukara's iconography lacks Rayed Head themes, where the Rayed Head motif is accompanied by Attendant motifs.

3. The stepped platform is lacking in Pukara iconography (see below).

4. Of 16 Provincial Pukara Attendants, only two occur in Pukara iconography.

5. No precise counterpart to Pukara's Feline Man or Winged Man has been found in Provincial Pukara iconography.

6. The high frequency of severed human heads in Pukara iconography is surprising in light of their low frequency in Provincial Pukara iconography, where they occur mainly on sashes (Table 6.1, n. 1; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.21, cal. AD 59–233 [SH 85–255]) and bands (Figure 6.31, dated cal. AD 139–432 [SH 246–534]).

7. The highly formalized representation of Mythic Felines, explicitly female or male in Pukara iconography, is missing in Provincial Pukara feline representations.

8. Nothing analogous to Provincial Pukara's Rayed Female Feline theme (Figure 6.35) is known in Pukara iconography. It is significant that Provincial Pukara's Anthropomorphic Winged Feline Attendant and Mythic Feline (i.e., a feline with a front-face head but profile body) never appear as Attendants within Rayed Head themes, particularly when considering the importance given male and female Mythic Felines in Pukara iconography.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

9. Frogs or toads have not been detected among Provincial Pukara textiles, although they appear on Pukara stelae and small stone basins (J. Rowe 1985:Figure 363).

10. The tail of the Pukara snake is always oriented downward (S. Chávez 1992:Figures 296–324) while Provincial Pukara snakes have tails oriented upward. Figure 6.44 shows a pair of face-to-face snakes, separated by a checkered cross, on a miniature bag. The closed mouth of both snakes is outlined by a narrow white line that follows along the bottom portion of the body to the tip of the tail, a detail frequently observed among Provincial Pukara Attendants. The snakes have divided eyes circled in red, and their bodies are colored blue with a black line running through the middle. The body of Pukara snakes is divided into an upper and lower section by different colors, and the narrow white line is absent (S. Chávez 1992:Figures 296–324).

A chronology showing temporal change in Provincial Pukara iconography is needed but premature until a larger sample of the art and additional radiocarbon dates are available. Differences and similarities between Pukara and Provincial Pukara iconography imply radical divergences in religion and myth. This change is evident by the appearance of Provincial Pukara's male Rayed Head themes in association with three-step platforms and Staff Goddess themes. They, together with a host of winged Attendants, displace Pukara's Camelid Woman theme, Feline Man theme, and Winged Man motif in the Southern Andean Iconographic Series. Other social and political implications are suggested by a reduced emphasis in the representation of severed human heads, decapitated bodies, and severed arms and legs in Provincial Pukara textile iconography, at least compared with Pukara pottery and stone works. Unfortunately, we still know little about who was influencing whom and how between approximately cal. AD 30 to 500 (SH 30–550) in the northern Titicaca Basin and adjacent regions to the north, east, and west.

Late Formative Rayed Head Iconography from the Southern Lake Titicaca Basin

Late Formative Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition trumpets share details in shape and technique of manufacture. One such trumpet has been assigned to Pukara (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 1). The trumpet was collected by Uhle in 1895, and its given provenience is the vicinity of Copacabana, southern Lake Titicaca Basin. The iconography is incised, and the areas framed by incisions are slip-painted in red, black, and yellow, colors that are also evident on Pukara-style pottery. A fret involving three ascending and descending steps circles the trumpet's bell, and there is a color change in the middle of the top and bottom steps. This kind of step design is reported for Tiahuanaco's Kalasasaya style (Janusek 2003:Figures 3.6c, 3.14; J. Rowe 1985:Figure 360) and Siguas 1 (Haeberli 2002:99) iconography, but blocks of ascending steps (reading from left to right) predominate in Pukara, Paracas, Topará, and Nasca iconography. Below the bell, on the trumpet's body, a Rayed Head is modeled in low relief above a stepped platform. The Rayed Head has face markings, including tearlines, and 14 radiating appendages circle the head, but no crown-band is evident. Two of the appendages end in rings, and eight are similar to Pukara's Camelid Woman's lateral appendages (S. Chávez 2002:Figures 2.2c, 2.3a, b). I suggest assignment to Tiahuanaco's Kalasasaya style is more likely, given the details of the fret design and Rayed Head above a stepped platform, rather than to Pukara, where these details have not been reported. Janusek and Ohnstad (Chapter 4, this volume) also assign the trumpet to Kalasasaya. A trumpet with essentially the same iconography, except for two feather appendages similar to those among the Provincial Pukara Rayed Head Themes A and D and eye markings, has no provenience (Posnansky 1957:Plate XLI EE d).

There is a significant difference in iconographic style and artistic skill shown by Pukara and Kalasasaya pottery, especially in Pukara's best pieces. This is evident by comparing the Kalasasaya representation of an animal (probably feline) (S. Chávez 2004:Figure 3.14; J. Rowe 1985:Figure 360) with Pukara felines from the northern Lake Titicaca Basin (S. Chávez 2004:Figures 3.13, 3.18; J. Rowe 1985:Figure 326a,b; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.31). Although both participated in the sphere of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition, it seems that there was little interaction or exchange in technical expertise and iconography between Pukara in the northern Titicaca Basin and Kalasasaya in the southern basin.

Qeya-style pottery has been found in the southern Titicaca Basin, including the site of Tiahuanaco. This pottery has been assigned to the LF 2. Qeya-style pottery is never abundant, is not well known, and, when excavated by archaeologists, was found at specific locations within the excavation areas. It was located below and occasionally mixed with Tiwanaku-style pottery. Qeya iconography is limited and can be incised or sloppily slip-painted. Its style is peculiar, and over the years, investigators have commented that it appears as though

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

potters only gradually gained familiarity with the iconography they were representing. This can be illustrated by describing three jars.

A prominent Qeya form is a more or less vertical-walled jar with a flange below its rim and a modeled head below the flange. One specimen, recorded as Wari, was identified as Qeya by Haeberli in the storage facilities of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC), Arequipa, in 2005. This one and three others have a head with a prominent nose and bulging eyes. The iconography of one is rendered by incision and the other three by slip-painted designs. The provenience of the jar with incisions is the Lacaya region located in the Pampa Koani (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 3a,b; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.32). The incised grooves retain traces of colored pigment applied after firing. The head is framed by a band with an interlocking capital T-like design and lacks appendages. The open mouth shows teeth. There are nose and face markings, but the latter may not represent tearlines. Concentric squares with interior concentric circles decorate both sides of the jar.

Of the slip-painted jars, the INC Arequipa example is published for the first time. The other two jars have been published, but the iconography of only one, to be called MRT 293, is reasonably visible (Janusek 2003:Figure 3.21).

The INC Arequipa jar has no provenience (Figures 6.45 and 6.46), and its slip paint has been severely eroded in several areas. The colors used are red, yellow, black, and white. The modeled head below the flange has tearlines under bulging eyes and unusual eyebrows—although a Tiwanaku *quero* from the island of Guevaya has similar eyebrows (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:44, Plate 84; Schmidt 1929:360). The mouth is open showing white teeth. A crownband surrounds only the upper portion and sides of the head. Apparently, the artisan who painted the jar was not very familiar with typical crownbands with meander design. The crown's appendages and their emergence from only the band's upper portion are without counterparts among Provincial Pukara, Ayacucho SAIS, and Tiwanaku appendages. Both vertical sides of the rectangle below the head have two small upper steps and a lower zigzag section, possibly alluding to a stepped platform. Within this rectangle there is a similar but smaller rectangle that contains an animal on a red background that also appears on the side panels.

The INC jar's side panels are divided into upper and lower sections (Figure 6.46). Represented in each lower section within a rectangle, first outlined in black and

Figure 6.45. Qeya, front view of a jar with slip painted iconography and a modeled head below a flange. Photo early July 2005.

Figure 6.46. Qeya, side view of the jar shown in Figure 6.45. Photo early July 2005.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

then in red, is a white animal on a yellow background rendered in a rather abstract, minimalist style peculiar to Qeya tradition iconography. Below the head, with two black dots and a black line, most likely representing eyes and nose, is an elongated body ending in a tail turned up and over the back. Within the body and separated by a divided eye within a red circle, is a front and back paw in red with two claws in black. In addition, there are five white circles, each with a black dot—a design accompanying later Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku mythical animals. This animal, possibly a feline, appears with some variations, including L-shaped appendages ending in rings located above the animal's rump, on Qeya *sahumadors* with scalloped edges and *escudilla*-shaped vessels (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 7, 8, 9; Janusek 2003:Figure 3.20).

The INC jar's side panel's upper section consists of three bands, one above the other in red, yellow, and red on a white background. Represented on each band is a divided eye within a red or yellow circle depending on the band's background color. On both sides of the divided eye are two geometric designs. The jar's back is adorned with a checkerboard-like design.

The quality of the available illustration of the third jar, MRT 293 (Janusek 2003:Figure 3.21), allows only comparisons involving major features. The modeled head has a bulging nose and bulging eyes, and tearlines are not evident. The recessed rectangular mouth is open and may have contained an inlay. As with the INC Arequipa jar, the crownband surrounds only the head's sides and upper portion and apparently contains frets that do not interlock. The number of radiating appendages is difficult to determine, but they all seem to end in bird heads. Below the head are two conjoined rectangles outlined in white. An animal appears in each rectangle, apparently the same, oriented face-to-face. From their upper rump emerge three appendages ending in rings, the outermost L-shaped. Qeya representations of animals tend to have these L-shaped appendages ending in rings, frequently with an extra ring in between, emerging from the animal's back or head (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 12a, 12b, 13; Janusek 2003:Figures 3.20, 3.22). The Tiwanaku-style storage/brewing vessel from the Putuni mortuary also has a modeled Rayed Head with bulging nose and bulging eyes but differs from the Qeya Rayed Heads in having a crownband with typical appendages encircling the head (Couture 2004:Figure 5.21).

Among Qeya jars with flange, a progression in Rayed Head iconography might be suggested. The (a) Lacaya head without appendages or Attendants seems a reasonable antecedent for (b) the INC Arequipa head with atypical appendages and atypical crownband design but with Attendants. More developed would be (c) the MRT 293 head with typical appendages, indistinct crownband design, and Attendants. Latest and most evolved would be (d) the typical Tiwanaku Rayed Head represented on a curve-necked *tinaja* but lacking Attendants as usually was the case on pottery (Couture 2004:Figure 5.21; Janusek 2003:Figure 3.31). I suspect that the iconography of the Lacaya and INC Arequipa jars represents different stages in a gradual, indirect exposure to orally transmitted foreign religious beliefs—the Rayed Head Religious Tradition. On the other hand, the MRT 293 jar might represent more direct exposure to the foreign religious tradition.

Searching for a Missing Link—or Links

Approximately 200 to 300 years separate Provincial Pukara-style textile iconography from rather sudden and more or less contemporary appearance of remarkably similar styles and iconographies at Conchopata and Tiahuanaco. Provincial Pukara design elements, motifs, and a theme we recognize appear in Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku iconography, although somewhat modified. These facts promote a conclusion that there must have been a transfer agent. We may call this yet to be identified transfer agent the "Missing Link." Provincial Pukara textiles were a major contributor to the iconography of this Missing Link.

The appearance of Ayacucho SAIS in Ayacucho and Tiwanaku in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin suggests the region of influence and dispersal of the Missing Link was probably somewhere in between the two. Identification of the Missing Link may present challenges. During its early stages, the iconography may exhibit significant similarities with Provincial Pukara. During its late stages, it may look very much like Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku, respectively. On the other hand, identification of the Missing Link may be assisted by searching for objects with representations that appear Provincial Pukara together with Ayacucho SAIS- or Tiwanaku-like designs. Using this approach, I consider the Denver Art Museum snuff tray (Torres 2004:116–117, Figures 4.9a,b) to belong to the Missing Link style or culture. Why? The tray presents two variants of a design element that otherwise distinguishes Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku from Pukara and Provincial Pukara objects: the design element in question is the Pukara/Provincial

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Pukara V-Head motif and the Tiwanaku/Ayacucho SAIS Y-Head motif. The V-Head motif appears with the two Anthropomorphic Winged Fish Attendants represented along the tray's rim. A winged fish with the Y-Head motif is visible on the back of the animal carved in the round on the handle of the tray. This animal is probably a fox to judge by muzzle, head, and ears (Torres 2004:Figure 4.19a, right detail).

The appearance of both variants on one object indicates that the tray was made either during a period of transition or that the carving on the fox's back was added at a later time. However, the carved fox's gold headdress, a prominent ridge along each top edge of the head and meeting over the forehead, has six carved animal heads; two of the three on each side of the head are fish heads. Furthermore, the finial of a Museum für Vökerkunde Berlin gold pin represents a winged anthropomorphic animal with headdress similar to the Denver snuff tray's fox (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:93, Plate 300, allegedly from Tiahuanaco; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.38). The Berlin animal's body ends in a fish head; its headdress has three animal heads in each row, two of which are fish heads. The Berlin gold pin holds a severed head, probably like one broken off of the chest of the tray's carved fox (Torres 2004:117). Also missing from the tray's carved animal head is a horn-like appendage visible on the better-preserved gold pin. The remarkable similarities between the two animals place the gold pin with the same tradition as the snuff tray, a Missing Link.

The V-Head motif is not reported in Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku iconography but is found on two San Pedro de Atacama snuff trays (Torres, Chapter 11, this volume, Figures 11.9b and 11.5c, the latter with a horizontal bar instead of a V). The Y-Head appears on Tiwanaku-style stone sculptures, textiles, and snuff trays and apparently less frequently on Ayacucho SAIS artifacts. It occurs on the Kantatayita (Conklin 1991:Figure 5) and Calle Linares (Berenguer 2000:33) lintels, on the Pulacayo textile (Berenguer 2000:87), and as part of textile designs on stone sculptures (Berenguer 2000:28, ankle band; Young-Sánchez 2004:35, pants) and body markings on the hands and wrists of the Ponce monolith (Chapter 15, this volume). Eight of the 46 San Pedro de Atacama Tiwanaku-style snuff trays have representations of the Y-Head motif (Berenguer 2000:81; Torres 1987:93). The author detected one V-Head, one Head with a horizontal bar instead of a V, seven Y-Heads, and three not readily classifiable heads due to less than ideal preservation conditions among 54 San Pedro de Atacama snuff trays illustrated by Torres in Chapter 11, this volume (see Figures 11.5–11.11). The significance of these heads is suggested by a widespread geographic distribution. The transmission of these motifs apparently occurred over centuries, and the Y-Head surely developed out of Provincial Pukara's V-Head motif.

Agüero and Uribe (Chapter 10, this volume; Oakland 2000:247–248, Figures 2.17 and 2.16) describe two tunics from the site of Caserones, Tarapacá, in Chile. Two Staff Gods appear on both tunics. It is difficult to establish if they are male or female due to vertical compression. One Staff God has a profile head (T40B, Grave 3-SS, cal. AD 310–430). Its crown with appendages is similar to the crown of the Provincial Pukara Staff Goddess who holds maize stalks (Figure 6.13). Similar are even the bird heads at the crown's corners. However, the maize cobs are replaced by rings. The other Staff God is represented front face (T40-B, Grave 5-SS, cal. AD 350–490). Associated with this Staff God is a Winged Anthropomorphic Fish Attendant with two antennas emerging from the head that resemble the two capital L-shaped appendages ending in rings. It has two standing feet but lacks an arm, and the body ends with a geometricized version of the element concentric oval with three straight appendages.

The Caserones and Provincial Pukara Winged Fish Attendants share certain similarities. Furthermore, the two Caserones tunics are almost contemporary with late Provincial Pukara textiles, and in style their iconography relates better to Provincial Pukara than to Tiwanaku. It suggests LF 2 long-distance transmission of Staff God themes.

The Niño Korin materials, from eastern Bolivia, were collected by Stig Rydén. Wassén was informed that the provenience was Calliicho, "an open passage in the rock, about 50 m. in length" located near Niño Korin (Wassén 1972). Various mummies were seated in a crouching position separated by stone walls. Based on two radiocarbon dates, they were deposited at different times, some during the LF 2 and others during the MH. Of interest for the Missing Link culture are four small warp-faced bags, one basket, one of four snuff trays, and a radiocarbon date from organic matter found in one of the four bags.

The iconography on a coiled basket represents rectangular-shaped Rayed Heads with tearlines (Wassén 1972:51–52, Figures 41–42, Plate I). There is no crown-band, and the appendages are narrow and short ending in large rectangular concentric elements. The black portion of the divided eye is not closest to the nose; the eye is surrounded by a red band when the face is colored

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

blue or yellow but a blue band when the face is red. The Rayed Heads are separated by single-colored ascending and descending multistep designs. This step design is reminiscent of Siguas 1 and the Kalasasaya trumpet, with ascending and descending step designs, except with the Niño Korin example, there are no changes in color in the middle of top and bottom steps.

All four bags have bands in crosslooping along the opening edge as well as the sides. The crosslooping is applied directly onto the bag's plain weave. The bands have a variable number of rows in crosslooping, and they are the carriers of iconography. All of the Niño Korin bands in crosslooping have designs. Only some are described in Wassén's text and recognizable in black and white illustrations or colored drawings reproduced as plates.

The upper band of one of the four bags has two rows of three winged fish. All face in the same direction (Wassén 1972:56–57, Figure 48, Plate IIa). Each fish has two L-shaped appendages emerging from the head ending in rings, similar to Provincial Pukara's L-shaped appendages. They also have three tail feathers and no feet. There are certain similarities and differences between the Caserones winged fish described above and those of this bag. The differences are three tail feathers instead of a concentric oval with three straight appendages element and the lack of feet. The iconography of the bag's vertical side bands cannot be determined from the description and illustrations. The bag contained neatly tied Ilex Guayusa leaves, as did some of the other bags. A cotton cord was tied and knotted around the bag. The only other cotton cord among the Niño Korin textiles was used to fasten the folded-over end of a ribbon. The presence of cotton cords is evidence of interaction with temperate regions.

Three of the four bags were found inside a square coiled basket with a lid (Wassén 1972:52, Figure 43). A tied bundle of Ilex Guayusa leaves, which contain caffeine as identified by analysis, was found inside one of these bags (Wassén 1972:58, Figure 50). One of the leaves was radiocarbon dated: approximately cal. AD 100 to 800 at a 68 percent confidence interval and approximately cal. AD 330 to 560 at 50 percent (Hultin 1972:192).

All four bags share details in textile technique, including weft thread count. According to M. Ankers, who inspected the bags, it is possible the four were woven by the same person. If so, the bag with the winged fish is contemporary with the three bags from the basket. Their age falls into the final years of Provincial Pukara or beginning of the Missing Link Period.

One of four Niño Korin snuff trays has a representation of a Long-Nose Anthropomorphic Sacrificer (Torres, Chapter 11, this volume, Figure 11.16a; Torres 1987:Plate 18; Wassén 1972:32–37, Figure 5). The head is turned upward relative to the body, a posture occurring with other sacrificers. Unusual is a circle linked to a rectangle within the elongated nose. The concentric oval with three more or less wavy-appendages element (Concentric Oval with 3 Wavy Appendages, abbreviated CO3WA) appears nine times; once at the end of the crownband, twice as crown appendages, once emerging from the mouth, once as a facial marking, three times hanging below a belt, and once as an upper finial for a staff with a zigzag and intercalated circles design. The CO3WA design element is typical of Provincial Pukara but not of Ayacucho SAIS or Tiwanaku, where a concentric oval with three straight appendages (CO3SA) predominates. There is little space between ankle bands and the tunic's hem, and it is difficult to determine if this is due to lack of space or if the anthropomorph is a female. Lost are five inlays: one on each shoulder, the eye of a severed profile human head on the figure's chest, the space between feet, and the anthropomorph's eye. Below the Sacrificer's eye is a short tearline and a band outlines the upper portion of the eye, in shape and placing somewhat similar to Conchopata's 2003 feline anthropomorphic sacrificer (Isbell and Knobloch 2006:331, Figure 12.6 upper right; see also Chapter 15, this volume). One hand holds a severed head hanging from two cords or braids. The other hand holds an undulating staff with a CO3WA element at its apex and a severed head at the bottom. The staff and belt design is a zigzag with intercalated circles. A zigzag design also occurs in the bar below the anthropomorph's chin and along the tray's rim. In the rim opposite the tray's handle is a groove with a fish head facing each edge. Zigzag bands with intercalated circles appear in the Provincial Pukara style (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 2.20, 2.22) but not in Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku iconography (see below).

The Niño Korin Long Nose Anthropomorphic Sacrificer was compared to 6 Ayacucho SAIS and 10 Tiwanaku-style Long Nose Sacrificers. Although there are characteristic preferences for certain motifs and elements among Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku Sacrificers, the tendency is for them to have the profile head turned upward, legs shown in running or kneeling position, with canine teeth and a band emerging from the mouth that terminates in some kind of element, and one hand grasping a staff while the other holds a severed head. The Niño Korin example is the only Long Nose Sacrificer in the sample that lacks canines, is standing, has a ring with

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

a band within its nose area, and has the CO3WA element represented nine times. Neither Tiwanaku Sacrificers nor 14 of 16 Provincial Pukara Attendants have chevrons at their heels, but Ayacucho SAIS Attendants do, and so does the Niño Korin Sacrificer. Ayacucho SAIS Sacrificers tend to have wings while Tiwanaku and the Niño Korin do not. Of course, the Sacrificer is defined by his grasping a weapon in one hand and a severed human head in the other.

The Niño Korin Sacrificer's abundant use of the CO3WA element is notable, as is the abundant use of the CO3SA element with an Ayacucho SAIS-style Long Nose Anthropomorphic Sacrificer (Bergh 1999:Figure 94 top) and a Tiwanaku-style Feline Anthropomorphic Sacrificer from Qebrada Vitoria, northern Chile (Bergh 1999:336, Figure 89; Conklin 1983:8–9, Figure 19). The most distinctive features separating Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku Long Nose Sacrificers from the Niño Korin Long Nose Anthropomorphic Sacrificer is the occurrence of a staff and belt with zigzag and intercalated circles design, as well as the concentric oval with wavy-appendages element (CO3WA) on the Niño Korin specimen. These features place that tray closer to Provincial Pukara than to Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku, so its age may be similar to the four Niño Korin bags discussed above: approximately cal. AD 330 to 560. The band with zigzag and intercalated circles design appears on two other snuff trays, one from San Pedro de Atacama and the other from Pallqa, Amaguaya, department of La Paz. The Long Nose Anthropomorphic Sacrificer represented on a snuff tray from Pallqa (Chapter 11, this volume, Figures 11.15h and 11.35j) has a staff, crownband, and belt with the zigzag and intercalated circles design. The iconography of this tray has similarities with that of the Niño Korin tray (Chapter 11, this volume, Figure 11.35i); the Pallqa tray may be assigned, as the Niño Korin tray, to the Missing Link Period. The San Pedro snuff tray has represented a Long Nose Anthropomorph whose staff and crownband has the aforementioned band; however, the circles are square with a small horizontal line in its middle, as is the case with the two tears of a facial marking with tearline. A heel circle, frequent with postincursion SAIS Ayacucho Attendant iconography but not with Tiwanaku iconography, is represented as a square; it suggests squares were easier to carve than circles. Represented on the Anthropomorph's chest are two concentric squares, instead of concentric ovals, with straight appendages whose tips face each other. The chinband and belt have a zigzag design. The above details suggest this tray is late Missing Link—close to the time when Tiwanaku iconography evolved from the precursor style.

Attendants on the Kantatayita and Calle Linares lintels (see Chapter 15, this volume, Figures 15.6 and 15.7) both have a zigzag with intercalated rings as crown design, but the concentric oval with straight-appendages element replaces ones with wavy appendages, indicating that these Attendants belong closer to Tiwanaku. We can assign the lintels to the incursion of Rayed Head and Attendant iconography at Tiahuanaco—more or less the moment when Tiwanaku iconography emerged from the Missing Link precursor style.

Although Wassèn's title for the Niño Korin collection is "A Medicine-Man's Implements," it is more likely the materials belonged to more than one individual over some time, as suggested by a MH age for an artificially deformed and trepanned skull and the LF 2 date for the bags with crosslooping. It is unlikely that the Niño Korin Long Nose Sacrificer is derived from a Provincial Pukara prototype since no such textile representation is currently known. The conception of a Long Nose Attendant apparently belongs to Missing Link iconography and LF 2 times.

The Chunchukala monolith was excavated at the site of Tiahuanaco near the building of the same name (Kolata and Ponce Sanginés 1992:Figure 3). Details in iconography reveal a mixture of two traditions. Arms positioned over the torso conform to the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition while the rest of the imagery belongs to the intrusive, for Tiahuanaco, Rayed Head Theme Religious Tradition. This combination assigns the Chunchukala monolith's iconography to the Missing Link. The question is, of course, when, within Lake Titicaca cultural chronology did the incursion occur? The presence of "suspender-like" tunic stripes and heel chevrons adds to the diagnostic features of the Rayed Head for assigning the Chunchukala monolith to a moment in time. Similar Rayed Heads, "suspender-like" tunic stripes, and heel chevrons appear during the EIP. The former occur among Provincial Pukara and Caserones textiles (see Figure 6.13; for Caserones, see Chapter 10, this volume) while heel chevrons are represented on Provincial Pukara textiles (Moraga 2005:Figure 101) and a Niño Korin's snuff tray with a Sacrificer (Wassén 1972:Figure 5). However, "suspender-like" tunic striping also appears on the chest of the intrusive 1977 Staff God theme from Conchopata. At Tiahuanaco, the Ponce monolith's back panel includes a pair of Bird and Winged Fish Attendants that probably have heel chevrons (see Chapter 15, this

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

volume). Heel chevrons become frequent with Ayacucho SAIS but rare in Tiwanaku iconography. Intrusive Staff God theme iconography appears at Conchopata mixed with local Chakipampa iconography at approximately cal. AD (SH) 700, after which classic Ayacucho postincursion SAIS (Konchopata style) was established around cal. AD (SH) 780. Around the same time, something similar occurred in the southern Titicaca Basin. The temporal range for intrusive Rayed Head iconography combined with Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition iconography observed on the Chunchukala monolith and Qeya flanged jar MRT 293 (Janusek 2003:Figure 3.21) must be later than cal. AD 550 when Rayed Head iconography was absent at Khonkho Wankane but earlier than cal. AD 770 when Tiwanaku IV and V ceramic iconography were established at Tiahuanaco (see above). The Ponce monolith backside has a Staff God theme with 14 Attendants, four of which have heel chevrons if a straight vertical line can be equated with a V-design (one may also question the accuracy of the imagery drawn by Amy Oakland, who developed the illustration used—although scholars generally consider it the iconographically most precise among several illustrations now available). None of the other Attendants, the 14 associated with the crownband or the 12 of the arm areas, have heel chevrons. The four Staff God theme Attendants with heel chevrons among all the remaining Attendants must signal abandonment of Missing Link iconography and the emergence of Tiwanaku preferences in imagery. It places the Ponce monolith around cal. AD 770. Consequently, the Chunchukala monolith and the above Qeya jar may be dated a bit earlier, around cal. AD 700.

When and from Where Did Ayacucho SAIS Iconography Emerge?

As I stated in my introductory paragraph, the belief still lingers that the site of Tiahuanaco was the ancient cradle of classic Tiwanaku culture, which evolved gradually at the type site over centuries to become the center of an expansive empire. The legacies of this empire included religious images spread over vast regions of Peru, Bolivia, northern Chile, and Argentina. The Staff God theme portrayed on Tiahuanaco's imposing Gateway of the Sun and represented on portable textiles, pottery ,and other artifacts was assumed to be the empire's main religious icon of export. According to this notion, Ayacucho SAIS was part of Tiwanaku's legacy (Menzel 1964:67; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:244; Ponce Sanginés 1976:60–61).

What is emerging through the efforts of several archaeologists is a different past defined by a different sequence of events (Isbell 2001; Isbell and Cook 2002; Isbell and Knobloch 2006; Knobloch 1989). The region of Ayacucho in the central Peruvian highlands began to participate in the evolutionary process late in the EIP, as indicated by local Huarpa-style pottery. In an esthetics competition, this pottery and its iconography would not win any prizes. However, during the latter part of the EIP, perhaps as a consequence of two severe sixth-century droughts, Huarpa and Nasca people's interactions became evident in their respective ceramics. The dynamics of these interactions have yet to be elucidated. Specific features of Nasca pottery iconography, shapes, and technology began to appear in Huarpa pottery and vice versa. To appreciate Nasca influences on Huarpa, it will be helpful to outline changes in Nasca iconography that occurred from Nasca 5 to Nasca 9. The new Chakipampa style and imagery gradually evolved out of this interaction.

Radiocarbon dates recently determined from archaeologically excavated artifacts in the Rio Grande de Nazca Drainage provide a new absolute chronology. They include assays on different materials, from different locations and different phases, as follows:

Tierras Blancas Valley for Nasca 3 to 4: cal. AD 222 to 377 (charcoal), cal. AD 254 to 393 (charcoal), and cal. AD 397 to 439 (charcoal) (Vaughn 2004)

Palpa Valley for Middle Nasca Phase (Nasca 4 to 5) cal. AD (SH) 325 to 440, Late Nasca Phase (Nasca 6–7) cal. AD (SH) 440 to 620 (Reindel 2009)

The Tierras Blancas and Palpa dates suggest style developments in the southern and northern Rio Grande de Nazca drainage were not synchronous (Carmichael 2005). These differences may be partly due to the calibration used. The Tierras Blancas Valley dates are based on conventional dates while the Palpa Valley dates are based on southern correction dates.

Dates for 10 textiles without provenience are Nasca 7, cal. AD 433 to 596 (SH 543–643) (Figure 6.47); two Nasca 9, cal. AD 659 to 771 (SH 677–865) (Figure 6.48) and cal. AD 664 to 769 (SH 684–861) (Figure 6.49); three Chakipampa, cal. AD 659 to 766 (SH 677–780) (Figures 6.6 and 6.7), cal. AD 674 to 866 (SH 712–897) (Figure 6.8), and cal. AD 690 to 893 (SH 779–975) (Figures 6.9 and 6.10); two Ayacucho incursion SAIS, cal. AD 672 to 776 (SH 694–886) (Table 6.1, n. 4) and cal. AD 676 to 861 (SH 719–895) (Figure 6.4); and six Ayacucho posincursion SAIS, cal. AD 687 to 870 (SH 773–944) (Figure 6.50), cal. AD 694 to 878 (SH 778–942) (Table

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

6.1, n.5), cal. AD 694 to 884 (SH 777–961) (Figure 6.1), cal. AD 694 to 888 (SH 778–970) (Figure 6.5), cal. AD 712 to 888 (SH 779–968) (Figure 6.2), and cal. AD 779 to 966 (SH 890–988) (Figure 6.51). These dates will be discussed below.

We do not understand exactly how it happened, but upheavals during Nasca 5 brought about political and religious changes in the Nasca heartland documented by the appearance of a new proliferous iconographic tradition, invented in the valleys of Arequipa centuries earlier (Haeberli 2006). Volute rays, quartet rays, jagged rays, and tridents are characteristic proliferous elements that appear in the Nasca heartland during Nasca 5 but became popular during Nasca 6 and Nasca 7 (Roark 1965:Plate IV; Silverman and Proulx 2002:31–34). Further changes occurred during Nasca 7, at least in part provoked by Moche influence (Proulx 1994). In the latter half of the phase, these changes included new vessel shapes and iconography, including face-neck bottles that appeared on the south coast (Proulx 2006:43) and reached Ayacucho as well. Nasca 7 warriors were represented running in profile instead of standing front faced, as in earlier Nasca phases (Proulx 2006:117). Mythic motifs of supernaturals were abbreviated, being reduced to their heads, and a new mythical animal, the Mythic Monkey, appeared (Frame 2006:212, Figure 5 bottom; Proulx 2006:99–100, Figure 5.80; Silverman and Proulx 2002:31–37). It was represented running, frequently holding a severed human profile head, and with tridents or volute rays along its backside and tail.

Nasca 6 and 7 pottery is recognized as one of the world's great ceramic achievements for its fine execution, surface finish to a mirror-like sheen, and carefully painted iconography in up to 12 shades of slip paint.

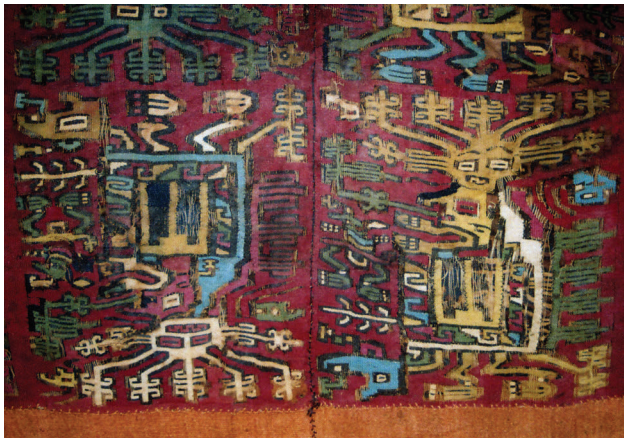


Figure 6.47. Nasca 7, detail of a tunic with proliferous iconography in slit tapestry, dated cal. AD 433 to 596 (SH 543–643).

Figure 6.48. Nasca 9, represented on a bag in interlocking tapestry, with cotton warp and weft in camelid fibers, is an unusual creature, dated cal. AD 659 to 771 (SH 677–865).

Unfortunately, the number of preserved south-coast textiles with proliferous iconography is small. A Nasca 7 textile (Figure 6.47) without provenience was dated cal. AD 433 to 596 (SH 543–643). Men are represented in profile, running and wearing proliferous forehead ornaments with quartet rays, and along the back side of their tunics are tridents. Each of the Nasca 7 men is associated with two severed human heads in profile, as well as a smaller human figure. This tunic's date falls into the range of two major sixth-century droughts (AD 524–540 and AD 562–594) that may have affected much of Peru (Shimada 1994:124–126), perhaps promoting collapse in the Nasca culture. An up-valley population shift in the Palpa Valley during the Late Nasca Phase (Nasca 6 and 7; SH AD 440–620) was substantiated by Reindel (2009) due to an increase in aridity. Whatever the case, Nasca 8/Loro pottery is significantly different from its predecessor. Geometric motifs predominate, implying Huarpa influence; complex supernaturals become

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.49. Nasca 9, bag with iconography executed in embroidery on plain weave, dated cal. AD 664 to 769 (SH 684–861).

Figure 6.50. Postincursion SAIS, fragment of a striped tunic with a representation of a Winged Feline Anthropomorphic Attendant, dated cal. AD 687 to 870 (SH 773–944).

geometric abstractions; and pottery decoration was usually sloppily painted. Face-neck vessels became popular and were adopted into Huarpa as well.

It is a mystery what happened to the skilled Nasca 7 artisans during Nasca 8, whose technological knowledge had accumulated over centuries of experience. However, well-made pottery with a glossy finish reappeared on the south coast with Nasca 9. Its iconography differs, becoming more abstract and includes (a) radial ray motifs based on tridents and volute rays; (b) white filler circles with black dots (Menzel 1964:Figure 6a, 6b); (c) new mythic creatures, including the Humped Animal (Menzel 1968:Figure 27; Proulx 2006:101, Figure 5.82; Ravines 1968:Figures 85, 86); (d) severed human profile heads; (e) chevron bands (the earliest chevron bands the author is aware of are represented on Loro/Nasca 8 ceramics; see Strong 1957:Figures 7G, H); and (f) quartet rays that remained popular from earlier phases. One abstract type of a severed human profile head is characteristic of Nasca 9 textiles (D'Harcourt 1962:Plates 3b, 4; Frame 1999:314; Ubbelohde-Doering 1952:130, 132). Larry Dawson assigned a textile with seven representations of this type of severed profile head to Nasca 9 (personal communication, May 1978). A creature is represented on a bag dated cal. AD 659 to 771 (SH 677–865) (Figure 6.48; see Frame 1999:Plates 4, 8 and D'Harcourt 1962:plates 83A, 83B for similar creatures). Within the creature's body is one of the above-described Nasca 9 severed heads. Even the head of the creature is a Nasca 9 severed head. Volute rays, a Nasca proliferous element, emerge from the creature's head and other parts of its body (Roark 1965:Figure 34b). Additional motifs are new Nasca 9 proliferous inventions, including the creature on an embroidered bag that has edgings in

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

crosslooping; the bag's date is cal. AD 664 to 769 (SH 684–861) (Figure 6.49). Interlinked tridents within the creature's body appeared in Nasca 7 (Berenguer 1996:99; Frame 2006:Figure 5 at top left) and in Siguas 3–Nasca iconography (Haeberli 2006:Figure 15.10, Plate 15, dated cal. AD 542–660 at 2 sigma). The Nasca 9 Humped Animal with tridents and even quartet rays evolved from the Nasca 7 Mythic Monkey. This evolution involved changes during Nasca 8, leading to Nasca 9, and included appearances in numerous guises, some attributed to the Chakipampa style (Proulx 2006:101).

According to Menzel (1968:62), Humped Animals are absent on pottery of MH Epoch 2B. A Chakipampa bag in slit tapestry, dated cal. AD 659 to 766 (SH 677–780), has a Humped Animal design on one side (Figure 6.6) and on the other a supine creature shown from above (Figure 6.7). Connected to it is a severed head, and linked to this head are five smaller heads with hair. Quartet rays and additional severed heads are linked to the creature's elbows and feet, respectively; they confirm Nasca influence in the Chakipampa style. The quartet ray's center ray ends in a triangular tip, which is unusual. However, Chakipampa-style Humped Animals with tridents having a central ray ending in a triangular tip are known over a wide geographic area and include some Ayapata offering urns from the department of Huancavelica, a face-neck jar from Nazca with its head broken off, and 10 or 12 face-neck jars from Ocoña, department of Arequipa (Menzel 1968:Figures 17, 18; Ravines 1968:Figures 88a, 88b; 1977:Figures 33, 34b). Ayapata Humped Animals are represented by themselves or associated with an Anthropomorphic Attendant (Ravines 1977:Figure 32) who lacks a wing and heel chevron. This, then, is more Missing Link–like than Ayacucho postincursion SAIS. The Ocoña face-neck jars contained many rolled-up feather hangings, now disbursed to numerous museums and collections (de Lavalle and González García 1988:153).

Chakipampa-style pottery appears in Ayacucho while Nasca 9– and Chakipampa-style textiles became popular on the south coast, where cloth preserves in the arid environment. Chakipampa vessels with mythic iconography analogous to Nasca 9 ceramics are well made, with imagery that was an evolving mixture of Huarpa and newly adopted Nasca 9 iconography.

Large Chakipampa face-neck jars became important and underwent significant evolution in the execution of both their faces and iconography. The Conchopata 2000B Oversize Ceramic Offering (2000B-OCO), dated cal. AD 661 to 876 at 2 sigma (Chapter 15, this volume Figures 21, 22; Isbell and Cook 2002:268–269), contained some 27 examples of Chakipampa-style face-neck jars. Their simply modeled faces are Huarpa derived and have Huarpa-like facial markings and forehead bands with fleur-de-lis–like designs together with white circles with black dots in their center. For Menzel (1968:14), the "fleur-de-lis" design is a distinctive Chakipampa design of Nasca derivation. Later forms occur on Atarco pottery (Menzel 1964:Figures 4, 5). Indeed, based on details of iconography, these Chakipampa-style face-neck jars predate the introduction of the Staff God theme into Ayacucho.

More realistically rendered heads on Conchopata face-neck jars were found in the 1977-OCO excavation context (Cook 1984–1985; Isbell and Cook 2002; Isbell and Knobloch 2006). Although completely smashed, some 25 examples have Staff God theme iconography (Chapter 15, this volume, Figures 15.27–15.40), and five other jars have Nasca 9–derived motifs. Elite men represented by the jars wear tunics with neck-slit designs. These tunics have an upper and lower design field. The upper front section's iconography varies between two hands with fingers inward (Chapter 15, this volume, Figures 15.31 and 15.40), two facing Humped Animals, or groups of Humped Animals (Chapter 15, this volume, Figures 15.27, 15.29, 15.30). Some of the Humped Animals are similar to Nasca 9 examples with trident appendages while others are Chakipampa in style, without trident appendages (Isbell and Cook 2002:Figure 9.8). Their bodies contain Nasca 9–derived circular designs with radiating volute rays associated with circles with black dots. Stylized braids falling downward from the head decorate the jar's backside.

The lower design field of the jars' tunics is decorated with the intrusive Conchopata 1977 Staff God theme except for the five vessels with Chakipampa/Nasca themes. The Staff God (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figures 28, 29) shares certain similarities with the Ponce monolith's Staff God (Chapter 15, this volume, Figure 15.14; Isbell and Knobloch 2006). However, the Conchopata 1977 Profile Attendants, arranged in two rows (Chapter 15, this volume, Figure 15.36), differ significantly from those of the Ponce monolith, creating the impression that Conchopata's pottery painters were familiar with the Ponce Staff God iconography but not its Attendants (Cook 1994:Lámina 6).

Conchopata 1977 jars in Chakipampa/Nasca style have Stinger-like creatures with severed heads associated with a D-shaped image that may be a stylized representation of ceremonial structures (Chapter 15,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

this volume, Figures 15.25, 15.26; Isbell and Knobloch 2006:Figure 9.7). Such structures have been uncovered at Conchopata, and one was dated cal. AD 709 to 891 at 1 sigma and AD 667 to 977 at 2 sigma (Isbell and Cook 2002:267; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002). In summary, the Conchopata 1977-OCO offering contained face-neck jars with Chakipampa/Nasca 9 iconography and Chakipampa iconography combined with the earliest known intrusive appearance of a Staff God theme in the Ayacucho Valley.

Ravines uncovered seven simple pits containing pottery offerings at Ayapata in the department of Huancavelica, near Ayacucho (Menzel 1968:52–68; Ravines 1968, 1977). The offerings contained secular and oversized ceremonial pottery, including urns with chevron designs and urns with mythic iconography. Some urns have a Nasca 9–derived Chakipampa-style Humped Animal together with an Anthropomorphic Attendant who is not Ayacucho postincursion SAIS-like; its iconography is less complex. It is atypical for the region and time in its lack of a wing or heel chevrons and the unusual staffs it holds (Ravines 1977:Figure 32). In fact, the left hand staff is more of a column of severed heads than a staff at all. Other urns have representations of a second Chakipampa-style Humped Animal, and some urns have a running person associated with a severed head, holding what may be darts in one hand and another unusual staff in the other. All this imagery suggests that the incursion of SAIS iconography at Ayapata was not peaceful.

Both Ayapata Humped Animals have representations of unusual tridents in which the central ray ends in a large triangular point (Ravines 1977:Figures 33, 34b). The origin of this element goes back to Nasca 7 (Berenguer 1996:99), and Chakipampa-style Humped Animals with this type of unusual trident have a wide geographic distribution through the departments of Huancavelica and Ica and south to the Ocoña Valley in Arequipa (Menzel 1968). This distribution suggests a Chakipampa sphere, perhaps at least partially political, that shared specific mythic beliefs. The site of Beringa in the Majes Valley presents a ceramic assemblage blending Ayacucho lower quality Chakipampa-, Ocros-, and Viñaque-derived Huamanga-style pottery with locally based cooking wares, dated to cal. AD 622 to 879 at 2 sigma (Owen 2007; Tung 2007); one date, cal. AD 540 to 762, is too early to be attributed to Chakipampa. Significantly, at Beringa, no Staff God theme or "tiwanakoid" iconography was found among ceramics and textiles (Quinn and Tung 2003).

The scarcity of pottery with SAIS iconography among ceramics excavated at Pikillacta (Glowacki 2005:101–113), Qoripata, and Cotocotuyoc (Glowacki and McEvan 2002:31–49) in the department of Cuzco and at Cerro Baul, Cerro Mejia, and Pampa del Arrastrado near Cerro Baul in the department of Moquegua (Owen and Goldstein 2002:Figure 9; Williams 2009; Williams et al. 2002; Williams and Nash 2002) is surprising. Instead, Chakipampa/Ocros-style ceramics predominate. Ocros by definition (Menzel 1964:17) is Chakipampa-style ceramics with an orange-colored background slip rather than a red one. Menzel in 1964 assigned Chakipampa A and B to Wari Periods 1A and 1B, respectively, but today's radiocarbon dates place Chakipampa some years earlier in Ayacucho than Ayacucho incursion SAIS, particularly if indeed Chakipampa-style pottery occurred at Beringa, Majes Valley, around cal. 620 AD (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2). The apparently independent coexistence between Chakipampa and Ayacucho SAIS iconography up to at least AD 870 (SH 900) demands answers. The above evidence suggests Chakipampa is a style and culture. Research is needed to better define the coexistence, including relationship/interaction, between Chakipampa and Ayacucho incursion SAIS, and later between Chakipampa and Ayacucho postincursion SAIS (Konchopata). Adhering to Menzel's definition, archaeologists and scholars assign Chakipampa to Wari, which creates confusion.

At present, it appears that Chakipampa/Ocros expanded mainly, but not exclusively, southward as indicated by its presence in Moquegua (Owen and Goldstein 2002:Figure 9; Williams 2009:Figures 18, 19, 24) approximately 100 years earlier than Tiwanaku (Williams 2009:Figure 3 presents/compares Wari [read Chakipampa/Ocros-style pottery] Cerro Baul Summit Elite residential and off summit residential dates against Tiwanaku Middle Valley dates; the Tiwanaku Middle Valley dates, Beta-36639 and Beta 129938, fall out of line with the remainder of Tiwanaku dates and must be in error or due to recycled wood). On the other hand, it appears that Ayacucho SAIS expanded preferentially northward from Ayacucho rather than southward. What seems to be lacking is a significant number of ceramics and textiles with representations of postincursion SAIS-style iconography from southern Peru (Arequipa, Apurimac, Cuzco) as represented on artifacts excavated at sites like San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley (Castillo 2001), Chimu Capac, Supe Valley (Menzel 1977), Pachacamac, Lurín Valley (Schmidt 1929:269–295), and Huaca Malena near Mala (Angeles and Pozzi-Escot 2001).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

A significant presence of artifacts with SAIS iconography in southern Peru needs yet to be demonstrated. Here the funerary offerings associated with several closely spaced burials from Pomacanchi, Cuzco (S. Chávez 1984–1985), are noteworthy, and based on generally available literature, they represent a unique find. The collection consisted of metal artifacts; two ceramics, one a Chakipampa-style canteen; and a small number of turquoise beads. Among the metal artifacts were 20 ornamental plumes, 19 with representations of Rayed Heads and one with an Attendant. The Attendant lacks a wing but has one recognizable heel chevron and a limb's internal filet. The Rayed Heads show significant variations, including heads with and without crownbands, crownbands with levorotatory, dextrorotatory, and mixed-rotatory meanders (see above). The appendages can emerge from a crownband, from a head's hair, or directly from the head. The eyes are not divided; some have while others lack tearlines and fangs; both canine and regular teeth appear. The Rayed Heads show a greater variability in design details than we detect among Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku examples, but the presence of mixed-rotatory meanders shows affinity toward Ayacucho SAIS. It is unknown if the Chakipampa-style canteen was directly associated with ornamental plumes or not. Consequently, the metal plumes could represent Provincial Pukara-derived late Missing Link examples.

Ceramic offerings in pits at Ayapata are comparable to the Conchopata 1977 offering in that both contained pottery with Chakipampa iconography as well with intrusive Staff God theme-associated iconography. In the Ayapata case, diagnostically SAIS imagery is the not very Ayacucho postincursion SAIS-like Anthropomorphic Attendant (Ravines 1977:Figure 32), so the best time placement seems to be in the approximate temporal incursion range of cal. AD (SH) 690 to 880 (see below).

Working at Conchopata in 1942, Julio C. Tello (Menzel 1964:6) discovered severely smashed oversize urns elaborately decorated with SAIS Staff God iconography (1942-OCO). Isbell and Cook (Isbell 2001; Isbell and Cook 2002) also excavated at Conchopata, seeking additional information about SAIS influences. Their 1999A-OCO offering contained mostly undecorated smashed oversized urns, but some had iconography of a Staff God theme. The 1942 (Menzel 1964:20–21) and 1999A Staff God themes with four Attendants are similar in style and iconography (Cook 1994; Isbell 2001; Isbell and Cook 2002; Isbell and Knobloch 2006) but differ significantly from the 1977 Staff God theme, particularly the Attendants. A context containing smashed Conchopata 1999A-OCO pottery was dated cal. AD 778 to 1028 at 2 sigma (Isbell and Cook 2002:263). The iconography of the three above-mentioned offerings is incursion style. This implies that interment of the 1999A offering most likely occurred during the postincursion period. One of the illustrated 1942 themes represents a human with a four-corner hat and a vertical band with a Stepped Volute and Head motif (Bergh's face/fret, Menzel's split-face band) between the Staff God image and a Winged Long Nose Anthropomorphic Sacrificer, Menzel's Angel A, to his left side (Cook 1984–1985:Figure 34, 1994:Lámina 8). The hat-wearing human has facial markings, two bands below the eye, each band having two x-shaped designs, similar to Knobloch's Agent 101 except that the agent's marking continues above the eye (Knobloch 2002). Knobloch's analysis suggests the distribution of Agent 101 representations was limited to the Ayacucho Valley and the south coast so he might "represent individuals with the same socio-ethnic identity." Although there are warriors with Agent 101 facial markings wearing tunics and holding shields, both covered with Stepped Volute and Head motifs (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:Figure 8.6), there is an Ayacucho SAIS figural face-neck jar of an individual with Knobloch's Agent 100 facial markings who wears a four-corner hat and a striped tunic with a Stepped Volute and Head motif (Stierlin 1984:Figure 135). This suggests the Stepped Volute and Head motif can be worn by individuals with different face markings.

In summary, the Conchopata 1942/1999A offerings contained oversize urns with Staff God theme iconography that differs from that of the 1977 Staff God theme and apparently represents a different incursion. Let us call it the second incursion. Menzel (1964) assigned the 1942 Staff God theme iconography to her Conchopata style, MH Epoch 1A. Based on radiocarbon dates (Tables 6.1 and 6.2), I propose a new chronology involving three temporal periods for the emergence of SAIS iconography in the Ayacucho Valley: preincursion, incursion, and postincursion. Preincursion SAIS iconography has not yet been detected in Ayacucho. As outlined above, the emergence of Chakipampa from Huarpa due to interaction with Nasca during the EIPs 8 and 9 in Ayacucho and the south coast falls into the preincursion period that Menzel, in the absence of radiocarbon dates, assigns to MH 1A. The emergence of SAIS iconography at Conchopata is assigned to the incursion period and includes the 1977 and 1942/1999A

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Staff God themes and not Ayacucho postincursion SAIS-like iconography (see below). This influx of new religious themes is late Missing Link iconography. Out of it evolved the local postincursion SAIS iconography (see below). The earliest dates available to the author for incursion and postincursion SAIS at 2 sigma for the Southern Hemisphere are approximately cal. AD 690 and cal. AD 770, respectively.

Some Ayacucho SAIS pottery and textiles (Figure 6.1) have representations of humans, prisoners with wrists bound behind their backs, and severed human heads with particular face markings and head covers (Figure 6.5; Isbell and Cook 2002:Figures 9.14, 9.15); they appear to represent individuals or identities that Knobloch (see Chapter 23, this volume) has named agents. Bound prisoners are frequently associated with Attendants and with humans—possibly masked and dressed as mythic actors (see Angeles and Pozzi-Escot 2001:Figure 9a,b)—although there are no representations of the outcome of these scenes.

Single or groups of severed heads with face markings representing different agents appear in the art (Isbell and Cook 2002:Figures 9.14, 9.15). Menzel (1968:Figure 46) illustrates the head of Agent 103 from a Viñaque A–style bowl. A bag with the heads of Agent 103 on one side (Figure 6.5) and that of Agent 100 on the other side was dated cal. AD (SH) 778 to 970. This corresponds to the postincursion temporal range of textiles with Konchopata-style iconography (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Agent 103 is represented on 1999B Conchopata urns, in the row of heads (Isbell and Cook 2002:Figure 9.15 top row, second from left); a date (cal. AD 709 to 891 at 1 sigma and 667 to 977 at 2 sigma) from the deepest stratum of the disturbed offering is in the temporal range of incursion of Staff God theme iconography at Conchopata (Isbell and Cook 2002:264, 267). The wide temporal spread of Agent 103 heads, if we can trust the dates, favors its interpretation as an important ancestor or vanquished foe.

Many variations of the Stepped Volute and Head motif in Ayacucho SAIS iconography differ in details (Bergh 1999:Figures 99–109; Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 314–318b; Lapiner 1976:Figure 561; A. Rowe 1986:Figures 5, 6). The significance of these differences is unknown, but such variation does suggest extended temporal use. The head of the Stepped Volute and Head motif represented on the 1942-OCO Staff God theme iconography has a tongue emerging from a mouth with canines that differs from all of the Stepped Volute and Head motif examples represented on textiles illustrated by Bergh; a clearly identifiable tongue is replaced—or not—by a triangle or four-sided design in the space between the upper lip and chin.

The dates of two tunics with Stepped Volute and Head motifs are cal. AD 591 to 691 (SH 617–755) (Table 6.1, n. 3) and cal. AD 676 to 861 (SH 719–895) (Figure 6.4). The two heads differ in details. The older preincursion period example was collected by the archaeologist Marko López, INC Arequipa, at the looted site of Cornejo, Sihuas Valley. The later head (Figure 6.4), represented on an incursion period tunic, is unusual for lacking a tearline and a stylized tongue. These details we encounter among the motif's head represented on The Brooklyn Museum textile 34.550 whose age is slightly earlier (see below and Bergh 1999:Figure 81).

The appearance of a tunic with Stepped Volute and Head motifs in the Sihuas Valley approximately 80 years before the incursion of the Staff God theme into Ayacucho (see below) is surprising and suggests an incursion from the south. However, the Stepped Volute and Head motif is associated with the second incursion into Ayacucho (best represented by the 1942/1999A-OCO). The age of the tunic without provenience shown in Figure 6.4 falls into the incursion period. No dated postincursion textile with this motif is presently known to the author. However, men represented on oversize vessels uncovered in a Conchopata D–shaped enclosure (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:229, Figure 8.6), together with ceramics with postincursion Konchopata-style Rayed Head iconography, brandish weapons as they wear tunics and hold shields that are both covered with the Stepped Volute and Head designs. In summary, we find Stepped Volute and Head motifs represented on SAIS preincursion, incursion, and postincursion artifacts. The above Konchopata warriors and the man with a four-corner hat represented on the above 1942 Staff God theme all have face markings assigned by Knobloch to Agent 101.

There is a second design found on fine tunics, Bergh's Profile Creatures (Bergh 1999:561–584; Lapiner 1976:Figure 560; de Lavalle and González García 1988:185). The number of variations among this design is less numerous than those with the Stepped Volute and Head motif. Profile Creature Type 2 occurs on pottery excavated in one of Conchopata's D-shaped enclosures (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:233, Figure 8.7A,B) and elsewhere about the site. A tunic with a Profile Creature Type 2 design from a private collection was dated cal. AD 694 to 878 (SH 778–942) (Table 6.1, n. 5), falling into the temporal

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

range of final incursion days and the beginnings of Ayacucho postincursion SAIS Konchopata-style iconography. A fragment of a tunic from Corire, Majes Valley, has this design, but a date is not available.

One of the 1942/1999A assemblage's four Attendants, Menzel's Attendant A (see Chapter 15, this volume, Figures 15.44–15.47; Menzel 1964:20–21 for Attendants/Angels A, B, C, and D; Cook 1994:Plate 7), is a winged Long Nose Anthropomorphic Sacrificer (Isbell 2001:Figure 3; Menzel 1964;Figure 13, Menzel's Angel A). He differs from Tiwanaku Long Nose examples by having a wing, chevrons at the heels, filets in the arms and legs, and neither a bar below the chin nor a band ending in an element emerging from the mouth (Berenguer 2000:87; Torres 1987:Plates 79, 80, 81, 82). He differs from some other Attendants in that the head looks forward rather than upward, in relation to the body. The general assumption is that Ayacucho SAIS Attendants have wings, heel chevrons, and limbs with internal filets, which is the case for Konchopata- and Robles Moqo–style Attendants described below (Figures 6.1–6.3 and 6.51 and Attendant A. However, Attendants B, C, and D do not have limbs with internal filets, Attendant B does not have heel chevrons, and Attendant C does not have a wing. The above-mentioned general assumption requires reevaluation and clarification because of the 38 Attendants represented on tunics described by Bergh (1999), 34 have a cotton warp, 15 (39 percent) of these have a chevron, and 19 (50 percent) lack a chevron. The Attendants of the remaining four tunics (11 percent) have chevrons, but their warps are in camelid fiber, two mixed with cotton. The information presented above demonstrates a heel chevron is not characteristic of Ayacucho SAIS Staff Gods and Attendants; some have chevrons while others do not. The influence of gender, medium, style, chronology, and provenience on variables like chevron and warp fibers remains to be explored.

There are differences in details of iconography among Attendants represented on painted incursion ceramics excavated at Conchopata as well as represented on dated textiles with Ayacucho/south-coast postincursion iconography. The iconography among the former appears less complex than that among the latter (compare Chapter 15, this volume, Figures 15.45, 15.46, and 15.47 with this chapter, Figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.51). However, the number of published and dated examples currently is small, so this conclusion is preliminary. Presently, distinction between incursion and postincursion iconography is possible mainly through the aid of radiocarbon dates.

Another general assumption in need of some revision is that Ayacucho SAIS tunics have cotton warps. According to the data presented above, the majority (89 percent) of tunics with Attendant iconography have a cotton warp. However, of the 37 tunics with a Stepped Volute and Head design illustrated and described by Bergh (1999), 18 (49 percent) have a cotton warp, 7 (19 percent) have a camelid fiber warp, and 12 (32 percent) have a combination of cotton and camelid fiber warp. The significance and meaning of these variations in warp and iconography among Ayacucho SAIS tunics demand answers.

A total of six shards, of a third Ayacucho Staff God theme, were excavated in 2003 at Conchopata (Chapter 15, this volume, Figure 15.41; Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009). The 2003 and 1977 Staff Gods are similar, but the 2003 Attendants (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 27) differ significantly from the 1977 and 1942/1999A Attendants, particularly from the 1977 ones. The 2003 Attendants have a chin bar with zigzag design ending in a square and a facial marking above the eye; both are unusual for SAIS Ayacucho iconography. These two details are shared with Niño Korin's Missing Link Long Nose Sacrificer, which suggests partial retention of Missing Link iconography. While the Attendants differ between the 1977, 2003, and 1942/1999A themes, there are also differences between the Staff Gods. These differences include details of their crowns and appendages, their eyes and facial markings, kind of teeth, clothing, staffs, and heel markings. It appears they represent three waves of foreign influence into the Ayacucho region. The first or 1977 Staff God theme incursion happened while Nasca's influence on the Chakipampa tradition was on the wane, possibly due to the new arrivals. On the other hand, Knobloch's 101 agents wearing tunics and holding shields with a Stepped Volute and Head motif and holding weapons in some Conchopata ceramic decorations (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:Figure 8.6) are probable protagonists of the second incursion, as implied by association of the textile design with the 1942 Staff God theme (Cook 1984–1985:Figure 34, 1994:Lámina 8). The imagery suggests incursion by force. Stylistically, Ayacucho SAIS's Konchopata-style iconography (see below) very likely evolved from the second 1942/1999A incursion since their Attendants have similarities with Konchopata-style Attendants that were yet to emerge.

Some Konchopata-style textiles without provenience have representations of Rayed Heads that are similar to Rayed Head images on archaeologically excavated

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.51. Postincursion SAIS, Robles Moqo style, detail of a partially preserved tunic in interlocking tapestry with representations of Winged Anthropomorphs arranged between *tocapu*-like motifs, dated cal. AD 779 to 966 (SH 890–988).

Konchopata-style pottery (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:Figure 8.4A, B). Two such textiles are the "Fire Textile" (Figure 6.2; Conklin 1970, 2004; Isbell and Knobloch 2006:341) and the "Captive Staff God" textile (Figure 6.1); their radiocarbon dates are cal. AD 712 to 888 (SH 779–968) and cal. AD 694 to 884 (SH 777–961), respectively. The "Running Rayed Head God" textile (Figure 6.3, partial view), which includes "Fire Textile" motifs, including two Rayed Heads and four Attendants not shown in Figure 6.3, as well as two kinds of severed heads—from one of which "sprouts" the *Anadenanthera colubrina* motif—stylistically and iconographically belongs to the above postincursion group and should be of similar age.

The Attendants of the above Konchopata-style textiles differ in detail and are more complex than those of the 1942/1999A ceramic offerings. Thus, the change over time is from simpler, more naturalistic representations to somewhat more complex ones. A Robles Moqo–style winged Attendant has a human head that has canine teeth. Furthermore, the Attendant grasps a small animal, probably a feline, instead of a staff (Figure 6.51). The date of this tunic is cal. AD 779 to 966 (SH 890–988), and in style and iconography, it differs little from the Konchopata-style textiles, except for the presence of the diagnostic Robles Moqo maize cob motif.

When, in calendar time, was the 1942/1999A iconography introduced into Ayacucho? The date of the 1999A-OCO is of little help since it probably postdates the production of the ceramics (see above). The introduction of 1977, 2003, and 1942/1999A Staff God theme iconography into Conchopata must fall between the dates for Chakipampa pottery and textiles without SAIS iconography and the appearance of Konchopata-style iconography at Conchopata. Presently, the best estimate for this interval is approximately cal. AD (SH) 690 to 770 (see Table 6.2).

None of the 1942/1999A Winged Profile Attendants has a concentric circle as nose, usually ascribed to felines when represented together with canines. A Winged Feline Anthropomorphic Attendant is represented on a textile fragment with cotton warps dated cal. AD 687 to 870 (SH 773–944) (Figure 6.50; Bergh 1999:Figure 76 bottom). The Attendant in Figure 6.50 is represented running/kneeling with an upturned head and holding a staff. Rather unusual is the kind of facial marking around the eye, the shape of the divided eye, and the lack of a crownband. Elements usually placed at the tip of crownband appendages are attached directly to the top—and bottom—of the Attendant's head. There are no heel chevrons either. The date places this textile into the postincursion period.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Bergh (1999:Figure 77) illustrates another SAIS-style Attendant with the same unusual facial markings as discussed above for Figure 6.50. While this Attendant, in her illustration Figure 77, has the same facial markings, it has a crownband with appendages along the top, backside, and bottom of the head. Among Bergh's many illustrations, there is only one other figure with such an arrangement of crownband with appendages (Bergh 1999:Figure 94 bottom). However, this kind of crownband arrangement, around three sides (top, backside, and bottom) of the head, occurs in two Tiwanaku textiles, with Anthropomorphic Bird Attendants. One Tiwanaku weaving with Attendant crownband and appendages along all three sides of the head is dated cal. AD 694 to 870 (SH 778–895) (Figure 6.52). The second has a three-sided crownband, but without appendages, and is dated cal. AD 986 to 1043 (SH 1023–1152) (Figure 6.53; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.28).

The more recent of these textiles belongs to the time of Tiwanaku's disintegration. But based on currently available radiocarbon dates (see above), the earlier three-side crownband textile is contemporary with an established Tiwanaku-style iconography in the Tiahuanaco heartland (see Table 6.2). Consequently, this unusual arrangement of Attendant crownbands with and without appendages covering three sides of the head deserves closer scrutiny.

Another iconographic feature that may inform archaeologists about early dispersals of SAIS iconography is the crown with opposed L-shaped appendages. Bergh's (1999:Figure 81) illustration of an Attendant Sacrificer from a striped tunic appears Ayacucho post-incursion SAIS on first glance, but its iconography is unusual. The largest of three fragments of the vertically striped tunic consists of two linked panels with cotton warp horizontal when worn. These details in construction are typical of south-coast tunics. A sample from a smaller fragment (the Brooklyn Museum textile 34.550) was dated cal. AD 672 to 776 (SH 694–886) (Table 6.1, n. 4); it places the tunic into the initial days of the incursion period. The stripes with iconography have two motifs: in an upper portion, Attendant Sacrificers, one above the other, and in a lower portion, each stripe is divided into two relatively narrow parallel stripes, each with the Stepped Volute and Head motif. Here the Attendant lacks the expected wing and heel chevrons typical of Ayacucho postincursion SAIS Attendants. The circle nose usually assigned to felines is inconsistent, with an open mouth showing regular teeth instead of prominent canines, and more possibly represents an anthropomorphic camelid or deer (Bergh 2009). One hand holds a staff ending in a severed profile human head while the other holds a weapon. The Attendant's eye is divided

Figure 6.52. Tiwanaku, detail of a partially preserved striped tunic in interlocking tapestry with representations of an Anthropomorphic Bird Attendant, dated cal. AD 694 to 870 (SH 778–895).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 6.53. Tiwanaku, detail of a striped tunic in interlocking tapestry with representations of an Anthropomorphic Bird Attendant, dated cal. AD 986 to 1043 (SH 1023–1152).

horizontally relative to the upward-looking head, while the eye of the severed human head is vertically divided. Also unusual for the iconography in question is a lack of typical crown appendages ending in the various elements characteristic of Ayacucho SAIS iconography. Instead, the crown resembles two L-shaped appendages, each ending in a ring, with a feather tuft in the middle, all emerging from a crownband of three concentric rectangles. The Stepped Volute and Head design of this textile lacks a tearline and tongue similar to textile Figure 6.4; both textiles are of similar age. It suggests these two textiles have a similar origin and may belong to a SAIS incursion other than the second incursion whose design on 1942-OCO pottery has a tearline and tongue.

The above Attendant with only minor variations is represented on a textile fragment, with the side and bottom selvages preserved. It measures 54.5 cm in width and 33.5 cm in height. The warp (12/cm) is white cotton frequently mixed with brown cotton, and the weft yarns (approximately 44/cm) are of camelid fibers. There are three plain-weave stripes colored red and two regular-size bands and a narrow-edge band with interlocking tapestry iconography. There are two Sacrificer Attendants per band, one above the other, but alternating in direction. The textile in width, spatial arrangement, and iconography corresponds to one of two tunic panels with two complete iconic representations per band. Its iconography and temporal age, particularly due to the paired L-shaped crown appendages, relate best with that of the incursion period.

Paired L-shaped crown appendages, without or with feather tuft in between, occur rarely in Ayacucho SAIS iconography. On the other hand, the feature is prominent in Provincial Pukara imagery. The two male Attendants who flank the gateway in the Gateway Tunic's Staff Goddess enclosure (Figure 6.11) are early examples with a feather tuft. Later, similar L-shaped appendages, with and without feather tufts in between, appear in Tiwanaku-style iconography (Bergh 1999:Figure 128 bottom; Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 119, 140; Posnansky 1957:Plates XIVb,c, XXVIIIa,b, XLa,b). Gradual dispersal of L-shaped appendages ending in a ring from a Provincial Pukara-derived Missing Link seems to have been mainly southward rather than northward. The unusual iconography and a late preincursion but mainly incursion date of the Brooklyn Museum textile 34.550 (Bergh 1999:Figure 81), and the above companion, suggest it may be an example of a northward dispersal of a late Missing Link.

Menzel attributed the 1942 pottery offering to her Conchopata ceremonial ceramic style that initiated MH Epoch 1A. However, in her 1983 analysis of a stratigraphic excavation at Huari, Knobloch concluded that fancy Chakipampa and Conchopata pottery belonged to Epoch 1B while regular Chakipampa and Ocros pottery were diagnostic of Epoch 1A (Isbell and Knobloch 2006:325).

Radiocarbon dates discussed above indicate a situation still more complex. The collection of dates for fancy Chakipampa pottery and textiles places these artifacts in three consecutive temporal periods. First was EIP 9,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

including Nasca 9. Next was the incursion of SAIS or Staff God theme iconography into the Ayacucho Valley. Third and finally was the postincursion time of the Konchopata and Robles Moqo style. The occurrence of Chakipampa, together with Konchopata ceramics and of only Chakipampa ceramics below SAIS ones, was demonstrated by Conchopata excavation data (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002). Three strata, A, B, and C, were uncovered by Ochatoma and Cabrera on excavating a D-shaped structure at Conchopata. Stratum A, the structure's upper stratum, contained Konchopata ceramics with Rayed Head and related iconography together with Chakipampa and Ocros ceramics. Strata C and D contained only Chakipampa- and Ocros-style ceramics. The excavation results in addition demonstrate this D-structure was erected prior to the emergence of postincursion SAIS ceramics at Conchopata.

One bag with Chakipampa iconography (Figure 6.8), dated cal. AD 674 to 866 (SH 712–897), falls into the incursion period (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Two double-headed creatures with open mouth showing white teeth and legs are represented on a red-colored background. From each head emerges a horn-like forward-bending appendage while from its body, four volute rays emerge whose ends touch its back. On the red background are represented four elements consisting of irregularly interlinked volute rays or tendril-like elements (see Bennett 1953:Figure 180; de Lavalle and González García 1988:131; Frame 1999:Plate 15; Moraga 2005:Figure 40; and for related Chakipampa double-headed creatures, see Menzel 1968:Figures 7, 35; Owen 2007:Figure 18, CID 365.366). Siguas 3 textiles with a particular type of iconography have similar tendril-like elements. These textiles were subdivided into Types A, B, and C. Type C has many tendril-like elements between primary figures (see de Lavalle and González García 1988:131; Seiler 1992:Figure 54) while Type B has less (see Haeberli 2002:114–115, Figure 29, dated cal. AD 398–643). Siguas 3 textiles fall into the temporal range cal. AD 83 to 887, but Type C textiles that might link with Chakipampa have yet to be dated. Another bag with Chakipampa iconography (Figures 6.9 and 6.10), dated cal. AD 690 to 893 (SH 779–975), falls in the postincursion, or third period. Represented on a red background, a blue-colored creature with a recurving body has a small upturned head with an open toothless mouth and round eyes with a round black pupil. Its downward-facing fish-like tail is partially divided into two. Within and outside the creature's body are differently shaped Chakipampa-style elements with hooks (see Frame 1999:Plate 16).

The new stylistic chronology based on radiocarbon dates suggest that Chakipampa emerged prior to the beginning of a SAIS iconography incursion, survived the incursion of SAIS Staff God iconography into Ayacucho, and coexisted mainly uninfluenced beside Ayacucho postincursion SAIS until about cal. AD (SH) 900, as the above bags and the pottery and textile assemblage at Beringa imply. This, in turn, raises the question, what should be called Ayacucho SAIS?

Based on information outlined above, I propose the creators of preincursion, incursion, and postincursion period tunics with no mythical designs, such as Stepped Volute and Head and Profile Creatures (Bergh 1999:Figures 99–109 and 112–113), had a common heritage and shared mythic SAIS beliefs. The mythic preincursion and incursion beliefs are represented by SAIS late Missing Link iconography, the former represented on a Sihuas Valley tunic fragment (see Table 6.1, n. 3) and the latter represented on 1977, 2003, and 1942/1999A Conchopata and 1968 Ayapata offering jars/urns and on textiles with atypical Ayacucho incursion SAIS-style iconography (see Table 6.1, n. 4; Bergh 1999:Figure 81; Ravines 1977:Figures 30a,b, 32). The postincursion beliefs, which evolved from incursion ones, are conveyed by SAIS Konchopata- and Robles Moqo–style iconography represented on pottery (Isbell and Knobloch 2006:Figure 12.10A,B; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:Figure 8.4) and textiles (Figures 6.1–6.3 and 6.51). Ayacucho postincursion SAIS artifacts with Konchopata- and Robles Moqo–style iconography were and are included in this chapter under the term "Wari art." But what should we call their creators? Menzel in 1964 lacked radiocarbon dates and much of the archaeological excavation data that have become available recently. A revision of Wari chronology and nomenclature is timely.

We have a preliminary answer to when Ayacucho incursion SAIS Staff God theme iconography appeared at Conchopata, Ayacucho. The approximate time of this incursion was between cal. AD (SH) 694 and 773; that is around cal. AD (SH) 700 to 770. We cannot yet answer how and from where Ayacucho incursion SAIS's precursor emerged, although the most likely area is between Ayacucho and the northern Lake Titicaca Basin. On the other hand, the age of classic Wari—Konchopata- and Robles Moqo–style iconography—is about cal. AD (SH) 773 to 988; that is around cal. AD 770 to 1000. Both Chakipampa and Ayacucho postincursion SAIS evolved in Ayacucho/south coast: Chakipampa from the interaction between late Nasca and Huarpa, and Ayacucho postincursion SAIS mainly from Ayacucho incursion

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

SAIS. The above dates very likely will be refined in the future with additional radiocarbon dates. Hopefully, future efforts will clarify the placement of Viñaque and Atarco styles into Wari's chronology.

Conclusions

This study was motivated by several important convictions. First, Andean archaeology has been in serious error regarding the cultural processes responsible for the iconography formerly called Tiahuanaco (Tiahuanaco I, II, III, IV, V, Wari)—or "tiwanakoid"—but now renamed SAIS, namely, an evolution over time in the southern Andes of an iconography based on Rayed Heads. Second, textiles are an underused tool for understanding the Andean past, especially the history of SAIS iconography. Third, in the history of Andean archaeology, ancient cultures have been identified on the basis of stylistically and regionally consistent collections of decorated pottery, rendering several critically important cultures (or styles) archaeologically invisible. As a case in point, in 2006, a tiny room at Lima's Museo de la Nación was devoted to weavings, displaying some seven specimens. Of these, three were Siguas 1 but mislabeled Nasca.

Some Andean cultures produced simple pottery that seems never to have been a primary medium of symbolic communication. Consequently, they have gone unrecognized and unnamed. But in the southern Andes where the ceramics of several traditions were never vehicles of expressive representation, a host of weavings, engraved canes, pyroengraved gourds, and petroglyphs replete with esoteric imagery have been discovered. Thankfully, this region has one of the driest climates in the world, creating superb conditions for textile preservation. It was also a center for innovation in weaving, both iconographic and technological. Finally, decorated textiles provide the best material for reevaluating Andean culture processes, chronologies, and interactions. They are repositories of mythic symbols made from cotton and camelid fibers directly datable by radiocarbon analyses.

During the EH and EIP, the people of the Sihuas Valley, and possibly others, in the department of Arequipa made only plain pottery. However, they excelled in weaving. Among their EH textiles, one theme stands out, the Rayed Head. I called these textiles Siguas 1 because such a fragment was collected at Cemetery 1 of La Chimba in the Sihuas Valley. These heads tend to form themes by association with humans and snakes, possibly acting as Attendants. The temporal range of these Siguas 1 Rayed Head themes is cal. 373 BC to AD 134 at 2 sigma. There are some similarities between certain Paracas Ocucaje and Siguas 1 Rayed Heads and, based on the appearance and frequency of crosslooping and discontinuous double interlocking warp and weft weaving techniques, the flow of influence was likely from Arequipa north toward the south coast. The direction of flow was reversed for the introduction of Nasca 2 to 3 three-dimensional figurines in crosslooping. A similarly likely link with the Lake Titicaca Basin is not equally evident, except for a human male-female pair, as well as two facing felines below humans, themes reminiscent of Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition iconography.

EIP textiles with a new mythic iconography have been dated cal. AD 35 to 528 (SH 30–545), and they overlap with Pukara between approximately cal. AD 30 and 200. I have called these textiles Provincial Pukara. The key mythic protagonists in this apparently new religion, represented on textiles but so far not detected on pottery, are Rayed Heads with tearlines, positioned above three-step platforms, and Staff Goddesses, some surrounded by their respective Attendants. Associated with these latter representations is the psychoactive plant *Anadenanthera colubrina*. We detect similar supernaturals about 200 to 300 years later represented among Ayacucho incursion SAIS-style (see Table 6.1, n. 4 and Figure 6.4) and Tiwanaku-style (see Figure 6.52) images. The absence of Pukara's Winged Feline Man, a feline sacrificer, together with a significant decrease in representations of severed human heads, decapitated bodies, and severed arms and legs, suggests the changes brought about by this new religion had social and political implications and ramifications. The center of geographic origin for these fascinating textiles has yet to be discovered and verified in the field, at which time the culture may be properly named. Some textiles, I was informed, with this kind of iconography came from the Arequipa valleys of Majes and Sihuas. One stone statuette, although without provenience most likely comes from a region including Puno, southern Cuzco, or Arequipa, may be attributed to Provincial Pukara due to having a crown similar to one Gateway Tunic Attendant and unusual body proportions, that is, shoulders that are much wider and more angular than those of Pukara stone figures. This stone statuette was assigned by John Rowe (1985:324, Figure 364) to a tradition bridging Pukara and Tiwanaku. The overlap of approximately 200 years between Pukara and Provincial Pukara, combined with a lack of chronologies, makes it impossible

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

to establish at this time the direction of flow of influences exerted between the two traditions. For example, certain similarities in iconography between the head covers or crowns represented on both Wiraqocha Orqo and Qaluyu stelae fragments and those of the Gateway Tunic Attendants must be due to some form of influence, but the direction of influence is not evident. To unravel the relationship between Pukara and Provincial Pukara through excavation presents challenges since Provincial Pukara pottery with mythic iconography has yet to be discovered in the Arequipa Valleys, and poor preservation of textiles in highland regions ensures their scarcity. A noteworthy point is that no textile or pyroengraved gourd with a representation of a feline conforming to those highly standardized male or female Pukara felines, associated with their respective geometric designs, is known. A single Pukara-style female feline pottery head from Sonqonata, Arequipa, has been published while the ceramic shards from Moquegua require careful study to determine if indeed they belong to Pukara or a related tradition.

The EIP/LF 2 Anthropomorphic Winged Fish Attendant is easy to recognize due to its peculiarly shaped upturned mouth and the two L-shaped appendages emerging from its head, which usually end in rings. This Attendant is a particularly interesting candidate for exploring long-distance influences due to its wide geographic distribution and longevity. The significant overlap in age of Provincial Pukara with Pukara, combined with the lack of decorated Provincial Pukara pottery, makes it difficult to determine who influenced whom. However, the presently available number of examples—two for Pukara (one pottery shard and one trumpet in the shape of the Winged Fish; see J. Rowe and Brandel 1969–1970) and at least seven for Provincial Pukara—relative to the number of artifacts described for each tradition and a date of cal. AD 35 to 134 (SH 30–239) (see Figure 6.17) for the earliest Provincial Pukara textile with this motif (a rather highly developed, complex representation of this motif compared to existing Pukara examples) are indicators suggesting that Pukara more likely adopted this motif than originated it. The Anthropomorphic Winged Fish Attendant appears among Niño Korin and Caserones textiles dated cal. AD 330 to 560 and 350 to 490, respectively, which implies direct or indirect transmission. Later the Anthropomorphic Winged Fish Attendant appears on the Ponce monolith with a crown rather than the two L-shaped appendages. Other likely examples of long-distance transmissions are superimposed differently colored bands of ascending and descending steps between Siguas 1 and Azapa, as well as Staff Gods between Provincial Pukara and Caserones.

We now have recently determined radiocarbon dates for Nasca 7, 8, and 9; Chakipampa; Konchopata; and Robles Moqo–style textiles and Ayacucho SAIS-style textiles whose iconographies are difficult to assign to a particular period. These dates, together with the recently available Conchopata excavation data and associated radiocarbon dates, allow a preliminary reconstruction of a chronology for the emergence of Ayacucho SAIS at Conchopata. This chronology differs somewhat from that proposed by Menzel and Knobloch's revision. This emergence involves three periods: preincursion, incursion, and postincursion. The first period occurred prior to approximately cal. AD (SH) 690 and is characterized by Chakipampa-style iconography with late Nasca (Nasca 7 to 9) influences. However, Chakipampa iconography without admixture of SAIS motifs or designs occurs throughout all three periods. Similarly, we encounter tunics with the Stepped Volute and Head motif, a motif presently difficult to assign to a particular SAIS period, preincursion, incursion, or postincursion. The preincursion tunic was collected at the site of Cornejo, Sihuas Valley, and its radiocarbon date precedes Period 2 in Ayacucho by approximately 80 years. Period 2, the time of incursion into Ayacucho, is defined by the appearance of three Staff God theme iconographies and related but atypical Attendant motifs between approximately cal. AD (SH) 690 and 780. The atypical Attendant and Stepped Volute and Head motifs suggest more than three incursions and imply derivation from Missing Links. The date of a tunic with a Profile Creature Type 2 motif (see Table 6.1, n. 5) is cal. AD (SH) 778 to 942 and falls into the postincursion period. This period is defined by the emergence of SAIS Konchopata- and Robles Moqo–style iconography. The temporal range of three Konchopata-style textiles is approximately cal. AD (SH) 777 to 968 and cal. AD (SH) 890 to 988 for one Robles Moqo–style example.

Artifacts with Missing Link iconography have appeared in the Lake Titicaca Basin and northern Chile. Their number is limited due to difficulties in direct or indirect dating. The following objects can be assigned to this temporal interval between Provincial Pukara at the early end and Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku at the late end, based on details of iconography: (a) the unprovenienced Denver Art Museum snuff

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

tray (Torres 2004:116–117), (b) the bag with a Winged Anthropomorphic Fish Attendant (Wassén 1972:Plate 2 and Figure 48) and a snuff tray with an Anthropomorphic Long Nose Sacrificer (Torres 1987:Plate 18; Wassén 1972:Figure 5) from Niño Korin, (c) the two Caserones tunics with Staff Gods and a Winged Anthropomorphic Fish Attendant (Chapter 10, this volume; Oakland 2000:247–248), and (d) the Chunchukala monolith from Tiahuanaco (Kolata and Ponce Sanginés 1992:Figure 3); radiocarbon dates are available for items (b) and (c).

A review and analysis of 18 mainly Tiahuanaco site radiocarbon dates with BP ± ≤ 78 errors suggest Tiwanaku pottery appeared suddenly in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin around cal. AD 710 to 770 at 1 sigma. This date of appearance needs additional confirmation with new radiocarbon samples obtained in direct association with pottery. The presently available dates indicate that Tiwanaku IV and V are approximately coeval, which is supported by the radiocarbon dates for Moquegua's Omo- and Chen Chen–style pottery. These two provincial Tiwanaku styles best correspond with type-site Tiwanaku IV and V styles, which are also shown to be contemporary by Iwawi's chronology of pottery styles and their iconography (Burkholder 1997:224).

It is critical to determine when Staff God and Attendant iconography appeared in San Pedro de Atacama given the plausible association of snuff trays displaying Tiwanaku-style iconography with LF 2 pottery (Isbell and Knobloch 2006:316; Torres 2004:114–115, 118). Significantly, the Y-Head and V-Head motifs both occur in San Pedro de Atacama snuff tray iconography but apparently only the former head in Tiwanaku iconography from Tiahuanaco. Presently, neither of the two motifs has been identified among dated Niño Korin and Caserones artifacts. However, both heads are represented on the Denver Art Museum snuff tray; the V-Head motif appears with the two Anthropomorphic Fish Attendants along the trays rim and the Y-Head motif on the back of the animal carved in the round on the handle of the tray. The tray, based on iconography, is assigned as a Missing Link. Consequently, long-distance transmissions of Provincial Pukara-derived Missing Link iconographies that include the Y-Head and V-Head motifs must have occurred after cal. AD 490 to 560. Five to 10 radiocarbon-dated textiles from undisturbed burials containing snuff trays with Tiwanaku- and late Missing Link–style iconography could verify if both kinds of iconography reached San Pedro de Atacama shortly after

Figure 6.54. Provincial Pukara, represented on the front panel of a pouch with the three typical side tabs and a back-flap are two rows, one above the other, of three differently colored superimposed ascending and descending steps with intercalated checkered crosses.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

its appearance in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin or if at least some—or all—of these San Pedro Tiwanaku-style artifacts are earlier and, consequently, developed from a Provincial Pukara-derived Missing Link. Examples of LF art suggestive of early long-distance transmissions include (a) the Caserones tunics' Staff God and Winged Anthropomorphic Fish iconography (Chapter 10, this volume; Oakland 2000:247–248) and (b) almost identical ascending and descending step designs with intercalated checkered crosses on a typical Provincial Pukara pouch with tabs and backflap (Figure 6.54) and a San Pedro de Atacama tunic (Uribe and Agüero 2002:Figure 4a). Indeed, a tradition of similar step designs spread over a large geographic area to include Siguas 1 in Arequipa (Figure 6.29; Horta 2004:Figures 13, 14), Kalsasaya and Qeya in Bolivia (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 1; Janusek 2003:Figure 3.17), and Alto Ramirez in Chile (Horta 2004:Figures 3a,b, 17a,b; Rivera 2002:Láminas 10c, 12c).

The findings presented and discussed above pose new questions for SAIS and the origins of the Middle Horizon. First, Provincial Pukara's geographic distribution is unknown, except for four poorly documented locations. Where was the heartland of this style? Second, how many Missing Link styles are needed to explain the similarities and differences between EIP Provincial Pukara and the iconography of MH Ayacucho SAIS and Tiwanaku? Where were the respective heartlands of Missing Link styles? Third, what processes resulted in the almost simultaneous emergence of incursion SAIS in Ayacucho and Tiwanaku in the southern Lake Titicaca Basin. Fourth, additional efforts and radiocarbon dates are required to better define Chakipampa's evolution and cultural sphere as well as the incursion of Staff God theme iconography and its evolution into Ayacucho SAIS since the available data suggest (a) Chakipampa emerged earlier in Ayacucho than Staff God theme iconography, (b) Chakipampa-style textiles cover a temporal range of approximately 300 years, and (c) during the MH, mainly Chakipampa/Ocros-style pottery is found over large areas in southern Peru. The expected redefinitions will require revisions of chronologies and nomenclatures.

The present study demonstrates how chronology may be constructed using iconography represented on different media, some including organic matter, particularly textiles with iconography similar to that represented on ceramics, but in a medium suitable for radiocarbon dating. The results propose a new and broad chronology, both relative and absolute, for SAIS and closely related styles, while demonstrating the need to revise former ideas about the chronologies and cultural processes of Tiwanaku and Ayacucho SAIS.

Acknowledgments

Special thanks and appreciation go to William H. Isbell, Mauricio Uribe, and Joanne Pillsbury, director of studies, Pre-Columbian Program, of Dumbarton Oaks, for their invitation to participate in the colloquium held in Santiago de Chile and to contribute to this volume; to Christine A. Prior, Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory, in clarifying many questions and converting all conventional radiocarbon dates in Table 6.1 into Southern Hemisphere dates; to Patricia Knobloch for confirming the assignment of the bag in Figure 6.6 to Chakipampa; and to James Blackmon in sharing the four Gateway Tunic radiocarbon assay results for publication. Similarly, special thanks go to Marko López, INC Arequipa; Matthew Robb (previously at the Princeton University Art Museum), the Fowler Museum at UCLA; Bryan R. Just, Princeton University Art Museum; Nancy Rosoff and Lisa Bruno, Brooklyn Museum of Art; and Joanne Dolan Ingersoll, The RISD Museum, for making available material of interest in storage accessible for inspection and the INC Arequipa and first two museums listed for allowing taking samples for radiocarbon dating. I am most grateful to all those people who shared and allowed me to inspect textiles and take photographs, as well as those who granted me permission to publish and take samples for radiocarbon dating and contributed toward the cost or shared available radiocarbon dates. I am also grateful for the help extended by the Foundation for Research and Conservation of Andean Monuments. The author is tetra-lingual and is particularly grateful to William H. Isbell for carefully editing the English in this chapter. He also raised questions that helped clarify several relevant issues. The author's conclusions relating to Middle Horizon chronology differ from current chronological dogma, and Bill has been open-minded and agrees that Menzel's 1964 and 1968 proposed Wari chronology needs to be revisited and updated.

References

Adelson, Laurie, and Bruce Takami
1978 *Weaving Traditions of Highland Bolivia*. Craft and Folk Art Museum, Los Angeles.

Adelson, Laurie, and Arthur Tracht
1983 *Aymara Weavings: Ceremonial Textiles of Colonial and 19th Century Bolivia*. Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, Washington, D.C.

Angeles Falcón, Rommel, and Denise Pozzi-Escot
2001 Textiles Del Horizonte Medio, Las Evidencias De Huaca Malena, Valle De Asia. *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 4:401–424.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Bennett, W. C.
1953 *Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 49. Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Berenguer, José R.
1996 *Nasca*. Santiago, Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.
2000 *Tiwanaku: Lords of the Sacred Lake*. Morgan Impresores, Santiago.

Bergh, Susan E.
1999 Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics. PhD dissertation, Department of Art History, Columbia University.
2009 The Bird and the Camelid (or Deer): A Ranked Pair of Wari Tapestry Tunics. In *Tiwanaku*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 225–245. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Bird, Junius, and Louise C. Bellinger
1954 Paracas Fabrics and Nazca Needlework, 3rd Century B.C.–3rd Century A.D. *The Textile Museum, Catalogue raisonné*. National Publishing Co., Washington, D.C.

Blackmon, James
2005 Early Tiwanaku as Seen through the "Gateway Tunic." Paper presented at Tiwanaku Symposium, organized by Margaret Young-Sánchez. Denver Art Museum.

Burger, Richard L.
1992 *Chavin and the Origins of Andean Civilization*. Thames and Hudson, London and New York.

Burkholder, Jo Ellen
1997 Tiwanaku and the Anatomy of Time: A New Ceramic Chronology from the Iwawi Site, Department of La Paz, Bolivia. PhD dissertation, Binghamton University, State University of New York.

Cardona Rosas, Augusto
2002 *Arqueología De Arequipa: De Sus Albores A Los Incas*. Talleres de Magazine Impresores S. R. Ltd., Arequipa.

Carmichael, Patrick H.
2005 Nasca Chronology in the 21st Century: Old Problems and New Directions. Paper presented at the 45th Annual Meeting at the Institute of Andean Studies. Berkeley, California.

Chávez, Karen Lynne Mohr
1988 The Significance of Chiripa in Lake Titicaca Developments. *Expedition* 30(3):17–26.

Chávez, Sergio J.
1981 Notes on Some Stone Sculpture from the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin. *Ñawpa Pacha* 19:79–91.
1984–1985 Funerary Offerings from a Middle Horizon Context in Pomacanchi, Cuzco. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:1–48.
1988 Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Province of Chumbivilcas, South Highland Peru. *Expedition* 30:27–38.
1992 The Conventionalized Rules in Pucara Pottery Technology and Iconography: Implications for Sociopolitical Developments in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin. PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, Ann Arbor.
2002 Identification of the Camelid Woman and Feline Man Themes, Motifs, and Designs in Pucara Style Pottery. In *Andean Archaeology II, Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 35–69. Kluver Academic/Plenum, New York.
2004 The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku, Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 70–75, 80–85, 90–93. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Chávez, Sergio J., and Karen L. Mohr Chávez
1975 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno, and the Definition of an Early Style of Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:45–83, plates XXI–XXVIII.

Castillo, Luis Jaime
2001 La Presencia De Wari En San José De Moro. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:143–179.

Conklin, William J.
1970 Peruvian Textile Fragment from the Beginning of the Middle Horizon. *Textile* III(1):15–24.
1983 Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry, Time and Style in the Sierra Weaving Tradition. *Ñawpa Pacha* 21:1–44.
1991 Tiahuanaco and Huari: Architectural Comparisons and Interpretations. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, pp. 281–291. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
2004 The Fire Textile. *Hali* 133(March–April):94–100.

Cook, Anita G.
1984–1985 The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:49–90.
1994 *Wari y Tiwanaku: Entre el Estilo y la Imagen*. Fondo Editorial, Pontifica Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Cordy-Collins, Alana
1979 Cotton and the Staff God: Analysis of an Ancient Chavín Textile. In *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, pp. 51–60. The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.

Couture, Nicole C.
2004 Monumental Space, Courtly Style, and Elite Life at Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku, Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 127–149. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

D'Harcourt, Raoul
1962 *Textiles of Ancient Peru and Their Techniques*. Translated by Sadie Brown transl. Edited by Grace G. Denny and Carolyn M. Osborne. Seattle, University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Disselhoff, Hans D.
1967 *Daily Life in Ancient Peru*. McGraw-Hill, New York.

Dumortier, Huize
1994 *Rediscovery of Pre-Columbian Textiles*. Lamandart Publishers, Ruiselede.

Dwyer, Jane P.
1979 The Chronology and Iconography of Paracas-Style Textiles. In *The Junius Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, pp. 105–128. The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Eisleb, Diether, and Renate Strelow
1980 *Altperuanische Kulturen: Tiahuanaco, III*. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

Estabridis, Ricardo Cardenas
1994 *Arte En El Antiguo Peru*. Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Petroleos del Peru S.A., Lima.

Frame, Mary
1991 Structure, Image and Abstraction: Paracas Necropolis Headbands as System Templates. In *Paracas Art and Architecture. Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*, edited by Anne Paul, pp. 110–171. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
1999 Nasca-Huari y otros Textiles de la Costa Sur. In *Tejidos Milenarios del Peru*, edited by J. de Lavalle and R. de Lavalle de Cárdenas. AFP Integra, Lima.
2006 The Art and Craft of Nasca Textiles. In *Nasca, Wonder of the World: Messages Etched on the Desert Floor*, edited by Izumi Shimada, Hisao Baba, Ken-ichi Shinoda, and Masashiro Ono, Figure 5. TBS, Tokyo.

Franquemont, Edward M.
1986 The Ancient Pottery from Pucara, Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 24:1–30.

Gispert, Teresa, Silvia Arce, and Martha Cajías
2003 *Textiles en los Andes Bolivianos*. Artes Graficas "SAGITARIO" s.r.l., La Paz.

Glowacki, Mary
2005 Pottery from Pikillacta. In *Pikillacta: The Wari Empire in Cuzco*, edited by Gordon F. McEvan. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Glowacki, Mary, and Gordon McEvan
2002 Pikillacta, Huaro y la gran region del Cuzco: nuevas interpretaciones de la ocupación wari en la sierra sur. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:31–49.

Goldstein, Paul S.
2005 *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of South American Empire*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Görsdorf, Jochen, and Markus Reindel
2002 Radiocarbon Dating of the Nasca Settlements Los Molinos and La Muña in Palpa, Peru. *Geochronometria* 21:151–156.

Goodman, Stacy
1987 *Pre-Columbian Art*, Lot 31. Sotheby's, New York.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe
1980 *El Primer nueva crónica y buen gobierno*. Edición crítica de John V. Murra y Rolena Adorno, traducciones y análisis textual del quechua por Jorge L. Urioste. Reprint. México City. 3 vols. (Colección América nuestra, América Antigua, 31)

Haeberli, Joerg
1995 The Brooklyn Museum Textile No. 38.121: A Mnemonic and Calendrical Device, a Huaca. *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 23(1–2):121–151.
2002 Tiempo y tradición en Arequipa, Perú, y el surgimiento de la cronología del tema de la deidad central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:89–137.
2006 When and Where Did the Proliferous Nasca Style Emerge? In *Andean Archaeology III, North and South*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 401–434. Springer Science + Business Media, New York.

Horta T., Helena
2004 Iconografía del Formativo Tardío del norte de Chile, Propuesta de definición e interpretación basada en imágenes textiles y otros medios. *Estudios Atacame*ños, No. 27. Andros Impresores.

Hultin, Eskil
1972 The Accuracy of the Radiocarbon Dating. *Ethnologiska Studier* 32:187–194.

Isbell, William H.
2001 Repensando el horizonte medio: el caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Perú. *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 4:9–68.
2002 Reflexiones Finales. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:455–479.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Isbell, William H., and Jo Ellen Burkholder
2002 Iwawi and Tiwanaku. In *Andean Archaeology I, Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 199–241. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Anita G. Cook
2002 A New Perspective on Conchopata and the Andean Middle Horizon. In *Andean Archaeology II, Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 249–305. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III, North and South*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 307–351. Springer Science + Business Media, New York.
2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development, and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 165–210. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Janusek, John Wayne
2003 Vessels, Time and Society: Toward a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization: Vol. 2. Urban and Rural Archaeology*, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 30–89. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Kajitani, Nobuko
1982 Andesu No Senshoku (Textiles of the Andes). In *Senshoku no Bi* 20:9–99.

King, Mary Elizabeth
1965 Textiles and Basketry of the Paracas Period, Ica Valley, Peru. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.

Klarich, Elizabeth Ana
2005 From the Monumental to the Mundane: Defining Early Leadership Strategies at Late Formative Pukara, Peru. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Knobloch, Patricia
1989 Artisans of the Realm. In *Ancient Art of the Andean World*, edited by Shozo Masuda and Izumi Shimada, pp.107–123. Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten Publishers (English translation: http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~bharley/ArtisansoftheRealm.html).
2002 *Who Was Who? In the Middle Horizon*. Retrieved mm/dd/year from http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~bharley/WWWHome.html

Kolata, Alan L.
1992 Tiwanaku: The City at the Center. In *The Ancient Americas: Art from Ancient Landscapes*, edited by Richard Townsend, pp. 317–333. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.
2003 Tiwanaku Ceremonial Architecture and Urban Organization. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization: Vol. 2. Urban and Rural Archaeology*, edited by Alan L Kolata, pp. 175–201. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Kolata, Alan L., and Carlos Ponce Sanginés
1992 Tiwanaku: The City at the Center. In *The Ancient Americas: Art from Sacred Landscapes*. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.

Lapiner, Alan
1976 *Precolumbian Art of South America*. Harry N. Abrams, New York.

Lavalle, J. A. de, and José Lejandro González García
1988 *Arte Textil del Peru*. Industria Textil Piura, Lima.

Lyon, Patricia J.
1978 Female Supernaturals in Ancient Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 16:95–140.

Massey, Sarah A.
1991 Social and Political Leadership in the Lower Ica Valley. In *Paracas Art and Architecture: Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*, edited by Anne Paul, pp. 315–345. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Menzel, Dorothy
1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–106, Plates I–IX.
1968 New Data on the Huari Empire in Middle Horizon 2A. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:47–114, Plates XXVIII–XL.
1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Menzel, Dorothy, John H. Rowe, and Lawrence E. Dawson
1964 *The Paracas Pottery of Ica: A Study in Style and Time*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 50. University of California Press, Berekely.

Moraga, Vanessa D.
2005 *Animal Myth and Magic: Images from Pre-Columbian Textiles*. OLOLO Press, Larkspur.

Morris, Craig, and Adriana von Hagen
1993 *The Inka Empire and Its Andean Origins*. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Mujica, Elías B.
1991 Una Sociedad Compleja Temprana en la Cuenca Norte del Titicaca. In *Los Incas y el Antiguo Peru: 3000*

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Años de Historia, edited by Sergio Purin, pp. 272–297. Imschoot, uitgevers s.a., Gent.

Nuñez del Prado, Juan V.
1972 Dos nuevas estatuas de estilo Pucara halladas en Chumbivilcas, Perú. *Ñawpa Pacha* 9:23–32.

Oakland, Amy
2000 Andean Textiles from Village and Cemetery: Caserones in the Tarapaca Valley, North Chile. In *Beyond Cloth and Cordage*, edited by P. Drooker and L. Webster, pp. 229–251. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Ochatoma Paravicino, José, and Martha Cabrera Romero
2002 Religious Ideology and Military Organization in the Iconography of a D-Shaped Ceremonial Precinct at Conchopata. In *Andean Archaeology II*, *Art*, *Landscape*, *and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 225–247. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Owen, Bruce
2007 Rural Wari Far from the Heartland: Huamanga Ceramics from Beringa, Majes Valley, Peru. In *Andean Past*, edited by Monica Barnes and Daniel H. Sandweiss, pp. 287–373. The Cornell Latin American Studies Program Cornell, Ithaca, New York.

Owen, Bruce D., and Paul S. Goldstein
2002 Tiwanaku en Moquegua: Interacciones Regionales y Colapso. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:169–188.

Peters, Ann H.
1997 Paracas, Topará and Early Nasca: Ethnicity and Society on the South Central Andean Coast. PhD dissertation. Department of Anthropology, Cornell University.

Phipps, Elena
2004 Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes. In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork*, *1530–1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín, pp. 17–39. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Phipps, Elena, Heidi King, and Thomas B. F. Cummins
2004 Catalogue: Inca Antecedents. In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork*, *1530–1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín, pp. 127–148. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos
1976 *La Ceramica de la Epoca I de Tiwanaku*. Publication 18. Instituto Nacional de Arqueología, La Paz.
1981 *Tiwanaku: Espacio*, *Tiempo y Cultura*. Los Amigos del Libro, La Paz and Cochabamba.

Posnansky, A.
1957 *Tihuanacu: Cradle of American Man*. Vols. 3 and 4. J. J. Augustin, New York.

Proulx, Donald A.
1968 *Local Differences and Time Differences in Nasca Pottery*. University of California Publications in Anthropology Vol. 5. University of California Press, Berkeley.
1994 Stylistic Variation in Proliferous Nasca Pottery. *Andean Past* 4:91–107.
2006 *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography: Reading a Culture through Its Art*. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Quinn, Gina M., and Tiffiny A. Tung
2003 Report on the Textiles from Beringa. In Informe para El Proyecto Arqueológico y Bioarqueologico Valle de Majes 2001, presentada al Instituto Nacional de Cultura de Peru.

Ravines, Rogger
1968 Un deposito de Ofrendas Del Horizonte Medio en la Sierra Central del Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:19–45, Plates XIV–XXVII.
1977 Excavaciones en Ayapata, Huancavelica, Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha 15*:49–100, Plates XXII–XXXI.

Reindel, Markus
2009 Life at the Edge of the Desert—Archaeological Reconstruction of the Settlement History in the Valleys of Palpa, Peru. In *New Technologies for Archaeology: Multidisciplinary Investigations in Palpa and Nasca*, *Peru*, pp. 439–451, edited by Markus Reindel and Günther A. Wagner. Springer, New York.

Rickenbach, Judith
1999 *Nasca*, *Geheimnisvolle Zeichen im Alten Peru*. Museum Rietberg, Zürich.

Rivera, Mario A.
2002 *Historias del Desierto: Arqueología del Norte de Chile*. Editorial del Norte, La Serena.

Roark, Richard P.
1965 From Monumental to Proliferous in Nasca Pottery. *Ñawpa Pacha 3*:1–92.

Rowe, Ann P.
1972 Interlocking Warp and Weft in the Nasca 2 Style. *Textile Museum Journal* 3(3):67–78.
1986 Textiles from the Nazca Valley at the Time of the Fall of the Huari Empire. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe, pp. 151–182. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Rowe, John H.
1971 *The Influence of Chavín Art on Later Styles*. Edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, pp. 101–124. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
1976 El arte religioso del Cuzco en el Horizonte Temprano. *Ñawpa Pacha* 14:1–20, Figures 1–23.
1985 Kunst in Peru und Bolivien. *Das Alte Amerika* 19:285–350.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Rowe, John H., and Catherine Terry Brandel
1969–1970 Pucara Style Pottery Designs. *Ñawpa Pacha* 7–8:1–16, Plates 1–16.

Sawyer, Alan R.
1966a *Ancient Peruvian Ceramics: The Nathan Cummings Collection*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
1966b *Ancient Peruvian Textiles*. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.
1997 *Early Nasca Needlework*. Laurence King Publishing, London.

Schmidt, Max
1929 *Kunst und Kultur in Peru*. Propylaen Verlag, Berlin.

Seiler, Franz
1992 *Brücken in die Zukunft: Textile Kunst vor Kolumbus*. Galerie Seiler, Salzburg.

Shimada, Izumi
1994 *Pampa Grande and the Moche Culture*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Silverman, Helaine
1993 *Cahuachi in the Ancient Nasca World*. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
2002 Differentiating Paracas Necropolis and Early Nasca Textiles. In *Andean Archaeology II, Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 71–105. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Silverman, Helaine, and Donald A. Proulx
2002 *The Nasca*. Blackwell, Malden, Massachusetts.

Stierlin, Henri
1984 *The Art of the Andes and its Origins*. Rizzoli, New York.

Strong, William D.
1957 *Paracas, Nazca, and Tiahuanacoid Cultural Relations in South Coastal Peru*. Memoir No. 13, Society for American Archaeology, Menasha.

Torres, Constantino M.
1987 *The Iconography of South American Snuff Trays and Related Paraphernalia*. Etnologiska Studier 37. Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Göteborg.
2004 Tiwanaku Snuffing Paraphernalia. In *Tiwanaku, Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 114–120. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Tung, Tiffany A.
2007 The Village of Beringa at the Periphery of the Wari Empire: A Site Overview and New Radiocarbon Dates. In *Andean Past*, edited by Monica Barnes and Daniel H. Sandweiss, pp. 253–286. The Cornell Latin American Studies Program Cornell, Ithaca, New York.

Ubbelohde-Doering, Heinrich
1952 *The Art of Ancient Peru*. Frederick A. Praeger, New York.

Unkel, Ingmar, and Bernd Kromer
2009 The Clock in the Corn Cob: On the Development of a Chronology of the Paracas and Nasca Period Based on Radiocarbon Dating. In *New Technologies for Archaeology: Multidisciplinary Investigations in Palpa and Nasca, Peru*, edited by Markus Reindel and Günther A. Wagner, pp. 231–244. Springer, New York.

Uribe, Mauricio, and Carolina Agüero
2002 Alfarería, Textiles y La Integración del Norte Grande de Chile a Tiwanaku. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:397–426.

Vaughn, Kevin J.
2004 Households, Crafts, and Feasting in the Ancient Andes: The Village Context of Early Nasca Craft Consumption. In *Latin American Antiquity* 15(1):61–88.

Wassén, S. Henry
1972 *A Medicine Man's Implements and Plants in a Tiahuanacoid Tomb in Highland Bolivia*. Ethnologiska Studier 32. Göteborgs, Etnografiska Museum, Göteborg.

Williams, Patrick Ryan
2009 Wari and Tiwanaku Borderlands. In *Tiwanaku*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Williams, Patrick Ryan, and Donna Nash
2002 Imperial Interactions in the Andes: Wari and Tiwanaku at Cerro Baul. In *Andean Archaeology* 1, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Williams, Patrick Ryan, Johny Isla, and Donna Nash
2002 Cerro Baul: un enclave wari en interacción con Tiwanaku. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:69–87.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret
2004 *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Incas*. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Part 2
Late SAIS and the Tiwanaku Realm

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 7: Introduction

The Tiwanaku Ceramic Offerings of the Island of Pariti, Lake Titicaca, Bolivia

William H. Isbell

In 2004–2005, on the island of Pariti, Martti Pärssinen, Antti Korpisaari, Jédu Sagárnaga, and the Finnish-Bolivian archaeology group excavated a spectacular cache, or offering, of marvelously decorated and deliberately smashed Tiwanaku-style pottery in two adjacent pits. Located in Lake Titicaca's southern extension, Lake Wiñaymarca, Pariti is the island where Wendell Bennett (1936) excavated in 1934, reporting gold objects, also in Tiwanaku style, from his own excavations as well as the private collection of the island's owner. Indeed, there seems little doubt that Pariti was a very important place in Tiwanaku times.

The newly discovered offering pits had been placed between rough stone walls of a narrow, elongated room, or corridor, belonging to a larger but undefined, multicomponent Tiwanaku architectural complex. Cut stone and statuary are not reported by Korpisaari, but Bennett listed them among remains described by locals in the 1930s. Probably, the architecture represents a temple or similar ritual complex.

Pariti's two pit offerings of smashed pottery suggest comparison with ceramic offerings from the Wari domain, which also consisted of elaborately decorated vessels, deliberately smashed, and interred in pits (at least sometimes). In the Wari heartland, ceramic offerings were excavated by Julio Tello at Conchopata, Ayacucho, and reported by Dorothy Menzel (1964). Information about the form, variation, and contents of Conchopata's ceramic offerings has been greatly expanded by new discoveries and descriptions (Isbell 2001; Isbell and Cook 2002), so reliable comparisons are now possible.

The Pariti ceramic offering apparently included both pits for the two contained fragments of some of the same vessels, as well as individuals of paired sets coming from both pits. This has no exact comparison in Conchopata ceramic offerings—two pits side by side, which included fragments from some of the same pots. On the other hand, the Ayapata offering did consist of seven pits side by side according to Ravines Sánchez (1977:49–53, Lámina XXIII, Figure 3), but each pit seems to have contained different vessels. Furthermore, the field drawings suggest alignments of stones consistent with architectural remains, although Ravines Sánchez states that no prehistoric buildings were in evidence at Ayapata. At the Nasca Valley Pacheco site, multiple offering pits were also found, apparently containing very similar vessels, which could have included fragments from the same pots in different pits. However, documentation is not sufficient for a conclusion.

In terms of size and shape, Conchopata offering pits were larger but shallower than the Pariti pits, although Conchopata ceramic offerings also occur on room floors without pits, so there seems to have been significant variation in the Wari sphere—at least as indicated by current knowledge.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Both Conchopata and Pariti offering pits contain pottery that must have been broken elsewhere—for the vessels are rarely complete. Most are missing anywhere from a few, to most, of the component sherds. Similarly, in both locations, a few vessels are found intact (usually smaller pots), as though they had been placed whole into the offering pit—perhaps as containers of something.

The primary difference between Conchopata and Pariti ceramic offerings may be that the Conchopata ceramics offerings, at least in pits, consist of numerous (somewhat more than 20) oversize vessels—jars or urns—that are very similar to one another. Although some smaller vessels were included in the pits, it appears that Conchopata offering activity focused on a set of very similar, very large urns or jars that were decorated very similarly. And based on the few intact offering pits excavated, a single pit included more than one set of jars or urns (but not both shapes) that shared form but were decorated differently, with one set numerically much more common than the other. Wari archaeologists have emphasized the probable role of the giant, highly decorated jars and urns in feasting activities, as brewing and as storage/serving vessels. Pärssinen (Chapter 22, this volume) suggests a somewhat different function for the Pariti offering ceramics, although it seems appropriate to reconsider similarities among the offerings in terms of possible functions.

It should be noted that some Conchopata offerings, especially one floor offering (Isbell and Cook 2002), included mostly undecorated oversize urns—in fact, immense numbers. Tello apparently also found many more undecorated oversize urns in the pits his team excavated than decorated ones. This was not the case for the Pariti ceramics—although some Conchopata offerings consisted mostly of decorated vessels too.

Korpisaari reports that the Pariti pits contained regular-size pottery. Furthermore, the shapes and their decorations are highly varied. There are indeed some "sets," but they consist of a matched pair, or a group of four very similar vessels. Other possible groups share the same shape but vary to different degrees in decoration—for example, *keros*, *tazones*, *escudillas*, *ch'alladores*, and so on.

Korpisaari provides readers with excellent quantitative and qualitative descriptions of the newly discovered Pariti offering. Included are many well-known Tiwanaku shapes and decorations, as well as some startling surprises, such as *keros* decorated with Staff God images and other Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) iconography that usually appears only on Tiwanaku stone sculpture.

One of the biggest surprises presented by the Pariti discoveries is the compellingly convincing date of about AD 1000, based on numerous but similar assays from both offering pits that could be combined for a composite date. Without dates, there would have been little question that the Pariti materials belonged to the older "Classic" Tiahuanaco, or Tiwanaku 1 style in the new chronology, but the absolute dates negate this. Perhaps the community of Tiahuanaco specialists will finally come to grips with the evidence that the distinction between "Classic" and "Decadent" Tiahuanaco (Tiwanaku 1 and 2 in current terminology) is stylistic but not temporal (or at least more stylistic than temporal). In the meantime, the popular new chronology seems to incorporate the same old confusion of style with time that has been perpetuated since Bennett's (1934) site report.

Some archaeologists are reluctant to accept the implications of the Pariti offering, with its many surprises. I have heard it whispered that the pottery may have been faked and the scholars duped. Personally, I find the context impeccable. Stylistically, the material is unassailable, including the novel and creative objects. Furthermore, it appears that the technology is also right, although we will have to wait for reports that go beyond the scope of Korpisaari's very informative discussion. On the basis of this report of the Pariti collections, archaeologists must begin serious reevaluations of Tiwanaku and even reconsider Tiwanaku-Wari relations as well.

Readers are reminded that the spectacular materials discussed in this chapter constitute the largest and most elaborate set of securely associated Tiwanaku art excavated by professional archaeologists. Location, date, and formal variation in the material are precisely defined. Consequently, the Pariti collection is the perfect subject for interrogating meaning in Tiwanaku art, as undertaken in Chapter 22 by Martti Pärssinen, who directed the Pariti program. While the chapters have been separated in the organization of this volume, many readers may want to read them together.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Bennett, Wendell C.

1934 Excavations at Tiahuanaco. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 34(3):359–494.

1936 Excavations in Bolivia. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 35(4):329–507.

Isbell, William H.

2001 Repensando el Horizonte Medio: el caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Perú. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:9–68.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Isbell, William H., and Anita G. Cook
2002 A New Perspective on Conchopata and the Andean Middle Horizon. In *Andean Archaeology Vol. II: Art, Landscape and Society*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 249–305. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Menzel, Dorothy
1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–106.

Ravines Sánchez, Rogger
1977 Excavaciones en Ayapata, Huancavelica, Perú. *Ñawpa Pacha* 15:49–100.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 7

The Tiwanaku Ceramic Offerings of the Island of Pariti, Lake Titicaca, Bolivia

Antti Korpisaari

In 2004, our Finnish-Bolivian team of archaeologists located two rich Tiwanaku ceramic offerings on the island of Pariti, Lake Titicaca, Bolivia. In all, these features contained 18 intact or nearly intact ceramic vessels and the sherds of at least 417 intentionally broken or ritually "killed" vessels, the majority of which were able to be more or less completely reconstructed. Eight radiocarbon dates and various other lines of evidence prove that the contexts of the two features were formed during a single event sometime around AD 1000, possibly in connection with the ceremony of ritual closure of a Tiwanaku temple situated on Pariti.

Thanks to the very high number and fine artistic and technical quality of the vessels whose sherds were deposited in Pariti's two ceramic offerings, this pair of firmly dated features provides an excellent opportunity to study Late Tiwanaku ceramics in a sealed context of exceptional richness. Among other things, the Pariti material suggests that in the immediate Lake Titicaca area, the decoration, size, and form of several ceremonial ceramic vessel types differed somewhat from those of the pottery more typical of the Tiwanaku and Katari Valleys. Furthermore, three Pariti ceramic vessels feature a rare Tiwanaku Staff God image, 16 vessels have a Rayed Head, and 17 vessels display Profile Attendant imagery (i.e., iconography that promises to help clarify cultural and chronological ties between the Tiwanaku and Wari spheres of influence).

The History of Archaeological Research on the Island of Pariti

The island of Pariti is situated in the smaller part of Lake Titicaca, Lago Menor (Figure 7.1). The island's longest axis (NNW-SSE) measures ca. 4.0 km. The present-day community of Pariti, housing about 200 people, is situated in a bay on the eastern side of the island (Figure 7.2). Both Wendell C. Bennett's (1936) and our own archaeological findings point to the fact that this area was favored for human habitation also in the pre-Columbian period. The western side of Pariti is lined by extensive and well-preserved field terraces.

Arthur Posnansky was probably the first investigator to visit Pariti. However, it was Bennett who carried out the first proper archaeological excavations on the island in June 1934. The island's owner at the time, Sr. Pablo Pacheco, had discovered both pottery and gold artifacts on his property, which probably led Bennett to work on Pariti (Bennett 1936:446). Some of the finest pieces discovered by the Pacheco family are illustrated by Posnansky (1957:III). Vessel "b" of Plate XXIX and Vessel "c" of Plate XXXIV come from Pariti, as do the gold beaker (Object "a") and gold plaque (Object "c") of Plate LXXXIX. It would seem that all of these pieces were found in a single burial along with a number of small gold "masks" (i.e., plaques).[1]

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Bennett excavated eight trenches on the eastern side of Pariti, near the (now largely demolished) hacienda house. Five of these trenches were dug on terraces, while the remaining three were dug in the fields situated around the hacienda house. The total area of the eight trenches excavated by Bennett was over 130 m^2. Bennett found Chiripa material in three of his trenches (Nos. 1, 6, and 7). "Classic" Tiwanaku material was present in two trenches (Nos. 4 and 5) and in a burial in Trench 6.[2] This burial is important, as it contained 23 small gold objects (mostly miniature vessels), seven incised bone paint tubes/tube fragments, many small beads, and fragments of green, red, white, and blue paint. "Decadent" Tiwanaku material was not very abundant but was nevertheless present on the surface, in Trenches 1, 4, 5, 6, and 8, and in a tomb in Trench 4. Inca material was present on the surface and in Trench 8 (Bennett 1936:446–456).

Following Bennett's work, no further excavations were carried out on Pariti before we began our fieldwork in 2003. However, Václav Šolc (1965, 1969), Gregorio Cordero Miranda, and Carlos Ponce Sanginés all seem to have visited the island in the intervening years. Some Pariti finds are also included in the collections of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, La Paz, and the Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin (see Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Figures 150, 231).

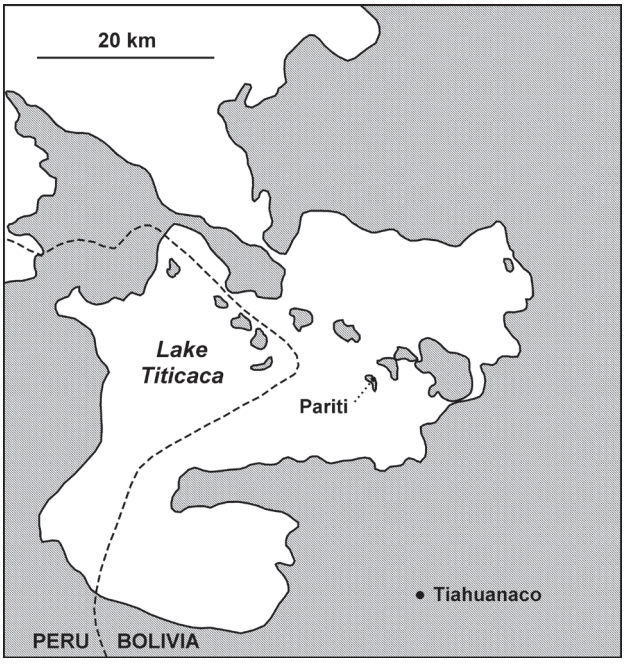


Figure 7.1. Map of the smaller part of Lake Titicaca and surrounding areas showing the location of the island of Pariti and the Tiahuanaco site.

Our Finnish-Bolivian team has been carrying out archaeological fieldwork in the canton of Cascachi, under whose jurisdiction Pariti belongs, since 1998. During our short 2002 field season at the sites of Tiraska and Taramaya (see Kesseli et al. 2003; Korpisaari 2006:120–124; Korpisaari et al. 2003), we visited the island for the first time. However, it was not until August 2003 that we became seriously involved with Pariti. As we were carrying out archaeological investigations in the community of Tiraska, situated some kilometers to the northeast of Pariti, a young man from Pariti sailed to Tiraska to show us some impressive Tiwanaku ceramic fragments. We headed for Pariti the same day, collecting some semi-complete vessels and dozens of ceramic fragments that the locals had found while digging a pit on the western side of the soccer field to obtain clay for adobe brick manufacture.

In October 2003, we returned to Pariti to excavate three 1-m x 1-m test pits. However, these pits yielded very little diagnostic cultural material. Despite this setback, we returned to Pariti in August 2004. That year, we situated our second 2-m x 1-m test pit near the northwestern corner of the soccer field of the present-day community. In this pit, underlying a layer of ca. 60 cm mostly containing rather recent cultural material and a second layer of ca. 60 cm containing Tiwanaku material, we encountered the top of Feature 1—a cylindrical pit with a depth of ca. 170 to 180 cm and a diameter of ca. 70 to 80 cm. This feature was filled with the sherds of smashed Tiwanaku ceramic vessels and faunal remains—we recovered 16 more or less intact vessels, thousands of ceramic sherds, 20 small sodalite beads, 2 miniature human-feline statues of stone (see Sagárnaga and Korpisaari 2007:Figures 54–55), and 13.5 kg of animal bone.

In the course of the excavation of Feature 1, we discovered that another offering pit—labeled Feature 2—was situated ca. 50 cm to the east of Feature 1. We returned to Pariti in April 2005 to investigate this second feature. Feature 2 proved to also be cylindrical in form and had a diameter of ca. 60 to 70 cm and a depth of ca. 160 cm; in other words, it was slightly smaller than Feature 1 (Figure 7.3). In addition to thousands of Tiwanaku ceramic sherds and plentiful animal bone, we discovered some exceedingly thin gold laminas near the base of Feature 2. Interestingly, one of these small gold ornaments depicts a Profile Attendant (Figure 7.4; see also Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 22; Sagárnaga and Korpisaari 2009:Figure 5).

Our most recent excavations on Pariti took place in August 2006. That year, we did not encounter any new

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.2. View of the present-day community of Pariti (facing north-northwest).

spectacular contexts like Features 1 and 2 but managed to reveal longer segments of the walls or wall foundations situated in the vicinity of the two ceramic offerings, uncovering evidence of at least two building stages. However, even following the 2006 investigations, we have so far excavated only 50 m^2 on Pariti and only 32 m^2 in the proximity of Features 1 and 2 (Figure 7.5). Consequently, a great deal of work is still needed on the island to reach an understanding of the role Pariti played in the religious and sociopolitical organization of the Tiwanaku Period.

The Ceramic Material from Pariti's Features 1 and 2

By far, the most important discoveries of our Pariti fieldwork have to do with the pottery recovered in the two offering pits. The time-consuming task of reconstructing the offered vessels proved that these had not been thrown into their respective pits intact; rather, as almost all reconstructed vessels are missing sherds of significant size, it seems certain that these vessels were first smashed in some unknown location, and the majority of the sherds were then deposited in the two offering pits. However, as a result of this unknown procedure, most of the sherds of hundreds of vessels eventually ended up in the two pits, and we were able to reconstruct most of these ritually "killed" vessels more

Figure 7.3. Ceramics in situ in Pariti's Feature 2, at a depth of approximately 205 cm.

or less completely. Consequently, we have been able to determine that Feature 1 contained the sherds of at least 295 vessels and 16 intact or nearly intact vessels and that Feature 2 held at least 103 smashed vessels and 2 intact ones. Importantly, a further sample of 19 vessels could be reconstructed using sherds found both in Feature 1 and in Feature 2. This strongly suggests that

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.4. This fragmentary gold ornament depicting a Profile Attendant (height 2.3 cm) was recovered near the base of Pariti's Feature 2.

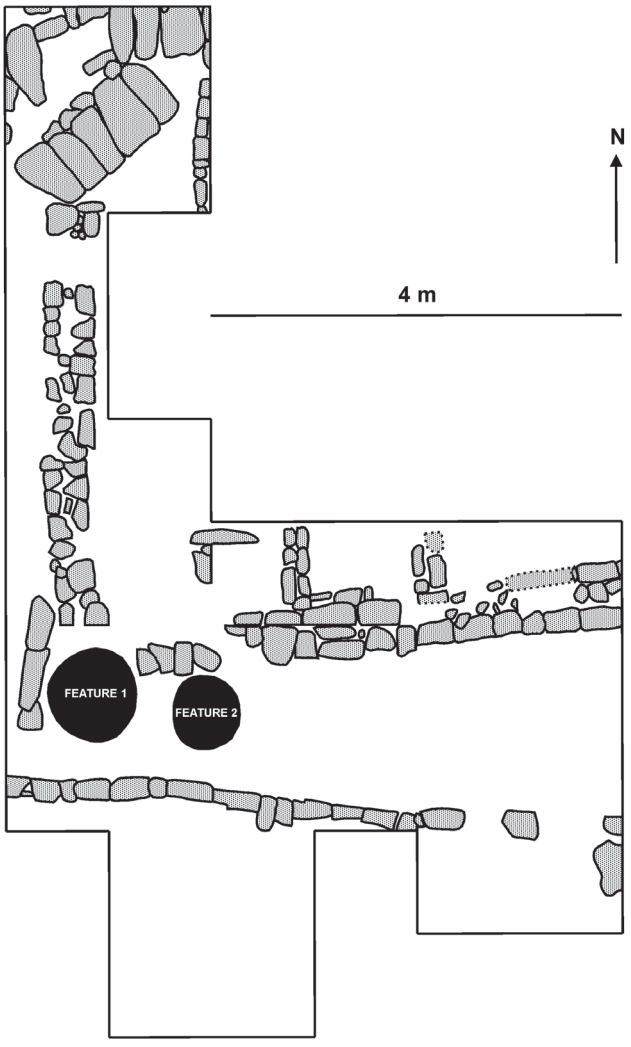


Figure 7.5. Plan of the 32-m² area excavated in 2004 to 2006 by our Finnish-Bolivian team, locating Pariti's Features 1 and 2 in relation to walls or wall foundations associated with two Tiwanaku Period building phases, perhaps representing a temple.

the two contexts were formed at one and the same time, a conclusion that is strengthened by the distribution of some paired vessels between the two features.[3]

The majority of the vessels of Pariti's Features 1 and 2 represent more or less typical Tiwanaku vessel forms: the collection includes 55 *keros*, 63 *ch'alladores*, 43 *tazones*, 82 *escudillas*, 26 bottles, 24 pedestal bowls, 6 *sahumadores*, and 2 *tinajas*. Below, I briefly summarize the main characteristics of the Pariti material for each of the above-mentioned vessel classes.[4]

Keros

Of Pariti's 55 *keros*, surprisingly many—altogether 28—feature modeled decoration. Three *keros* display a partially modeled Staff God image (see Figures 7.24–7.27) and 16 *keros* (15 redware and 1 grayware) a partially modeled frontal deity face/Rayed Head (see Figures 7.28 and 7.29). The vessels in the latter group are 20.1 to 28.6 cm high (mean = 23.1 cm) and have a rim 16.0 to 25.3 cm in diameter (mean = 19.8 cm). All have a slightly protruding exterior torus and a flat base. In addition to the 16 *keros* featuring a "complete" Rayed Head image, 5 *keros* (including a pair of blackware vessels ca. 14 cm high) display a modeled head lacking the characteristic circle of rays surrounding it.[5] Two Pariti *keros*—which form a "near-pair"—feature three partially modeled heads each, said heads depicting grimacing, long-haired human beings (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 30; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 5). Finally, two Pariti *keros* display particularly impressive modeled decoration, one (PRT 00086) in the form of a feline-tailed human male wearing a headdress, earplugs, and labret (see Korpisaari 2006:Figure 5.24; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 31), the other (PRT 00185) in the form of a mythical animal with feline and condor attributes, which peers over the rim of the vessel (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 28; Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 8).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Of the 27 Pariti *keros* lacking modeled decoration, 15 of redware can be grouped together. They have a slightly protruding exterior torus and a flat base. The torus is typically circled by four to six anthropomorphic profile heads (so-called trophy heads), and the body of the vessel displays two profile felines alternating with steps ending in avian heads (Figure 7.6; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 34). These vessels are normally 13.2 to 21.5 cm high (mean = 16.4 cm) and have a rim 10.6 to 17.2 cm in diameter (mean = 12.7 cm). However, one particularly large *kero* belonging in this group stands 28.4 cm high and opens to a rim diameter of 23.6 cm.[6] One blackware *kero* (PRT 00485) features incised decoration closely resembling that described above for the 15 redware *keros*. The remaining 11 Pariti *keros* display a variety of decorative motifs and compositions. They are also a morphologically diverse lot: one vessel has a triple torus, three have a double torus, one has a single torus, and six have no torus at all (Figure 7.7; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 35).

Eight Pariti *keros* have a double base (i.e., they have an "extra," interior bottom that is situated several centimeters above the "proper," exterior base). The hollow space between the two bases may have originally contained small ceramic balls or pebbles that would have made a rattling sound when the vessel was used.

Figure 7.6. *Kero* PRT 00475 (height 14.2 cm). The *kero's* body displays two profile felines whose heads, atypically, are depicted frontally.

Ch'alladores

One peculiar characteristic of the ceramic collection of Pariti's Features 1 and 2 is that it includes a very high number (63) of *ch'alladores*, vessels with a tapered body and a narrow, perforated base.[7] The exterior surface of 14 *ch'alladores* displays a rattlesnake, which coils around the vessel 10 to 15 times (Figure 7.8; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 41; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 7). The snake's tail is situated close to the base of the vessel, its modeled head at the level of or a little above the rim. In 4 of the 14 cases, a thin wavy line in black circles the interior rim; otherwise, the vessel interior is undecorated. The 14 rattlesnake *ch'alladores* are 20.9 to 28.2 cm high and have a rim 18.8 to 24.5 cm in diameter. The base is 4.4 to 6.0 cm in diameter and is perforated by a hole ca. 1.8 to 1.9 cm wide.

Eight Pariti *ch'alladores* share a curious attribute: they all have crosswise tubes in their interior, attached to holes located approximately halfway down the vessel body (Figure 7.9, vessel on the left; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figures 38–39). The function of these tubes is unknown. The exterior surface of all *ch'alladores* with internal tubing is richly decorated and often (the upper part of) the interior surface as well. All eight vessels are very similar in size: they stand 24.5 to 27.1 cm high and open to a rim diameter of 23.5 to 25.2 cm.[8]

The 41 remaining, "typical" Pariti *ch'alladores* do not feature modeled decoration and/or internal tubing. The exterior surface always displays painted decoration, which is in some rare cases limited to only a few bands in white, black, and/or orange on red or black, but in most cases is very rich and multicolored (Figure 7.10; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figures 36–37). It would seem that the artisans responsible for manufacturing the Pariti *ch'alladores* were allowed to express a lot of artistic creativity, as (with the exception of the rattlesnake *ch'alladores*) almost each *ch'allador* or pair of *ch'alladores* displays original motifs and/or compositions. A thin wavy line in black circles the interior rim of 18 vessels; another 6 vessels display richer internal decoration (Figure 7.9, vessel on the right; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 40; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 6, 2009:Figure 5). In size, the 41 "typical" *ch'alladores* are highly variable, with the 5 smallest standing only 11.1 to 13.2 cm high and opening to a rim diameter of 10.2 to 11.4 cm.[9] The five largest Pariti *ch'alladores*, on the other hand, have a rim 29.0 to 32.6 cm in diameter and are 33.8

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.7. *Keros* PRT 00216 (on the left; height 13.3 cm) and 00161 (on the right; height 13.4 cm).

Figure 7.8. *Ch'alladors* PRT 00278 (height 27.6 cm) displays a rattlesnake that coils around the vessel 12 times.

to 36.5 cm high. In the case of the smallest *ch'alladores*, the hole perforating the base is only ca. 1 cm in diameter, but the base holes of medium-sized and large *ch'alladores* are typically ca. 2 cm wide.

Tazones

One Pariti *tazon* (PRT 00274) is of miniature size; it has a rim only 6.5 cm in diameter. The other 42 *tazones* stand 5.8 to 7.9 cm high (mean = 6.9 cm) and have a rim 14.2 to 18.4 cm in diameter (mean = 15.6 cm). All but one of the Pariti *tazones* have a flat base. The interiors of 38 normal-sized *tazones* display decoration, whereas the exteriors are undecorated. Conversely, in the two cases in which the exterior of a *tazon* has decoration, the interior is undecorated.[10] The most typical design composition (n = 25) depicts two to three inverted avian heads close to the rim and two horizontal bands (the upper one in orange, the other in black) lower down, close to the base (Figure 7.11). Another quite popular design composition (n = 10) displays T-shaped motifs (perhaps simplified step designs) alternating with diamonds. The *tazon* PRT 00460 is a clear outlier: it has a ring base, is highly burnished, and depicts profile felines (and T-shaped motifs/steps) in its interior.

Escudillas

Pariti's 82 *escudillas* can be roughly divided into three size groups: small (n = 29), large (n = 50), and very large (n = 3). The rim of the small variant is 8.2 to 14.5 cm in diameter (mean = 12.0 cm), and the vessels are 3.2 to 7.5 cm high (mean = 5.5 cm). The exterior surface is never decorated, while the interior of the narrow flaring rim is painted with either profile felines or feline

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.9. *Ch'alladores* PRT 00110 (on the left; height 24.5 cm) and 00111 (on the right; height 24.5 cm).

Figure 7.10. Paired *ch'alladores* PRT 00508 (on the left; height 25.5 cm) and 00260 (on the right; height 24.3 cm). Interestingly, the sherds of the *ch'allador* PRT 00260 were recovered in Pariti's Feature 1, and those of its pair in Feature 2.

heads, geometric motifs, or simple black strips (Figure 7.12). The base of some of the small Pariti *escudillas* is flat, while others have a ring base. In contrast to the great majority of the ceramic vessels of Pariti's Features 1 and 2, many of the small *escudillas* are heavily worn, showing signs of extensive use. Some of these small vessels are also rather crudely manufactured and/or poorly fired.

The Pariti *escudillas* of the large variant have a rim 23.3 to 32.0 cm in diameter (mean = 27.2 cm) and are 9.0 to 13.5 cm high (mean = 11.2 cm). Almost without exception, they have a ring base. The interior of the flaring rim, which is 4.5 to 7.2 cm deep, seems always to have featured painted decoration. Almost the entire exterior surface—with the exception of the base—of the great majority of the large Pariti *escudillas* is also

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.11. The interior of the *tazon* PRT 00463 (rim diameter 14.2 cm) displays three inverted avian heads close to the rim and two horizontal bands lower down.

Figure 7.12. The exterior of the small *escudilla* PRT 00453 (rim diameter 12.0 cm) is undecorated, while the interior of its narrow flaring rim displays four profile feline heads separated by zones of vertical bands in orange, black, and white.

decorated, even though in some rare cases, it has been left undecorated. The large *escudillas* recovered in Feature 1 are rather homogeneously decorated, with the interior flaring rim characteristically displaying four to six profile felines alternating with steps ending in avian heads and the exterior surface presenting three larger profile felines (in most cases alternating with steps ending in avian heads) (Figure 7.13) or—less frequently—three Profile Attendants (see Figures 7.30–7.34).[11] Compared to the large *escudillas* recovered in Feature 1, those recovered in Feature 2 are much more heterogeneously decorated, displaying a variety of decoration compositions and some atypical motifs. Two large Pariti *escudillas* (PRT 00439 and 00499) recovered in Feature 2 also have a "pouring lip" (Figure 7.14), a feature that I have not seen previously reported for Tiwanaku ceramics. One of these two last-mentioned vessels (PRT 00439) also has two vertical handles under the rim. Unlike the smaller *escudillas*, the large Pariti *escudillas* do not show signs of heavy use.

The two largest Pariti *escudillas* have a rim 42.0 and 49.3 cm in diameter, respectively, in addition to which a third vessel, with a rim 36.2 cm in diameter, is probably also attributable to the category of very large *escudillas*. These vessels are 13.2 to 17.3 cm high. All three have a flat base. The interior of the flaring rim is decorated, whereas the exterior surface lacks any decoration. The two largest *escudillas* of this category have two vertical handles, which are in one case situated under the rim and in the other somewhat lower down the body. The third very large *escudilla* has a "pouring lip."[12]

Figure 7.13. Large *escudilla* PRT 00115 (rim diameter 28.5 cm).

Bottles

Twenty-six bottles (i.e., tallish and slim, flaring-rimmed vessels that have neither a handle nor a spout[13]) were recovered in Pariti's Features 1 and 2. These bottles stand 15.7 to 19.5 cm high (mean = 18.0 cm). Often, but not always, they have a ring base. All bottles display painted decoration on the exterior surface, and the majority are also decorated along the interior rim. Exterior decoration typically features two design registers, which are outlined and/or separated by one or more bands in orange and/or black. Many times, both the upper and the lower design register display two to three profile felines, those of the lower register often alternating with steps ending in avian heads. However, five Pariti bottles depict Profile Attendants (see Figures 7.35–7.37), and a few others have more varied iconography.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.14. Large *escudilla* PRT 00499 (rim diameter 25.6 cm).

Ten bottles were recovered more or less intact in Feature 1; these vessels had not been deliberately smashed to pieces (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 45; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 9). It seems probable that the 10 bottles in question were left intact for a specific reason. It is possible that they were deposited in the offering pit containing *chicha*, *ch'ua*, or some other ceremonially important liquid. Interestingly, whereas Feature 1 contained 10 intact bottles and the sherds of 13 other bottles, Feature 2 only contained the sherds of 3 smashed bottles, all of which display rather atypical decoration.

Pedestal Bowls

Twenty-four vessels of the pedestal bowl form were recovered in Pariti's Features 1 and 2.[14] Twelve of these (10 redware and 2 blackware) are "typical" in the sense that they lack both modeled decoration and a spout. In size, these 12 vessels are highly heterogeneous, with rim diameter varying from 15.9 to 32.1 cm. With the exception of the two blackware vessels, the exterior body of "typical" pedestal bowls always displays decoration (Figure 7.15); in three cases, the entire exterior surface features painted decoration. Of the 12 "less typical" Pariti pedestal bowls, 6 rather smallish vessels with a rim 17.0 to 20.7 cm in diameter display snake iconography. All six vessels feature a spout painted to depict the tail of a rattlesnake (see Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 10). In three cases, the modeled head of this serpent is or was attached to the exterior of the vessel; in the other three cases, the head rises or rose from the interior center of the bowl (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 42). Three large pedestal bowls (two redware and one blackware) with a rim 27.0 to 33.0 cm in diameter lack painted decoration altogether, but each vessel features a single modeled figurine[15] attached close to the outside rim. Finally, three pedestal bowls with a rim 23.0 to 30.6 cm in diameter have an atypical pedestal: a portrait head (Figure 7.16).[16]

Sahumadores

The Pariti collection features six *sahumadores*, five of which are very similar in size, having a rim 18.7 to 19.5 cm in diameter. The sixth, incompletely reconstructed vessel is very large, having a rim diameter of ca. 33 cm. All Pariti *sahumadores* have two opposing, vertical handles. Three vessels display both external and internal decoration, one only external decoration (Figure 7.17), one (the large one) only internal decoration, and the last *sahumador* no decoration at all.

Tinajas

A minimum of seven *tinajas* (i.e., large storage vessels) contributed sherds to Pariti's Features 1 and 2, but only two of these could be reconstructed more or less completely (Figure 7.18). The jars stand 30.3 and 36.8 cm high, respectively. Both have a rather short neck and a pair of opposing, vertical handles on the body. The two *tinajas* are red-slipped and display a band of steps and avian heads around the shoulder.

In addition to the morphologically more typical vessels discussed above, the Pariti collection includes dozens of vessels whose forms were little known—and perhaps unknown—prior to our investigations. This group of vessels includes four beakers, 14.3 to 17.5 cm high, whose upper part is that of a "normal" *kero* but whose base resembles a human (or monkey) foot (Figure 7.19; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figures 22–

Figure 7.15. Pedestal bowl PRT 00525 (rim diameter 16.9 cm).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.16. The pedestal of the vessel PRT 00529 (rim diameter 30.6 cm) is a portrait head.

23) and a pair of bulb-based beakers ca. 20 cm high (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 43). Furthermore, the Pariti collection includes 45 so-called kidney-shaped bowls, 20 animal effigy vessels, 18 human effigy vessels, and 7 portrait vessels.

Kidney-Shaped Bowls

As far as I know, the kidney-shaped bowl is a Tiwanaku vessel form that had not been described in the literature prior to the discovery of Pariti's Features 1 and 2. The 45 vessels making up this category have been named "kidney-shaped" because they are elongated and the long sides of the vessel rim feature one central, shallow depression each (i.e., vessels of this type seem somewhat kidney or figure-8 shaped, when observed from above) (Figure 7.20).

Morphologically, Pariti's kidney-shaped bowls most typically have a rather flat base, stand 4.4 to 7.5 cm

Figure 7.17. The *sahumador* PRT 00539 (rim diameter 18.8 cm) is one of the 19 vessels whose sherds were deposited both in Feature 1 and in Feature 2.

Figure 7.18. The *tinaja* PRT 00310 (height 36.8 cm) has a pair of opposing, vertical body handles.

high, and have a maximum rim diameter of 11.1 to 18.2 cm. Larger kidney-shaped vessels tend to have a more rounded base, which makes them relatively taller than their flat-based counterparts. The five more or less completely reconstructed vessels of the rounded base variant are 8.9 to 10.6 cm high and have a maximum rim diameter of 19.5 to 21.7 cm. However, two even larger, but less completely reconstructed, kidney-shaped vessels (PRT 00206 and 00381) seem to have stood over 15 cm high and to have had a maximum rim diameter of around or over 30 cm. In addition to vessels with a flat or rounded base, the kidney-shaped bowl category also includes five vessels with a slightly projecting base ring. Two Pariti kidney-shaped bowls have a double base.

Characteristically, the kidney-shaped bowls of the small, flat-based variant display painted decoration only on their exterior surface. Motifs depicted vary quite a lot, with anthropomorphic profile heads, avian heads, and volutes being the most common. Less typically, both the exterior and interior surfaces of small kidney-shaped vessels are divided into four equally sized zones, two of which are colored red, the other two orange (Figure 7.20). Of the eight large kidney-shaped

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.19. Blackware beakers PRT 00262 (on the left; height 17.5 cm) and 00173 (on the right).

Figure 7.20. Three so-called kidney-shaped bowls (left to right: PRT 00107, 00190, and 00189).

bowls with a rounded base, four display (relatively elaborate) decoration only on their exterior surface (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 44; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 8, 2009:Figure 7), two only on their interior surface, and two on both their exterior and interior surfaces.

Animal Effigy Vessels

All of Pariti's 20 animal effigy vessels have or had a spout. Fourteen of these vessels—ranging from a miniature 8.3 cm high to practically life-sized effigies 18.2 to 19.5 cm high—represent waterfowl living in Lake Titicaca (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figures 26–27; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 11). Of the remaining six animal effigy vessels, three represent llamas, two birds of prey, possibly Amazonian harpy eagles (Korpisaari et al. 2009; see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 29), and one a river otter (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 25).

Human Effigy Vessels

Nine of Pariti's 18 human effigy vessels depict seated or kneeling females (Figure 7.21; see also Korpisaari 2006:Figure 5.28; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figures 1–5; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 16, 2009:Figure 10). These female effigy vessels are 14.4 to 20.4 cm high, and their neck protrudes from the females' back. Eight vessels form three pairs and one "near-pair." Furthermore, the Pariti female effigy vessels are rather uniform in morphology and decoration: the hair of all portrayed females is parted in the middle and falls on both sides of the face in long "pigtails" or braids. The black hair of the female representation of the paired vessels PRT 00180 and 00181 is covered with a long reddish or pinkish "veil" (perhaps of gauze), which has narrow black zones near its ends (Figure 7.21, vessel on the right); some of the other Pariti effigy vessel females also possibly wear a similar headdress, although it is not depicted as clearly as in the case of the two aforementioned vessels. All females wear a dress, probably a long wraparound garment gathered by metal *tupu* pins at the shoulder. Over this dress, they wear a rather long shawl, fastened at the front—probably with a third *tupu* (although it is never depicted). With the exception of the bracelets worn by the female representation of the paired vessels PRT 00184 and 00267, the effigy vessel females are never portrayed wearing jewelry.

In addition to the nine female effigy vessels, the Pariti collection includes another nine human effigy vessels depicting kneeling or squatting males (Figure 7.22; see also Korpisaari 2006:Figures 5.23, 5.26; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figures 6–11; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figures 13–16, 2009:Figure 9).[17] There are two sets of paired male effigy vessels and one four-piece set of nonidentical but related vessels. Still, the group of male effigy vessels, which are 12.9 to 26.2 cm high, is somewhat more heterogeneous than that of the female effigy vessels. In the majority of the male effigy vessels, much more attention is paid to depicting jewelry (e.g., ear plugs, labrets, and collars or necklaces) than to clothing. All Pariti male effigy vessels have or had a spout (which, interestingly, all female effigy vessels lack).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.21. Three female effigy vessels: PRT 00268 (on the left; height 15.2 cm), 00184 (in the middle; height 20.4 cm), and 00181 (on the right; height 14.4 cm).

Portrait Vessels

Pariti's seven portrait vessels, or *wako retratos* (six redware and one blackware), apparently all depict males (Figure 7.23; see also Korpisaari 2006:Figures 5.20, 5.22, 5.25, 5.27; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figures 12, 15–16; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 12). Four portrait vessels form two pairs. Otherwise, Pariti's *wako retratos* are a heterogeneous lot, as regards vessel size, morphology, and jewelry (and headdress) worn by the men: the paired portrait vessels PRT 00075 and 00259 stand only ca. 13 cm high, while the vessels forming the other pair (PRT 00316 and 00317) are ca. 27 to 28 cm high, and the morphologically atypical *wako retrato* PRT 00188, which depicts a male apparently wearing a diadem-crowned helmet, is even taller (29.5 cm high). Two portrait vessels have or had a spout.

Pariti's realistic, sculptural male and female portraits (i.e., human effigy vessels, *wako retratos*, portrait head pedestals, and a few modeled figures [see Korpisaari 2006:Figure 5.21; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figures 17–20]) imply that in the (Late) Tiwanaku Period, the use of jewelry and ornaments such as ear plugs, labrets, and collars or necklaces was exclusively reserved for (elite) males. This accords with other published Tiwanaku portrait heads, which almost always seem to depict males (e.g., Goldstein 2005:259–260; Janusek 2003:73).[18] In the Santiago de Chile colloquium, Sergio

Figure 7.22. Male effigy vessels PRT 00074 (on the left; height 20.5 cm) and 00166 (on the right; height 21.0 cm).

Chávez argued that in Pucara art, personal ornaments are always associated with females. If this is indeed the case, a significant shift regarding the use (or perhaps only the artistic portrayal) of jewelry seems to have taken place following the demise of the Pucara culture.

As I have already brought up several times, many of the Pariti vessels have a matched pair. Among the 435

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.23. Portrait vessels PRT 00316 (on the left; height 26.8 cm) and 00075 (on the right; height 12.5 cm).

vessels recovered in Features 1 and 2, there are at least 64 paired vessels, forming 32 couples. A further 20 Pariti vessels form 10 "near-pairs," meaning that the vessels of each such duo were definitely manufactured together by the same artisan (or the same workshop) but that certain painted or modeled decorative elements differ from one vessel to the other. One such "near-pair" is formed by Pariti vessels PRT 00173 and 00262, two blackware beakers whose base resembles a human or monkey foot. The two vessels are otherwise nearly identical, but one apparently represents a right foot, the other a left (Figure 7.19). Also, the llama effigy vessels PRT 00078 and 00304 are mirror images, while one of the "nearly paired" *keros* (PRT 00087 and 00088) has a double base, the other a "normal" base.

In addition to the 32 pairs and 10 "near-pairs," among the vessels of Pariti's Features 1 and 2 are two sets of four clearly related vessels: a nearly identical four-vessel set of *ch'alladores* depicting coiled rattlesnakes (PRT 00144, 00276, 00281, and 00314) and another four-vessel set of male effigy vessels (PRT 00073, 00074, 00105, and 00533). In the case of the four male effigy vessels, height and robustness of the portrayed males vary, as do the position of the arms and the presence or absence of bracelets and anklets. Overall, however, the four vessels are so similar to each other that they were probably manufactured by the same artisan (or workshop) more or less simultaneously.[19] Consequently, at least 92 of the 435 individualized Pariti ceramic vessels (ca. 21 percent) are paired or belong to a four-vessel set of closely related artifacts.

Written sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicate that Inca nobles possessed paired drinking cups (*keros*), which they used for offering toasts of *chicha* (see Cummings 2002; Rowe 1961:317). According to Juan de Betanzos (1996:67 [1557]), when an Inca nobleman or woman went to visit another noble, he or she brought his or her pair of *keros* along, and the first round of *chicha* was drunk from these. Then the person being visited took out his or her own pair of *keros*, from which the second round of *chicha* was drunk. In other words, two pairs of *keros* (four vessels) were used in the course of a "simple" visit. It is tempting to connect the paired and "nearly paired" Pariti vessels to such ethnohistorically documented Inca elite practices. However, 22 Pariti vessels forming 11 pairs, 8 vessels forming 4 "near-pairs," and 1 nearly identical four-vessel set belong to the *ch'allador* category (34 of Pariti's 63 *ch'alladores* [ca. 54 percent] are "paired" in this manner). As *ch'allador* bases are perforated, these artifacts are functionally more like funnels than "proper" vessels meant for containing liquid. Of course, the perforation in the base of a *ch'allador* could be sealed using some kind of cork. Still, it seems much more probable that the pairs of Pariti *ch'alladores* were used in a manner quite different from that of the Inca *keros*.

In a symbolic sense, also Pariti's Features 1 and 2 form a pair, as they were filled at the same time.[20] Some kind of ritual rules and regulations possibly governed the filling of the two features (i.e., what should go in which pit), as the distributions of some vessel types differ notably from one feature to the other. Percentage-wise, *ch'alladores*, *keros*, pedestal bowls, and animal effigy vessels were distributed relatively evenly between the two features. Feature 1 contained relatively more kidney-shaped bowls (which make up ca. 12 percent of the 311 vessels of Feature 1 and only ca. 5 percent of the 105 vessels of Feature 2), bottles (ca. 7 percent vs. ca. 3 percent), human effigy vessels (ca. 5 percent vs. ca. 1 percent), and portrait vessels (all 7 of which had been deposited in Feature 1). Feature 2, on the other hand, contained notably more *escudillas* (ca. 17 percent in Feature 1 vs. ca. 26 percent in Feature 2) and *tazones* (ca. 7 percent vs. 20 percent); vessels belonging to these two open serving vessel types make up ca. 46 percent of all Feature 2 vessels but only ca. 24 percent of all Feature 1 vessels. Overall, one gets the impression that—for one reason or another—sherds of "more special" vessel types were preferentially deposited in Feature 1.

Due to the small size of the area we have excavated on Pariti, we do not currently have any proof of whether the ceramics recovered in Features 1 and 2 were manufactured on Pariti or somewhere else in the Tiwanaku heartland. However, Soledad Fernández Murillo (2006) has

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

preliminarily documented the characteristics of the paste of a sample of over 200 vessels. She distinguishes eight different paste varieties, which form two groups: one composed of finer pastes and another consisting of relatively coarser pastes. Overall, however, Fernández concludes that all eight recognized paste varieties are relatively homogeneous and that they are characteristic of central altiplano Tiwanaku ceramics (i.e., Fernández does not find any indication that a significant number of the Pariti vessels were long-distance imports).

The abundant osteological material recovered in Pariti's Features 1 and 2 has been analyzed by Luis Callisaya Medina (2005, 2006). He concludes that Feature 1 contained bones and bone fragments belonging to at least 33 llamas,[21] while Feature 2 contained those belonging to at least 16 llamas.[22] Unfortunately, the osteological collections of the two offering pits are yet to be analyzed together, but as the above-cited numbers indicate, at the very least 33 llamas were offered and/or consumed in the ritual, which led to the formation of Pariti's two offering pits. Along with the high quality and rich iconography of the smashed ceramics, this gives a vivid idea of the great scale and importance of the ceremony. In addition to llama remains, Features 1 and 2 also contained horned coot (*Fulica cornuta*) bones and bone fragments as well as remains belonging to at least 15 individuals of an unidentified mammal species.

The Radiocarbon Dating of Pariti's Features 1 and 2

A large amount of charcoal was present throughout Features 1 and 2, strongly indicating that burning fires and/or incense was an integral part of the ceremonial activities that resulted in the formation of these offering pits. Whatever the reason for the charcoal in the two features, it provided us with plentiful samples for radiocarbon dating.

Five charcoal samples from Feature 1 and three from Feature 2 have been radiocarbon dated (Table 7.1). With the combine function of the program OxCal v.3.10, and using the Southern Hemisphere Atmospheric data from McCormac et al. (2004), the five Feature 1 dates give the results cal. AD 895 to 920 (24.8 percent), cal. AD 950 to 990 (43.4 percent) (1 sigma), and cal. AD 890 to 1000 (95.4 percent) (2 sigma) (χ^2 test: df = 4, T = 15.5(5% 9.5)). The three dates from Feature 2, on the other hand, give the combined results cal. AD 1020 to 1050 (28.3 percent), cal. AD 1080 to 1140 (39.9 percent) (1 sigma), and cal. AD 990 to 1150 (95.4 percent) (2 sigma) (χ^2: df = 2, T = 0.3(5% 6.0)). As the 2-sigma ranges of the features' combined dates overlap in the years AD 990 to 1000, it is quite probable that the ceremony leading to the formation of Pariti's Features 1 and 2 took place close to the year AD 1000. Combining all eight radiocarbon dates from the two features gives results that are in accordance with this inference: cal. AD 985 to 1020 (68.2 percent) (1-sigma) and cal. AD 980 to 1025 (95.4 percent) (2-sigma) (χ^2: df = 7, T = 29.5(5% 14.1)).

In addition to the eight charcoal samples discussed above, four charcoal samples and one sample of soot adhering to a ceramic sherd (Hela-1360), all collected close to Features 1 and 2, have been dated (Table 7.1). Of these five dates, two are a couple of centuries older than the Feature 1 and 2 dates, another two more or less similar in age to the offering pit dates, and the last one somewhat younger. Of course, variation in dates is to be expected, as we have excavated evidence of walls or wall foundations associated with two Tiwanaku Period building stages in the vicinity of Features 1 and 2. According to the most plausible scenario, the offering pits were formed during the ceremony of ritual closure of the structure(s) of the second building stage: a probable Tiwanaku temple. If this interpretation is correct, then the youngest date (Hela-1084), corresponding to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries AD, would indicate that the Tiwanaku settlement of Pariti, or the island of Pariti on the whole, was not totally abandoned following the closure of the hypothetical Tiwanaku temple.

The Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant Iconography of the Ceramics of Pariti's Features 1 and 2

Staff God and Profile Attendant iconography unites the two important Middle Horizon (ca. AD 550 to 1000) cultures of Tiwanaku and Wari, as well as the several other pre-Columbian societies participating in the SAIS or Southern Andean Iconographic Series (see Chapter 15, this volume; Isbell and Knobloch 2009). However, as was already noted by Bennett (1934) and has since been discussed by Dorothy Menzel (1977, cited in Isbell and Knobloch 2006), William H. Isbell (1987 and Chapter 15, this volume; Isbell and Cook 1987; Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009), Patricia J. Knobloch (1989 and Chapter 23, this volume; see also Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009), William J. Conklin (1991, 2009), Anita G. Cook (1994), Krzysztof Makowski (2002, 2009, and Chapter 21, this volume), and Carolina Agüero et al. (2003), in the Tiwanaku sphere of influence, this iconography was almost totally limited to stone

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 7.1. Radiocarbon dates from Pariti

Lab. Code	Sample	$\delta^{13}C$	BP	Calibrated Age (1-Sigma)	Calibrated Age (2-Sigma)
Feature 1					
Hela-954	Pariti 2 (Feature 1, depth c. 140 cm)	–24.8	1075 ± 45	AD 970–1050, 1080–1110	AD 890–1060, 1070–1150
Hela-955	Pariti 3 (Feature 1, depth c. 155 cm)	–25.3	1040 ± 40	AD 990–1050, 1080–1140	AD 980–1160
Hela-956	Pariti 4 (Feature 1, depth c. 205–210 cm)	–26.5	1240 ± 45	AD 770–900, 920–940	AD 690–750, 760–980
Hela-957	Pariti 5 (Feature 1, depth 234 cm)	–24.7	1195 ± 45	AD 860–990	AD 770–990
Hela-958	Pariti 6 (Feature 1, depth 265 cm)	–22.1	1180 ± 45	AD 880–990	AD 770–1010
Feature 2					
Hela-1081	Pariti 7 (Feature 2, depth 160 cm)	–23.4	1030 ± 45	AD 1010–1050, 1070–1150	AD 980–1160
Hela-1082	Pariti 8 (Feature 2, depth 225 cm)	–24.9	1005 ± 45	AD 1020–1060, 1070–1150	AD 990–1180
Hela-1083	Pariti 9 (Feature 2, depth 287 cm)	–24.6	1035 ± 40	AD 990–1050, 1080–1140	AD 980–1160
Miscellaneous					
Hela-953	Pariti 1 (Pit 2, depth c. 97 cm)	–22.7	1195 ± 45	AD 860–990	AD 770–990
Hela-1084	Pariti 10 (Pit 5, depth 143 cm)	–24.4	850 ± 40	AD 1210–1270	AD 1160–1290
Hela-1358	Pariti 13 (Pit 7, depth 94 cm)	–23.1	1425 ± 35	AD 630–685	AD 600–710, 740–770
Hela-1359	Pariti 14 (Pit 7, depth 110 cm)	–23.5	1305 ± 35	AD 680–810	AD 670–880
Hela-1360	Pariti 15 (Pit 11, depth 130 cm)	–24.0	1190 ± 35	AD 880–975	AD 780–790, 800–990

The calibrated one- and two-sigma ages were obtained using OxCal v.3.10 and following the calibration curve of McCormac et al. (2004).

sculptures, while in the Wari realm, it appeared painted on ceramic vessels and woven into textiles. The fact that monumental Tiwanaku stone sculptures are hard to date has long hindered the cross-dating of iconographic developments in the Tiwanaku and Wari spheres. Now, however, the securely dated material recovered in Pariti's Features 1 and 2 promises to considerably help in this endeavor, as 3 Pariti ceramic vessels feature a Staff God image, 16 vessels a Rayed Head, and 17 vessels Profile Attendant imagery.

Two of the Pariti Staff God images are more or less complete, while only a fragment of the third has been recovered. The larger and more elaborate complete Staff God decorates a *kero* 23.1 cm high (PRT 00154; Figures 7.24 and 7.25). The Staff God's modeled face displays tear bands ending in feline heads. A band containing interlocking frets encircles the face. The crown contains 13 appendages, including a tripartite tuft at top center and a feline head at each of the four corners, as well as four avian heads and four circled dots. The Staff God wears "suspenders" featuring Wari-like maize motifs and a belt from the bottom of which project four feline heads. Circled dots hang from the elbows, and fish head motifs project from the feet. The right-hand staff has an avian head at the bottom and a fish head and two circled dots at the top. The left-hand staff appears to represent a feline, which is crowned by a maize motif. The *kero* displaying this Staff God image apparently had a "near-pair" (PRT 00419; Figure 7.26), only a rather sizable fragment of which survives. However, the Staff God image of this second *kero* was not exactly identical to the first image discussed, as avian heads—not feline

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

heads—can be seen projecting from the bottom of the belt, and as the tear bands end in avian heads.

The second complete Staff God image decorates a *kero* that is only 8.3 cm high (PRT 00168; Figure 7.27). It is rather similar to the larger image discussed above, although somewhat less detailed. The face is slightly modeled, and the crown features 15 appendages (a rectangular tuft at top center, a feline head at each of the four corners, two avian heads, and eight circled dots). The two staffs are identical, featuring an avian head at the bottom and a three-filleted tuft at the top. Both feet point to the (figure's) right. Six anthropomorphic profile heads circle the slightly protruding exterior torus of the *kero*.

In addition to the 3 Pariti *keros* displaying a complete Staff God image, 16 large *keros* feature or once featured[23] a partially modeled frontal deity face (i.e., a Rayed Head). Typically, the face displays tear bands (quite often ending in avian heads) and is encircled by a band that contains interlocking frets (Figures 7.28 and 7.29). The number of crown appendages varies between 11 and 22, with 13 to 14 being the norm. A tripartite tuft—perhaps representing a diadem—always occupies the top center position (and, in five cases, also the bottom center position) among the appendages. At each of the four corners of the crown, there is always a ray ending in a feline head. Almost without exception, the remaining crown appendages end either in avian heads or in circled dots. The majority of the Rayed Head images are painted, but in two cases (PRT 00361 and 00481), the decoration surrounding the modeled face is incised. The Rayed Heads of the vessels PRT 00155 and 00482 rest on top of a stepped platform (Figure 7.29), which perhaps makes an allusion to Tiahuanaco's stepped temple mounds, the Akapana and the Puma Punku. All Pariti *keros* displaying a Rayed Head have a torus that is situated immediately above the mentioned image and displays six to nine rectangular motifs.

Figure 7.24. The *kero* PRT 00154 (height 23.1 cm) displays a partially modeled Staff God image.

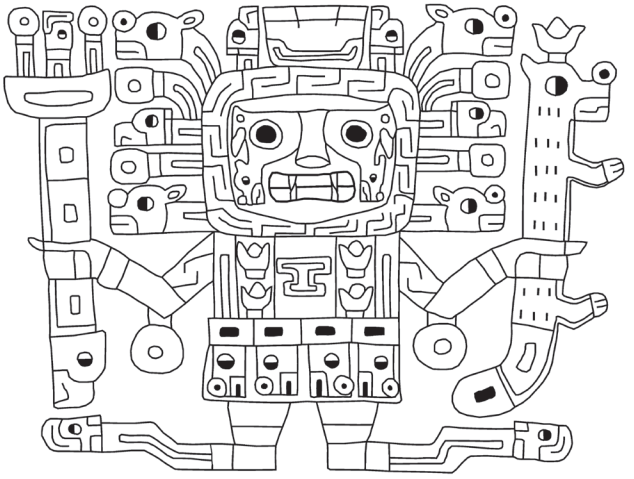


Figure 7.25. Staff God image decorating the *kero* PRT 00154. Redrawn from an original drawing by Juan Villanueva.

Figure 7.26. The *kero* fragment PRT 00419 (height 12.8 cm) comes from a vessel that was apparently the "near-pair" of the *kero* PRT 00154.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.27. Two views of the miniature *kero* PRT 00168 (height 8.3 cm) that displays a Staff God image and six trophy head motifs.

Twelve large Pariti *escudillas* and five bottles depict Profile Attendant iconography.[24] The interior flaring rim of the *escudillas* almost always displays five to six profile felines alternating with steps ending in avian heads. In the case of vessel PRT 00441, however, Profile Attendant motifs decorate both the interior rim and the exterior surface of the vessel. In each case, the exterior surface displays three identical repeats of a Profile Attendant image (Figures 7.30 and 7.31). Of the Profile Attendants on the 10 best-preserved *escudillas*, seven are avian-headed. The avian-headed Profile Attendants on the vessels PRT 00119 and 00447 most closely resemble the avian-headed Profile Attendants of Tiahuanaco's Sun Gate, even featuring in their crown the rather rare motif Posnansky (1945: I:121–122) interpreted as representing a snail (Figure 7.32). However, whereas the avian-headed Profile Attendants on the Sun Gate incorporate 13 fish head motifs each, the Pariti Attendants we are presently discussing are instead laden with avian symbolism. Additionally, all Profile Attendants of the Pariti *escudillas* seem a little "stretched" horizontally in comparison with their narrower counterparts carved in stone.

The bottoms of the staffs of the seven avian-headed Profile Attendants of the Pariti *escudillas* typically feature an avian head motif; however, the staff carried by the Profile Attendant of the vessel PRT 00129 has a peculiar (feline?) head motif at its base (Figure 7.33a). The avian head of the Profile Attendant on vessel PRT

Figure 7.28. The *kero* PRT 00235 (height 25.0 cm) displays a Rayed Head whose crown contains 14 appendages: a tripartite tuft both at top center and at bottom center, a feline head at each of the four corners, four avian heads, and four circled dots.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 7.29. The *kero* PRT 00482 (height 23.4 cm) features a Rayed Head that rests on a stepped platform.

00114 is framed by an interlocking fret band from which four anthropomorphic profile heads and two three-filleted tufts project (Figure 7.33b). In contrast, three connected circles hang from the beak of another Profile Attendant (PRT 00444; Figure 7.33c). These connected circles might, following Knobloch (2000), be interpreted as a reference to the hallucinogenic plant *Anadenanthera colubrina*.

The Profile Attendants on the *escudillas* PRT 00135 and 00441 are feline-headed. One carries a staff whose bottom features an avian head motif and whose curved top seems to represent the tail of a feline (Figure 7.34a). The bottom of the staff of the other feline-headed Profile Attendant displays an anthropomorphic profile head (Figure 7.34b). The head of the Profile Attendant of the vessel PRT 00438 is somewhat atypical; it resembles a feline head, but instead of the familiar circled dot motif, the nose is depicted by a slightly curved, two-colored motif (Figure 7.34c). The mouth of this last-mentioned Profile Attendant also has a pair of N-shaped canines.

Figure 7.30. The large *escudilla* PRT 00444 (rim diameter 25.2 cm) displays three identical repeats of an avian-headed Profile Attendant on its exterior surface.

Figure 7.31. The large *escudilla* PRT 00438 (rim diameter 28.5 cm), shown from the bottom, displays three identical repeats of a Profile Attendant on its exterior surface. See Figure 7.34c for details of the image.

In addition to *escudillas*, five Pariti bottles display Profile Attendant imagery. The painted decoration of each of these bottles seems to have consisted of two design registers, the lower of which typically displays two identical repeats of a Profile Attendant image.[25] The decoration of the upper design registers is generally quite faded, but this apparently displayed two more Profile Attendant images per vessel. Generally speaking, the Profile Attendants of the Pariti bottles are somewhat less detailed than their counterparts on *escudillas*; this is probably due to the fact that, on bottles, less space was available for painting.

The Profile Attendants of the bottles PRT 00093 (Figure 7.35), 00096 (Figure 7.36a), and 00327 are avian-headed. Each carries a staff featuring an avian head motif at the bottom and a (three-)filleted tuft at the top. The vessel PRT 00092 may have displayed similar images, as the staff carried by its (badly faded) Profile Attendants

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

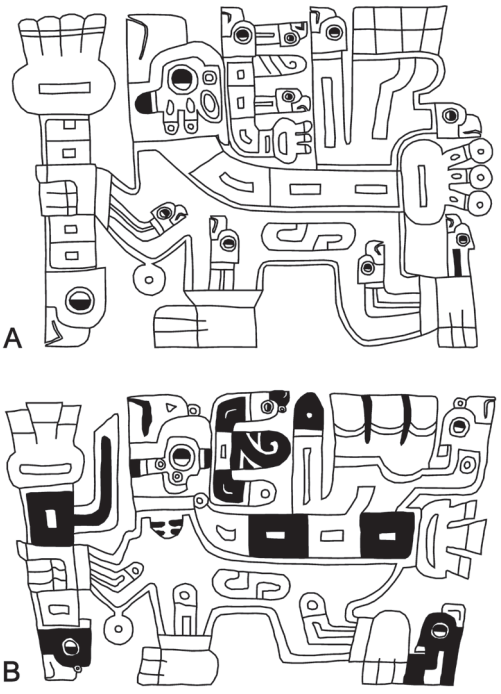


Figure 7.32. Profile Attendants of the large *escudillas* PRT (a) 00119 and (b) 00447. Redrawn from original drawings by Juan Villanueva.

also has an avian head at its bottom. The bottle PRT 00099, on the other hand, displays feline-headed Profile Attendants carrying a staff featuring a feline head at the bottom and a three-filleted tuft on top (Figures 7.36b and 7.37).

Discussion

The spectacularly rich archaeological record of the small island of Pariti (i.e., the high-quality ceramics and small gold ornaments recovered by our team, as well as the more plentiful gold artifacts found on the island in the first half of the twentieth century by Bennett and the Pacheco family) is probably related to the sacred and central role of Lake Titicaca in Andean mythology. In this context, it is important to note that, in addition to the principal valleys forming the Tiwanaku heartland, some of the islands of Lake Titicaca also housed important Tiwanaku sites. In their survey, Brian S. Bauer and Charles Stanish (2001; see also Stanish and Bauer 2004) located 28 Tiwanaku sites on the famous Island of the Sun and 2 on the Island of the Moon. Bauer and

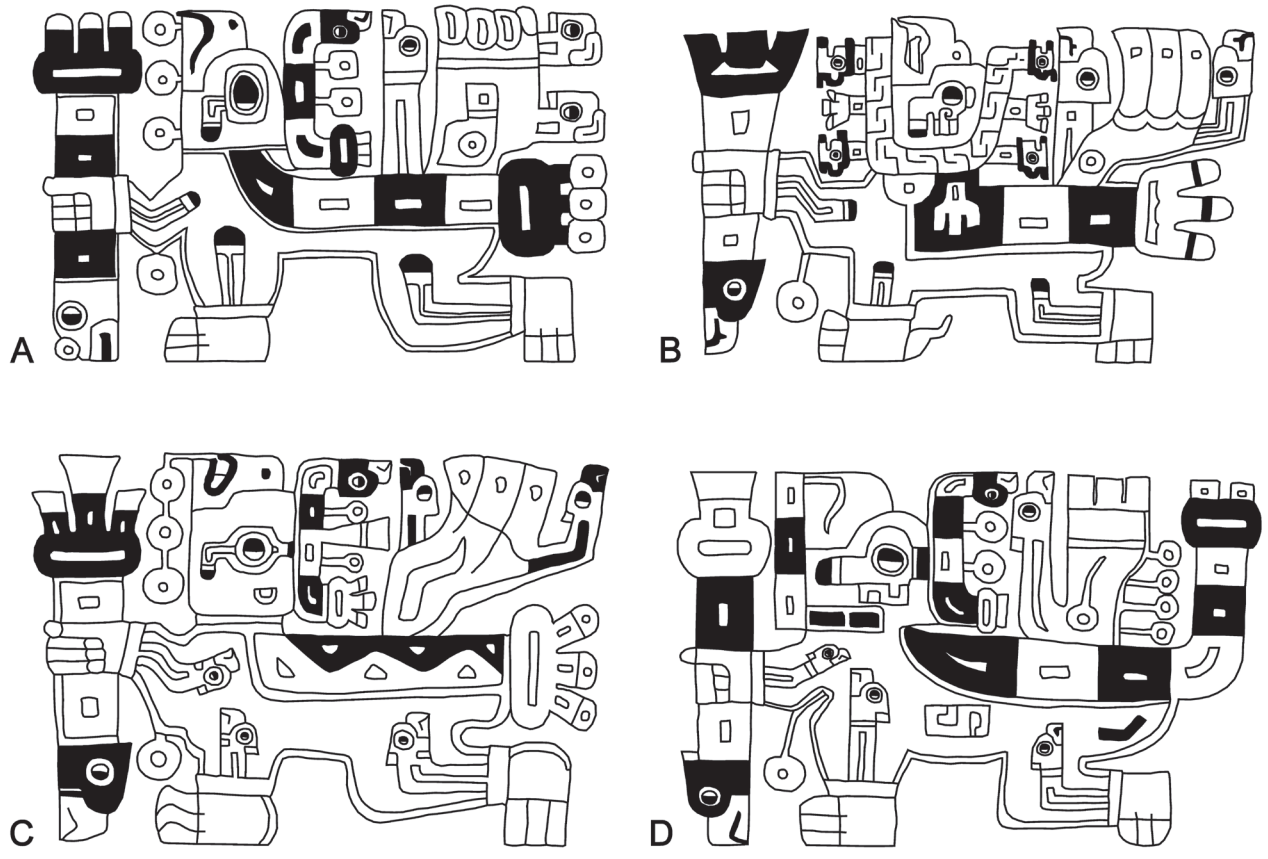


Figure 7.33. Profile Attendants of the large *escudillas* PRT (a) 00129, (b) 00114, (c) 00444, and (d) 00125. Redrawn from original drawings by Juan Villanueva.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

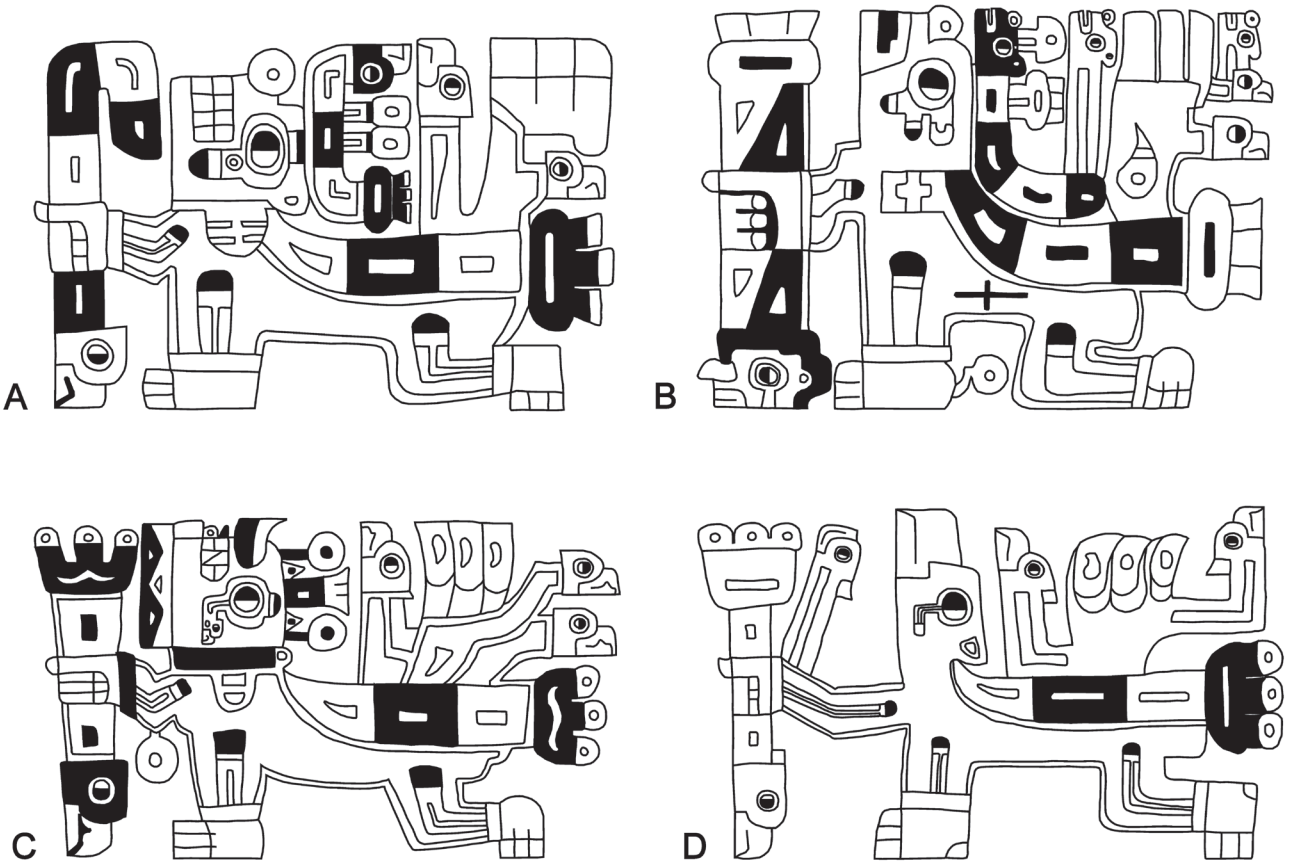


Figure 7.34. Profile Attendants of the large *escudillas* PRT (a) 00135, (b) 00441, (c) 00438, and (d) 00122. Redrawn from original drawings by Juan Villanueva.

Figure 7.35. Two views of the bottle PRT 00093 (height 19.0 cm) with both design registers displaying two identical repeats of an avian-headed Profile Attendant.

Stanish suggest that by ca. AD 650, these two islands had become a fundamental part of the Tiwanaku State.

On the Island of the Sun, the most important Tiwanaku sites were Wakuyu and Chucaripupata. Of these, the latter was situated close to the famous Sacred Rock—one of the most important Inca shrines. Bauer and Stanish hypothesize that the Sacred Rock had already become a major ritual object in the Tiwanaku era. On the Island of the Moon, Bauer and Stanish's excavations indicated that the Inca temple site of Iñak Uyu had a Tiwanaku Period occupation. This finding is supported by the research of Martti Pärssinen (2003:255–259, 2005:212–215), who has published similar evidence of a Tiwanaku presence at Iñak Uyu. Consequently, it seems that the Tiwanaku—like the Incas—appropriated the sacredness of Lake Titicaca for their own purposes. Our finds on Pariti are further proof of this apparent link between the sacred Lake Titicaca and the Tiwanaku State.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

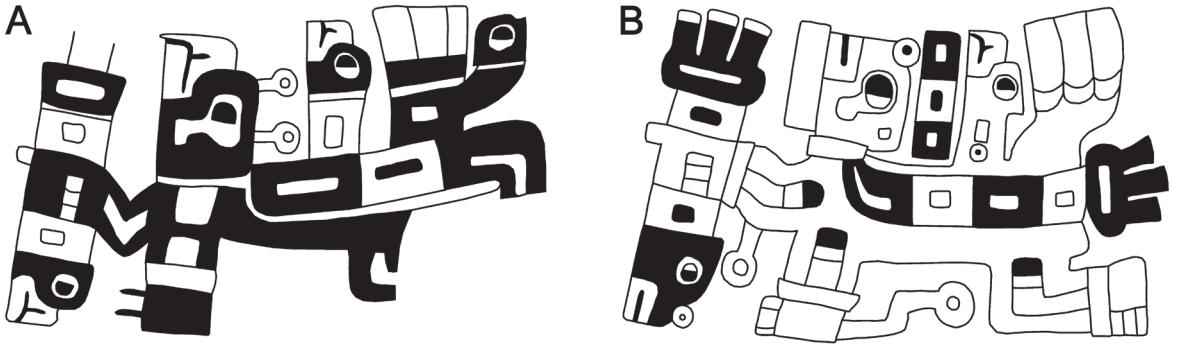


Figure 7.36. Profile Attendants from the bottles PRT (a) 00096 and (b) 00099. Redrawn from original drawings by Riikka Väisänen.

The secure radiocarbon dating of the Pariti ceramics is very important, as it offers us a good, temporally fixed starting point for checking and revising the chronology of many Tiwanaku vessel forms and iconographic motifs, recently discussed, for example, by John W. Janusek (2003) and Jo Ellen Burkholder (1997, 2002; Isbell and Burkholder 2002). The Pariti material proves that even though Tiwanaku iconography and vessel morphology undoubtedly changed during the long centuries of the Tiwanaku era, ceramic art objects of the highest quality continued to be manufactured at least until the end of the first millennium AD. Of course, one could always argue that many of the ceramic vessels whose sherds were deposited in Features 1 and 2 close to AD 1000 were curated in the hypothetical Tiwanaku temple of Pariti for an extended period of time and had indeed been manufactured a century or two prior to their ritual "killing." However, I regard such curation of the vessels in question for decades or centuries as highly unlikely, because, with the exception of small *escudillas*, the bases and surfaces of the Pariti vessels show very little evidence of use or mechanical wear. In the future, thermoluminescence dating of a sample of the Pariti vessels may help dissipate any lingering doubts regarding their manufacture date.

Figure 7.37. Two views of the bottle PRT 00099 (height 17.4 cm), which displays two identical repeats of a feline-headed Profile Attendant both in its upper and lower design registers.

Many characteristics of the ceramic assemblage of Pariti—both vessel forms and iconography—differ from those of the Tiwanaku ceramics of the Tiwanaku and Katari Valleys, as reported by Janusek (2003). Of course, these differences may be at least in part due to temporal variation between the Pariti material and the majority of the ceramics recovered at Tiahuanaco and other investigated Tiwanaku and Katari Valley sites. Regional variation must also be taken into consideration, and it is certainly possible that the Pariti material represents a particular ethnic (or other) component based in the Lake Titicaca area but still within the larger Tiwanaku sphere of influence. However, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss such issues in detail.[26]

Acknowledgments

The 2003–2006 investigations on Pariti formed part of the *Formations and Transformations of Ethnic Identities in the South Central Andes, AD 700–1825* project, funded by the University of Helsinki and The Finnish Cultural Foundation, and headed by Professor Martti Pärssinen. I directed the Pariti fieldwork together with Jédu Sagárnaga and Pärssinen. Riikka Väisänen, Risto Kesseli, Javier Mencias, Claudia M. Sejas Rivero, Marco Antonio Taborga, Tania M. Patiño Sánchez, Juan E. Villanueva Criales, Jenny Martínez, and María Soledad Fernández Murillo participated in the fieldwork and/or post-fieldwork. Additionally, Villanueva prepared the original drawings on which this chapter's Figures 7.25 and 7.32

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

to 7.34 are based, and Väisänen prepared those on which Figure 7.36 is based. Sarianna Silvonen consulted on the English of this article. My participation in the Santiago de Chile colloquium and writing of this article were made possible by the financial support of the Emil Aaltonen Foundation and Dumbarton Oaks. My thanks are due to all the aforementioned persons and institutions.

Notes

1 Bennett (1936:448) seems to be referring to this same find when he writes, "Sr. Pacheco said that a gold cup, five gold masks, and two Classic Tiahuanaco bowls accompanied by seven skulls, had been found just north of this burial" (i.e., the burial in Bennett's Trench 6).

2 Due to minor iconographic differences between the ceramics of Tiahuanaco and Pariti, Bennett (1936:455) states that the finds from Pariti "represent either a late Classic Tiahuanaco, or a close derivative of the Classic."

3 In five cases, the sherds of one paired vessel had been deposited in Feature 1, those of the other in Feature 2. Additionally, one of the paired *ch'alladores* (PRT 00077 and 00544) had been deposited intact in Feature 1, the other—also intact—in Feature 2 (see Figure 7.3).

4 For a more detailed typological treatment of the ceramics of Pariti's Features 1 and 2, see Väisänen (2008).

5 For further discussion on the topic of the Pariti *keros* displaying Rayed Head imagery, see below and see also Sagárnaga (2007).

6 The badly faded decoration on the body of this large *kero* (PRT 00282) seems to have displayed two staff-bearing profile felines (i.e., possible Profile Attendants).

7 Two more Pariti vessels—PRT 00077 and 00542—could be considered *ch'alladores*, as their bases are also perforated. However, these two vessels are morphologically so dissimilar to all the rest of the Pariti material that they have been omitted from the *ch'allador* count. Interestingly, one of the above-mentioned "outliers" (PRT 00542; see Sagárnaga and Korpisaari 2009:Figure 7) displays decorative glazing along its exterior and interior rim.

8 In addition to the eight *ch'alladores* with internal tubing discussed above, in Pariti's Features 1 and 2, we recovered four vessels morphologically resembling *ch'alladores* and having crosswise tubes in their interior but lacking the characteristic perforation in the base. A fifth vessel with similar characteristics is morphologically closer to a *kero* than a *ch'allador*.

9 Among the smallest of the Pariti *ch'alladores* is a pair of rather sparsely decorated vessels—PRT 00077 and 00544, already referred to in note 3—which apparently played some special role in the ritual filling of Features 1 and 2: both of these miniature vessels were recovered intact, whereas all the other 61 Pariti *ch'alladores* had been smashed to pieces. Furthermore, one of these paired vessels had been deposited in Feature 1, the other in Feature 2.

10 Additionally, two Pariti *tazones* are either totally undecorated or all trace of their original decoration has vanished.

11 For further discussion on the topic of the large *escudillas* of Feature 1 of Pariti, see Villanueva (2007).

12 In the Tiwanaku and Katari Valleys, *escudilla* sherds are mostly found in elite and ritual contexts (Janusek 2003:65–66). Consequently, the fact that *escudillas* make up ca. 19 percent of the vessels recovered in Pariti's Features 1 and 2 seemingly underlines the ceremonial and/or sacred nature of these contexts.

13 These vessels correspond to "Shape D, Vase" in Bennett's (1934) typology.

14 Pedestal bowls are rare at Tiahuanaco, coming only from the Akapana and Putuni (Janusek 2003:73). Consequently, the 24 Pariti pedestal bowls (again) point to the great importance of the ceremony (or ceremonies) that led to the formation of Features 1 and 2.

15 In one case, this modeled figurine attached close to the outside rim of a pedestal bowl depicts a human being, in another a monkey (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 24), and in the third a robust animal, probably a feline.

16 A fourth Pariti bowl (PRT 00528) stands on a portrait head pedestal too. However, in this case, the bowl is almost globular, for which reason I do not regard the vessel in question as belonging to the category of the (angular-sided) "proper" pedestal bowls.

17 However, two male effigy *vasijas* (Figure 7.22, vessel on the right; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 9; Korpisaari and Sagárnaga 2007:Figure 15) have a four-pointed base perhaps modeled after a fruit (i.e., these two effigies are considerably more abstract than the rest of the Pariti effigy vessels).

18 By contrast, a Tiwanaku female effigy vessel belonging to the collections of the British Museum portrays a female with an elaborate collar/necklace, bracelets, and a hole for a labret in her lower lip (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 5.16). Also, the image of a female wearing ear spools and a nose plug decorates one Wari oversized urn discovered at the site of Conchopata (Isbell and Cook 2002:Figure 9.13).

19 Interestingly, seven distinct four-vessel sets of Wari *keros* were recently recovered at the site of Cerro Baúl in the Moquegua Valley of present-day far south-coast Peru (Moseley et al. 2005).

20 However, at the present stage of excavations, we cannot be totally sure that other features were not dug and filled during or following the same ritual, in which case we would not be dealing with a pair of offerings.

21 This minimum number of individuals (33) is based on the count of right scapulae.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

22 This MNI count (16) is based on the number of right humeri documented.

23 The painted decoration surrounding the modeled face of the vessel PRT 00290 has all but completely disappeared, and that of the vessels PRT 00291 and 00337 has severely faded/eroded. Furthermore, the vessels PRT 00288 and 00361 are very fragmentary.

24 Of these 17 vessels, the decoration of two *escudillas* and two bottles is quite faded. Additionally, some of the *escudillas* are rather incomplete.

25 As an exception to this rule, the lower design register of the vessel PRT 00327 displays three identical repeats of a Profile Attendant image.

26 Since I submitted the revised version of this chapter in early 2009, I have expanded my treatment of many of the themes raised in the present text. In 2011, together with Pärssinen, I published a monograph on the ceremonial Tiwanaku pottery of Pariti (see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011). This work includes a chapter on Pariti's Features 1 and 2 as part of a South Central offering tradition spanning both the Tiwanaku and the Wari realms. I treat the latter theme even more extensively in a Spanish-language article published in 2015 (see Korpisaari 2015).

References

Agüero Piwonka, Carolina, Mauricio Uribe Rodríguez, and José Berenguer Rodríguez
2003 La iconografía Tiwanaku: el caso de la escultura lítica. *Textos Antropológicos* 14(2):47–82.

Bauer, Brian S., and Charles Stanish
2001 *Ritual and Pilgrimage in the Ancient Andes: The Islands of the Sun and the Moon*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Bennett, Wendell C.
1934 *Excavations at Tiahuanaco*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 34, Pt. 3. American Museum of Natural History, New York.
1936 *Excavations in Bolivia*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 35, Pt. 4. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Betanzos, Juan de
1996 [1557] *Narrative of the Incas*. Translated and edited by R. Hamilton and D. Buchanan from the Palma de Mallorca manuscript. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Burkholder, JoEllen
1997 Tiwanaku and the Anatomy of Time: A New Ceramic Chronology from the Iwawi Site, Department of La Paz, Bolivia. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York, Binghamton. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
2002 La cerámica de Tiwanaku: ¿qué indica su variabilidad? *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:217–249.

Callisaya Medina, Luis M.
2005 Análisis de los huesos de mamíferos y aves de Pariti. (Internal report of the Formations and Transformations of Ethnic Identities in the South Central Andes, A.D. 700–1825 project.) Manuscript on file, Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki.
2006 Análisis de los huesos de mamíferos y aves de Pariti (temporada 2005). (Internal report of the Formations and Transformations of Ethnic Identities in the South Central Andes, A.D. 700–1825 project.) Manuscript on file, Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki.

Conklin, William J.
1991 Tiahuanaco and Huari: Architectural Comparisons and Interpretations. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, pp. 281–291. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
2009 The Iconic Dimension in Tiwanaku Art. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 115–132. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Cook, Anita G.
1994 *Wari y Tiwanaku: entre el estilo y la imagen*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Cummins, Thomas B. F.
2002 *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Eisleb, Dieter, and Renate Strelow
1980 *Altperuanische Kulturen III: Tiahuanaco*. Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin, Berlin.

Fernández Murillo, María Soledad
2006 Informe preliminar de análisis cerámico de vasijas de servir. (Internal report of the Formations and Transformations of Ethnic Identities in the South Central Andes, AD 700–1825 project.) Manuscript on file, Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki.

Goldstein, Paul S.
2005 *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of South American Empire*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Isbell, William H.
1987 Conchopata, Ideological Innovator in Middle Horizon 1A. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:91–126.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Isbell, William H., and JoEllen Burkholder
2002 Iwawi and Tiwanaku. In *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 199–241. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Anita G. Cook
1987 Ideological Origins of an Andean Conquest State. *Archaeology* 40(4):27–33.
2002 A New Perspective on Conchopata and the Andean Middle Horizon. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 249–305. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.
2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development, and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 165–210. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Janusek, John W.
2003 Vessels, Time, and Society: Toward a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization 2: Urban and Rural Archaeology*, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 30–91. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Kesseli, Risto, Jédu A. Sagárnaga M., Antti Korpisaari, and Jonny Bustamante
2003 Informe sobre las investigaciones arqueológicas realizadas en torres funerarias de piedra de Taramaya, Provincia Los Andes, Agosto 2002. In *Reports of the Finnish-Bolivian Archaeological Project in the Bolivian Amazon, Vol. II*, edited by Ari Siiriäinen and Antti Korpisaari, pp. 97–120. Department of Archaeology, University of Helsinki, Helsinki.

Knobloch, Patricia J.
1989 Artisans of the Realm: Art of the Wari Empire and Its Contemporaries. In *Ancient Art of the Andean World*, edited by Shozo Masuda and Izumi Shimada, pp. 107–123. Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo. (English translation: http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~bharley/ArtisansoftheRealm.html)
2000 Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata: An Interpretation of *Anadenanthera colubrina* Iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* 11:387–402.

Korpisaari, Antti
2006 *Death in the Bolivian High Plateau: Burials and Tiwanaku Society*. BAR International Series 1536. Archaeopress, Oxford.
2015 Los depósitos de ofrendas tiwanakotas de la isla Pariti (Bolivia) como parte de una tradición de ofrendas del Horizonte Medio. In *El Horizonte Medio: nuevos aportes para el sur de Perú, norte de Chile y Bolivia*, edited by Antti Korpisaari and Juan Chacama, pp. 83–113. Institut Français d'Etudes Andines and Universidad de Tarapacá, Arica.

Korpisaari, Antti, and Martti Pärssinen
2005 *Pariti: isla, misterio y poder. El tesoro cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*. República de Bolivia and República de Finlandia, La Paz.
2011 *Pariti: The Ceremonial Tiwanaku Pottery of an Island in Lake Titicaca*. Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ 364. Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki.

Korpisaari, Antti, Ilari E. Sääksjärvi, and Matti Salo
2009 Evidencias de contactos entre la sierra, la ceja de selva y la selva baja en el arte de la cultura Tiwanaku. [Article to be published in the proceedings of the Andes, Amazonas y sus transformaciones workshop (St. Andrews, Scotland, September 20–23, 2006), edited by Tristan Platt, Isabelle Daillant, Mark Harris, and Gilles Rivière.] Manuscript on file, Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki.

Korpisaari, Antti, and Jédu A. Sagárnaga M.
2007 Investigaciones arqueológicas en la isla Pariti, Bolivia: temporadas de campo 2004, 2005 y 2006. *Chachapuma: Revista de Arqueología Boliviana* 1:7–30.
2009 Investigaciones arqueológicas en la isla Pariti, Bolivia: Temporada de campo 2004. *Andes: Boletín del Centro de Estudios Precolombinos de la Universidad de Varsovia* 7:387–410.

Korpisaari, Antti, Jédu A. Sagárnaga M., Risto Kesseli, and Jonny Bustamante
2003 Informe de las investigaciones arqueológicas realizadas en los cementerios tiwanakotas de Tiraska y Qiwaya, Departamento de La Paz, en la temporada de campo del 2002. In *Reports of the Finnish-Bolivian Archaeological Project in the Bolivian Amazon, Vol. II*, edited by Ari Siiriäinen and Antti Korpisaari, pp. 73–95. Department of Archaeology, University of Helsinki, Helsinki.

McCormac, F. G., A. G. Hogg, P. G. Blackwell, C. E. Buck, T. F. G. Higham, and P. J. Reimer
2004 SHCal04 Southern Hemisphere Calibration, 0–11.0 cal kyr BP. *Radiocarbon* 46:1087–1092.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Makowski, Krzysztof
2002 Los personajes frontales de báculos en la iconografía Tiahuanaco y Huari: ¿tema o convención? *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:337–373.
2009 Royal Statues, Staff Gods, and the Religious Ideology of the Prehistoric State of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 133–164. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Menzel, Dorothy
1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Moseley, Michael E., Donna J. Nash, Patrick Ryan Williams, Susan D. deFrance, Ana Miranda, and Mario Ruales
2005 Burning Down the Brewery: Establishing and Evacuating an Ancient Imperial Colony at Cerro Bául, Peru. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 102:17264–17271.

Pärssinen, Martti
2003 Copacabana: ¿el Nuevo Tiwanaku? Hacia una comprensión multidisciplinaria sobre las secuencias culturales post-tiwanacotas de Pacasa, Bolivia. In *Los Andes: cincuenta años después (1953–2003). Homenaje a John Murra*, edited by Ana María Lorandi, Carmen Salazar-Soler, and Nathan Wachtel, pp. 229–280. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2005 *Caquiaviri y la provincia Pacasa: desde el Alto-Formativo hasta la Conquista Española (1–1533)*. Maestría en Historias Andinas y Amazónicas (Universidad Mayor de San Andrés), Colegio Nacional de Historiadores de Bolivia, and CIMA, La Paz.

Posnansky, Arthur
1945 *Tiahuanacu: la cuna del hombre americano/The Cradle of American Man*. Vols. I–II. J. J. Augustin, New York.
1957 *Tiahuanacu: la cuna del hombre americano/The Cradle of American Man*. Vols. III–IV. Ministerio de Educación, La Paz.

Rowe, John H.
1961 The Chronology of Inca Wooden Cups. In *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, edited by Samuel K. Lothrop et al., pp. 317–341. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Sagárnaga M., Jédu A.
2007 Máscaras y culto en Tiwanaku. *Chachapuma: Revista de Arqueología Boliviana* 1:31–51.

Sagárnaga M., Jédu A., and Antti Korpisaari
2007 Hallazgos en la isla de Pariti echan nuevas luces sobre los "chachapumas" tiwanakotas. *Chachapuma: Revista de Arqueología Boliviana* 2:5–28.
2009 Investigaciones arqueológicas en la isla Pariti, Bolivia: Temporada de campo 2005. *Andes: Boletín del Centro de Estudios Precolombinos de la Universidad de Varsovia* 7:411–429.

Šolc, Václav
1965 Observaciones preliminares sobre investigaciones arqueológicas en la región de las islas, en el lago Titicaca. *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* 25:17–23.
1969 *Los Aymaras de las islas del Titicaca*. Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Mexico City.

Stanish, Charles, and Brian S. Bauer
2004 The Settlement History of the Island of the Sun. In *Archaeological Research on the Islands of the Sun and Moon, Lake Titicaca, Bolivia: Final Results from the Proyecto Tiksi Kjarka*, edited by Charles Stanish and Brian S. Bauer, pp. 21–42. Monograph 52. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, Los Angeles.

Väisänen, Riikka
2008 Pacha Mama's Treasures: A Study of the Morphological Types of Ceremonial Tiwanaku Ceramics Found on the Island of Pariti, Lake Titicaca, Bolivia. Master's thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Helsinki.

Villanueva Criales, Juan E.
2007 Las escudillas del Rasgo 1 en la isla de Pariti: interpretación y consideraciones desde un enfoque iconográfico. *Chachapuma: Revista de Arqueología Boliviana* 1:53–63.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret (editor)
2004 *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 8: Introduction

The Tiwanaku Style in Cochabamba
How "Derived" Was It?

William H. Isbell

Chapter 8, by Karen Anderson, is a breakthrough presentation arguing that an authentic Tiwanaku style of ceramics was produced in Middle Horizon Cochabamba, not some kind of "derived" variant. Indeed, Anderson demonstrates that this Cochabamba pottery was produced by potters carefully trained by knowledgeable Tiahuanaco heartlanders, if not by altiplano migrants themselves. Although she is cautious about drawing the next inference, that Tiwanaku colonized the Cochabamba valleys, Anderson's analytical results are convincing. However, I am oversimplifying her systematic discussion and data-rich presentation.

First, as she points out, it is important to realize that the Cochabamba valleys constitute a vast area, more or less the territorial equivalent of the southern altiplano, Tiahuanaco's heartland. It is also important to realize that this landscape includes large and deep valleys that were the highly productive homelands of many inhabitants. Furthermore, the pre–Middle Horizon archaeology of Cochabamba is rich in ceramic styles and includes some of the largest artificial mounds in South America, whether they should be recognized more as tell-like middens or more as artificial pyramids. Indeed, Cochabamba was a significant center of Andean culture and population, but its prehistory has remained little known internationally. This is despite a strong local tradition of archaeological scholarship maintained by the museum of the University of San Simon, whose founder was the Argentine prehistorian Dick Edgar Ibarra Grasso. Anderson's chapter is one of a few Cochabamba contributions presented for international distribution and offers a valuable set of information, including excellent photographs. Andean prehistorians may hope that this will initiate a greater dialogue between the community of Cochabamba scholars and their international colleagues.

Perhaps because it has received so little international recognition (with many publications available only locally) Cochabamba prehistory has remained enigmatic, stimulating speculation and debate. Certainly, one of the most provocative issues has been the nature and history of Tiwanaku influence in the Cochabamba region, and radically different answers have been proffered. Did the valleys become a province within a Tiwanaku empire, colonized and administered by highlanders from the altiplano? Or was Tiwanaku influence limited to religion and/or a new international identity and etiquette, which involved select objects that promoted long-distance relationships? Did influence come directly from Tiahuanaco, or was it part of a greater Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) sphere? Did foreign objects include the tools of quotidian life, or were they limited to special paraphernalia such as grave furnishings? Based on earlier and quite fragmentary information, Carlos Ponce Sanginés (1985) affirmed the imperial nature of Tiwanaku in Cochabamba. On

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

the other hand, Alvaro Higueras-Hare (1996) declared to the contrary, based on a settlement pattern survey in the Capinota Valley (a smaller section of Anderson's Western Cochabamba Valleys).

This raises one of Anderson's initial points: the Tiahuanaco heartland was never characterized by a uniform ceramic style, and there is clear evidence that the Cochabamba valleys were not either. Indeed, there is no "Cochabamba Tiwanaku style" but several—and perhaps numerous—styles. To discuss this more cogently, Anderson distinguishes the Western Cochabamba Valleys, the Eastern Cochabamba Valleys, and the Far Cochabamba Valleys, whose distances from Tiwanaku increase as their sizes and elevations decrease. Anderson's research and her case study are in the "Central Valley," the largest segment of the Western Cochabamba Valleys, where she employs ceramic information from the sites of Piñami and Quillacollo. Significantly, the Western Cochabamba Valleys produce the largest agricultural harvests, had the biggest populations, and were famous throughout Bolivia for excellent corn. Even more renowned is the chicha beer brewed from Cochabamba corn, and it seems likely that this is an age-old tradition. If the kero ceramic shape was a beer flagon, as many archaeologists believe, its oldest manifestation is best ascribed to Cochabamba, where variations of the shape appeared well before the Middle Horizon and Tiwanaku influence (Anderson, Figure 8.16).

Anderson employs the long-popular chronological phases of Tiwanaku IV (subdivided into Early and Late) and Tiwanaku V for cross-dating between Cochabamba and the altiplano. Of course, these are problematic units for some scholars doubt that they represent actually distinct periods of time. Some reconsideration may be needed as archaeologists gain a more thorough control of ceramic variation in the sphere of the Tiahuanaco heartland. In the meantime, Tiwanaku influence in Cochabamba begins with the Illataco Phase, cross-dated with Late Tiwanaku IV, and includes a mixture of local styles with foreign-style import ceramics.

The second stylistic period within the Middle Horizon, the Piñami Phase, is cross-dated with Tiwanaku V, taken by Anderson to represent a time of greater political centralization at the Tiahuanaco capital. And during this time in the Central Valley of Cochabamba's Western Valleys, people living at Piñami and Quillacollo consumed a remarkably Tiahuanaco-like style of pottery—nearly exclusively.

Anderson examines Tiwanaku pottery from Piñami and Quillacollo very rigorously, making systematic comparisons with heartland Tiahuanaco styles. She considers form and iconography, including specifics of vessel shape, design symmetry, details of banding, and other characteristics. She also examines production technology, as well as issues of use practice—especially the high frequency of serving vessels apparently associated with feasting. Except for slight differences in color that probably relate to different pigments available in the different regions, correspondences are impressive. Anderson concludes that "not only was the [Tiwanaku] ceramic style adopted, but also the whole behavior surrounding the use of Tiwanaku pottery, as evidenced by the high percentages and varied use contexts of [Central Valley Cochabamba Tiwanaku] fineware."

So, can we finally conclude whether Cochabamba, or at least its Central Valley of the Western Cochabamba Valleys, was colonized by altiplano migrants? The case seems convincing for Piñama and Quillacolla, making this chapter a groundbreaking contribution to understanding the nature and development of Tiwanaku and its contribution to the SAIS. Of course, comparative data from other Middle Horizon settlements will help confirm the magnitude of Tiwanaku colonization in Cochabamba's Central Valley, and bioarchaeological as well as other kinds of information will contribute better understandings of Middle Horizon cultural, political, and demographic processes as well. Furthermore, it is entirely possible that cultural processes in the Central Valley differed considerably from those of the other areas, especially the Eastern and Far Cochabamba Valleys. In the meantime, Anderson's analyses suggest that Tiwanaku in Cochabamba behaved more like an empire than many archaeologists imagined, inserting colonial settlers in at least some sites and interacting significantly with the local population. Were these colonies administered from the altiplano center? And even if so, this does not mean that a new international identity and etiquette were not as significant in Cochabamba culture change as the intrusion of altiplano colonies. Furthermore, what did Cochabamba contribute to Tiwanaku and the greater SAIS sphere? Was the kero drinking vessel originally a Cochabamba shape, spread to Tiahuanaco and other areas from these eastern Bolivian valleys? Or was the kero already a widespread vessel form—involved in a greater behavior repertoire—from times preceding the Middle Horizon? With each new understanding come new questions as well. But Anderson's careful scholarship provides important new understandings about Cochabamba, Tiwanaku, and the SAIS.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

To make it clear, when Anderson refers to the Tiwahuanaco center and when she refers to the broadly spread Tiahuanaco style, the editors have modified spelling to conform with Isbell's preference of Tiahuanaco for the type site and Tiwanaku for the widespread style.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Higueras-Hare, Alvaro
1996 Prehispanic Settlement and Land-Use in Cochabamba, Bolivia. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos
1985 *Panorama de la Arqueologia Boliviana*. Libreria y Editorial "Juventud," La Paz.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 8

The Tiwanaku Style in Cochabamba
How "Derived" Was It?

Karen Anderson

In 1934, Bennett published "Excavations at Tiwanaku," in which he presented his now-famous definitions of the Classic and Decadent ceramic styles of the Tiwanaku state (Bennett 1934). After excavating in Cochabamba, ~300 km to the southeast of Tiwanaku (Figure 8.1), Bennett concluded that "the influence of Tiahuanaco on the ceramics of the Cochabamba section is soundly established. Similarities of colors, shapes and designs between Highland Tiahuanaco and Cochabamba leave no doubt as to the relationship" (Bennett 1936:402). But differences between the styles led Bennett to coin the term "Derived Tiwanaku" "to indicate the relationship of the best Cochabamba material to the Classic Highland type" [that includes] "numerous local modifications of both shapes and design" (Bennett 1936:402).

Later scholars have continued to expound on differences between the highland style and the Cochabamba version of it. Ibarra Grasso (1965) preferred the term "Expansive Tiahuanaco" to denote that the style found its way to Cochabamba during the "Expansive" Phase of Tiwanaku political development. He agreed with Bennett that it was similar to the Classic style with "some differences: there are fewer [vessel] forms and motifs and instead we find distinct [vessel] forms and some new geometric motifs" (Ibarra Grasso 1973:206, translation by author).

Significantly, "Derived Tiahuanaco" and other eastern styles have been found as imports at Tiahuanaco itself (Rivera Casanovas 1994:186). In excavations at Ch'iji Jawira, on the outskirts of the Tiahuanaco urban area, Rivera also noted in the iconography a common "fusion of the Tiwanaku and Omereque styles" (Rivera Casanovas 1994:187, translation by author). (Editor's note: Omereque is a regional Cochabamba polychrome ceramic style that often appears together with Tiwanaku materials. Initially it may have preceded Tiwanaku, but there is little doubt that it was a contemporary but local style.)

Janusek, in his extensive studies of the Tiwanaku style and its variations (Janusek 2002, 2003), considered the differences between highland Tiwanaku and Cochabamba styles, noting that "this was an expansive style in the sense that the stylistic complex clearly emerged as a result of the incorporation and synthesis of nonlocal with Tiwanaku iconography and ideology" (Janusek 2003:75).

Thus, since its early description as Derived Tiwanaku, the "Cochabamba Tiwanaku" style has generally been seen as distinct enough from highland Tiwanaku to be easily identifiable as a deviation from the true Tiwanaku style. That perceived difference in turn has implications for our models of political interaction between Tiwanaku and Cochabamba with stylistic variation supporting the argument that the Cochabamba region as a whole was more politically independent of Tiwanaku than some other peripheries such as Moquegua. The question then becomes, just how "Derived" was the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

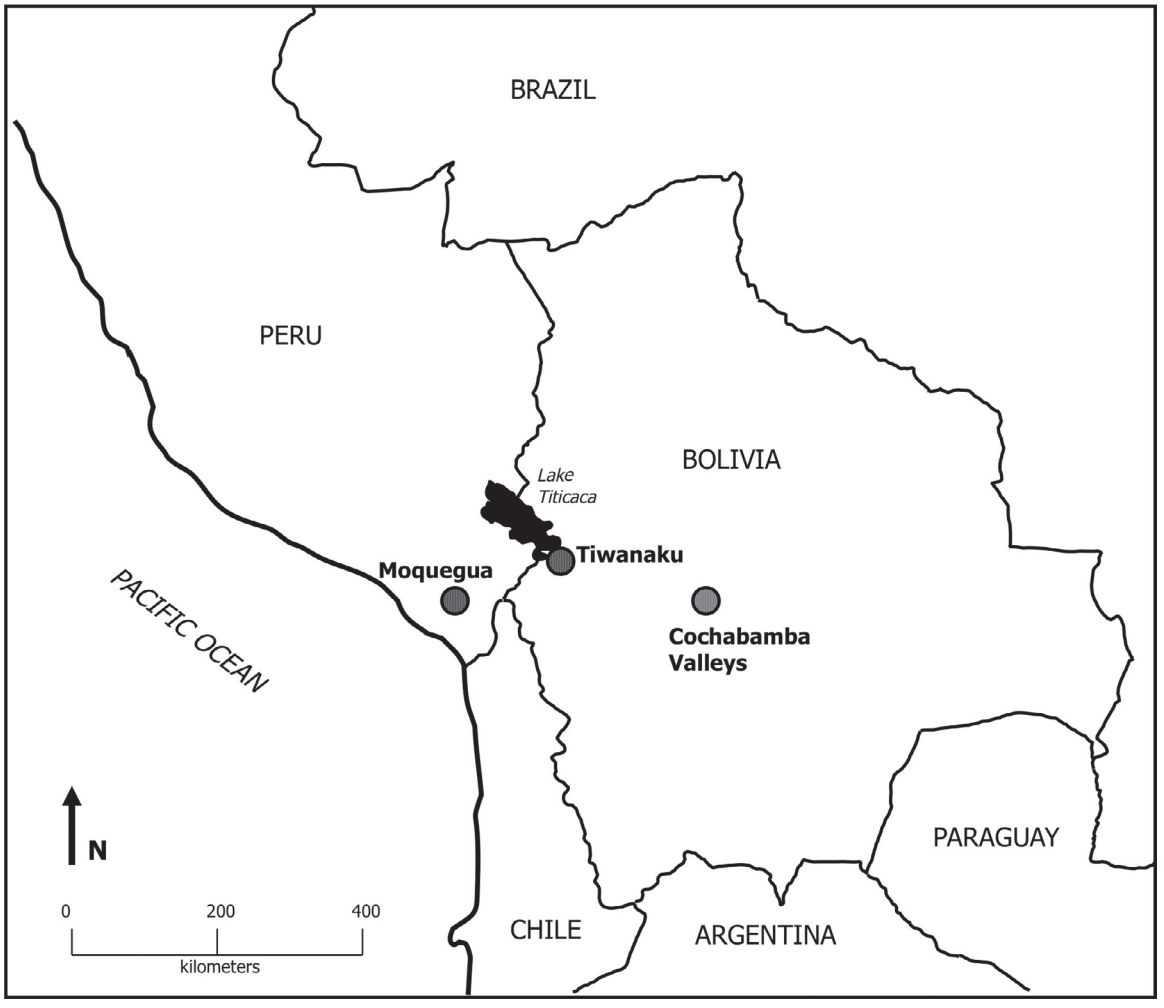


Figure 8.1. Map of the South-Central Andes showing Tiwanaku and key peripheries.

Tiwanaku style of Cochabamba? Are Tiwanaku ceramics from Cochabamba truly distinct from the highland style to an extent that separates the Cochabamba Tiwanaku style from that found in the core or in other peripheries?

One Style or Many?

Which Tiwanaku?

Bennett faced what likely seemed to him a straightforward question: does the Cochabamba material reflect Classic Tiwanaku, Decadent Tiwanaku, or neither? The question itself has turned out to be misleading, as new research has shown that the Tiwanaku style was not uniform even in the heartland. Instead of a consistent Classic style throughout the core, there is discernible variation between subregions, sites, and even neighborhoods at Tiwanaku in preferred motifs, forms, slip colors, pastes, paints, technical virtuosity, and so on (Alconini Mujíca 1993; Bermann 1990, 1994; Burkholder 1997; Couture 2002; Janusek 2002, 2003; Rivera Casanovas 1994, 2003). (Editor's note: Many current scholars believe that Bennett's [1934] original Classic and Decadent Tiahuanaco styles, which are the precursors of Ponce Sanginés's [1976] Tiwanaku IV and V—as well as Janusek's [2008] Tiwanaku 1 and 2—are not primarily temporal phases, but overlapping styles associated with different Tiwanaku ethnicities/identities.)

Peripheries likewise show preferences for certain form variations and motifs. For example, in the Katari basin to the east of Tiahuanaco, the local Tiwanaku style included a distinctive tanware (Bermann 1994; Janusek 2003), and in the Moquegua Valley to the west of Tiahuanaco, Goldstein identified two distinct and contemporaneous Tiwanaku styles, Omo and Chen Chen (Goldstein 2005 and Chapter 9, this volume). Therefore, although there is an overarching Tiwanaku style, local

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

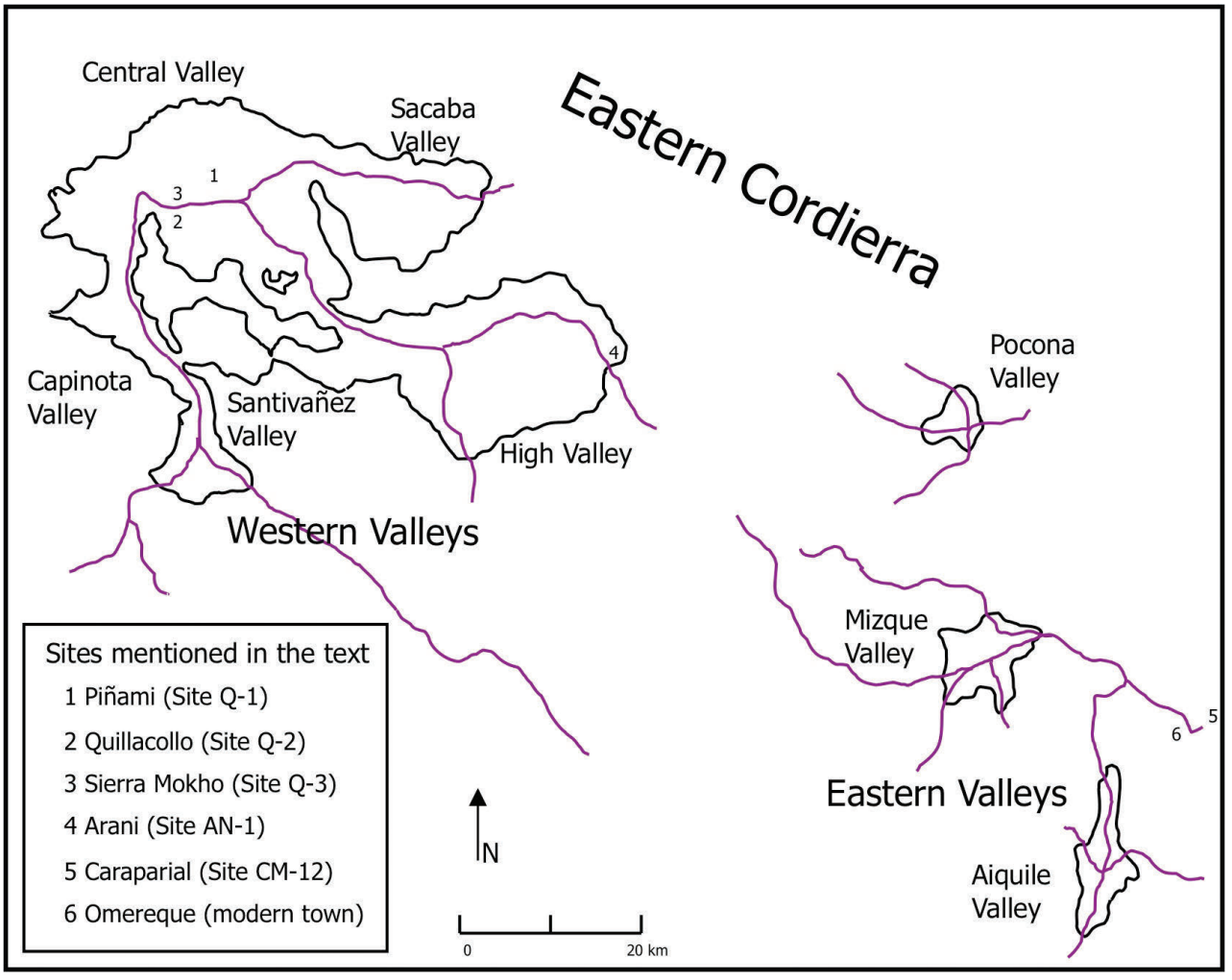


Figure 8.2. Map of Cochabamba valleys and sites mentioned in the text.

production was the norm and local social identity could be expressed via slight variations in iconography, vessel form, color, and so on (Janusek 2002, 2003). Our question, then, is not whether Cochabamba Tiwanaku ceramics match a single "Tiwanaku" style but whether it fits into the typical range of variability. Additionally, since there is notable variation in the heartland, we can also examine whether one or more specific regions in the Tiwanaku core especially influenced developments in Cochabamba.

Which Cochabamba? Our definition of the "Cochabamba" style is also problematic. Material from Cochabamba found in the highlands is most commonly referred to as just that: "from Cochabamba" (Goldstein 2005; Higueras-Hare 1996; Janusek 2003; Rivera Casanovas 1994). However, the area of Cochabamba is enormous; its fertile valleys extend over 160 km from east to west and are spread out in a region of approximately 14,000 km^2 (Figure 8.2). These valleys together are similar in total area to the southern Titicaca Basin, and Cochabamba's Central Valley alone is roughly the same size as the Tiwanaku Valley. Given the extent of the Cochabamba region, we might expect as great a range of variation as that characterizing the highland Tiwanaku style. We should also expect that Tiwanaku would not necessarily have had the same level of interaction with each of the Cochabamba valleys and that, therefore, the Tiwanaku style found in some regions of Cochabamba might more closely resemble the highland style than others.

In fact, Bennett did identify variation in the Tiwanaku material found in Cochabamba. In his early studies, he treated the western group of valleys, which he labeled the "Cochabamba Section," separately from the Mizque Valley and the Rio Mizque drainage, which he referred to as the "Mizque Section" (Bennett 1936:375–376, Figure

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

11). Bennett felt that the Tiwanaku material from each section was distinct and that the Cochabamba Section material more closely resembled the highland Classic style. In fact, his "Derived Tiahuanaco" style only pertained to the western Cochabamba Section (Bennett 1936:386). He identified a second Tiwanaku-related style for the Mizque Section, which he called "Mizque Tiahuanaco" that incorporated more local traits than his Derived Tiahuanaco style (Bennett 1936:387).[1]

Recent survey and excavation has only underscored the need to separately consider the far-flung regions of the modern department of Cochabamba. Excavations in the Central Valley in western Cochabamba show that by the Late Middle Horizon, Tiwanaku material comprised ~90 percent of all decorated ceramics (Anderson 1999, 2009; Céspedes Paz 2000; Céspedes Paz et al. 1994). Higueras-Hare's surface collections in nearby Capinota Valley likewise reported that Tiwanaku sherds made up close to 90 percent of Middle Horizon decorated ware styles.[2] By contrast, Higueras-Hare's surface collection in the Mizque Valley yielded significantly fewer Tiwanaku-style sherds, at around 70 percent of Middle Horizon decorated ware (Higueras-Hare 1996). My analysis of Céspedes Paz's excavation at Caraparial, in the east of Bennett's Mizque Section, shows that the percentage of Tiwanaku sherds drops precipitously to less than 20 percent of decorated ceramics (Anderson 1999). This pattern of decrease in Tiwanaku artifacts from west to east strongly suggests that the level of Tiwanaku influence was very high in the westernmost of the Cochabamba valleys, somewhat less in the eastern valleys, and substantially less still farther east. In keeping with this pattern, I provisionally divide Cochabamba into three sections: the Western Valleys (the five valleys closest to Tiwanaku, Bennett's Cochabamba Section), the Eastern Valleys (three valleys, including the western part of Bennett's Mizque Section), and the Far Valleys, which are narrow river valleys to the east of the Mizque Valley (see Figure 8.2 for location of the Western and the Eastern Valleys).

Refining the Questions. To avoid the confusions of the past, we need to examine a collection of well-provenienced Tiwanaku ceramics from one of the Western Valleys and establish how it relates to the variability typically found within the highland Tiwanaku style. This means that we should not only look for ways to distinguish Cochabamba materials from Tiwanaku but also establish a measure of the degree of similarity—to get an idea of how consistently our "Cochabamba" Tiwanaku ceramics express key aspects of the Tiwanaku style. I argue that comparing a variety of attributes of the style, including iconography, production techniques, vessel forms, and use practices, provides a robust method for assessing the similarities and differences between the Tiwanaku material of Cochabamba and that of the highlands.

For the current analysis, I focus on the Tiwanaku style found in the Central Valley of Cochabamba (Figure 8.2). Among the Western Valleys, the Central Valley is especially important since it is one of the closest to Tiwanaku, is the most productive agriculturally of all the valleys, and is known to have had strong ties to Tiwanaku (Anderson 1999, 2009, in prep; Anderson and Céspedes Paz 1998; Céspedes Paz 2000; Céspedes Paz et al. 1994) and thus is a good candidate for examining whether the locally produced Tiwanaku material fits into or significantly deviates from the Tiwanaku style of the highlands.

This chapter examines Cochabamba Tiwanaku ceramics based on excavations at two long-term habitation sites from the flatlands of the Central Valley, Piñami (Q-1) and Quillacollo (Q-2) (Figure 8.2). The data from Piñami are the result of a multiyear excavation project that I directed from 2002 to 2005 that includes both domestic and mortuary contexts. These data are supplemented by ceramic evidence from a salvage excavation I participated in at the site of Quillacollo, directed by Céspedes Paz in 1993 (Céspedes Paz et al. 1994).[3] It should be noted that Piñami and Quillacollo are located approximately 50 km closer to Tiwanaku than Bennett's Middle Horizon excavation site Arani (AN-1) located to the east of the High Valley (Figure 8.2), which he used as the basis of his definition of Derived Tiahuanaco (Bennett 1936). Since we do not yet know the level of stylistic variability within the Western Valleys, I am calling the locally produced Tiwanaku material found at Central Valley sites the "Central Valley Cochabamba Tiwanaku" style (CVCT).[4] I will describe CVCT using four major aspects—form, iconography, technology, and use practices—and will compare the CVCT style to the highland Tiwanaku styles and Cochabamba regional styles.

Comparing Tiwanaku and Cochabamba Styles

Style Analysis

To understand how fully the CVCT style replicated the highland style and in what ways it differed, we need to look at a variety of stylistic attributes. These can be subdivided into those aspects that are more visible and easier to copy, such as major motif, color, form, and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

shininess, and those that are more subtle, such as symmetries and framing lines and less visible aspects of the production process. The highly visible aspects of style are those that are easier to copy by just seeing a vessel, even from a distance, whereas the more subtle aspects tend to indicate close examination of foreign vessels themselves and contact with the potters who make them; adoption of the least visible aspects of a style suggests training by potters conversant in the style (Bowser 2002; Gosselain 1992, 1998; Rice 1987; Washburn 1977). Thus, a detailed stylistic analysis can have implications for our understanding of the corresponding social processes involved in the adoption of the CVCT style.

Definition of Terms for Symmetry Analysis. While most of the terms used to describe ceramic styles such as burnishing, slip color, or motif are generally understood, the terms for ceramics symmetry patterns are less so. Since I compare symmetry patterns throughout this discussion, I will define some of the key terms using concepts and vocabulary developed by Washburn (1977). These include four terms to describe how motifs are repeated on a vessel: translation, reflection, reflection with slide, and rotation. In addition, Washburn notes the importance of whether rotated motifs are left side-by-side or interlocking and uses the term "counterchange" to describe whether the color pattern changes as the motif is repeated (Figure 8.3). In summary, the key terms I use are as follows:

Translation is the repetition of the main motif along a line axis.

Reflection is when the fundamental parts of the design are reflected across a line axis producing a mirror image.

Slide reflection is when the parts are reflected across a line and then translated along the same axis.

Rotation is when the fundamental parts of the design are rotated around a point.

Interlocking designs are those that are rotated in such a way that they are made to fit together.

Counterchange is color alternation between repeated motifs. Counterchange is most often alternation between two colors, but some styles use three or more.

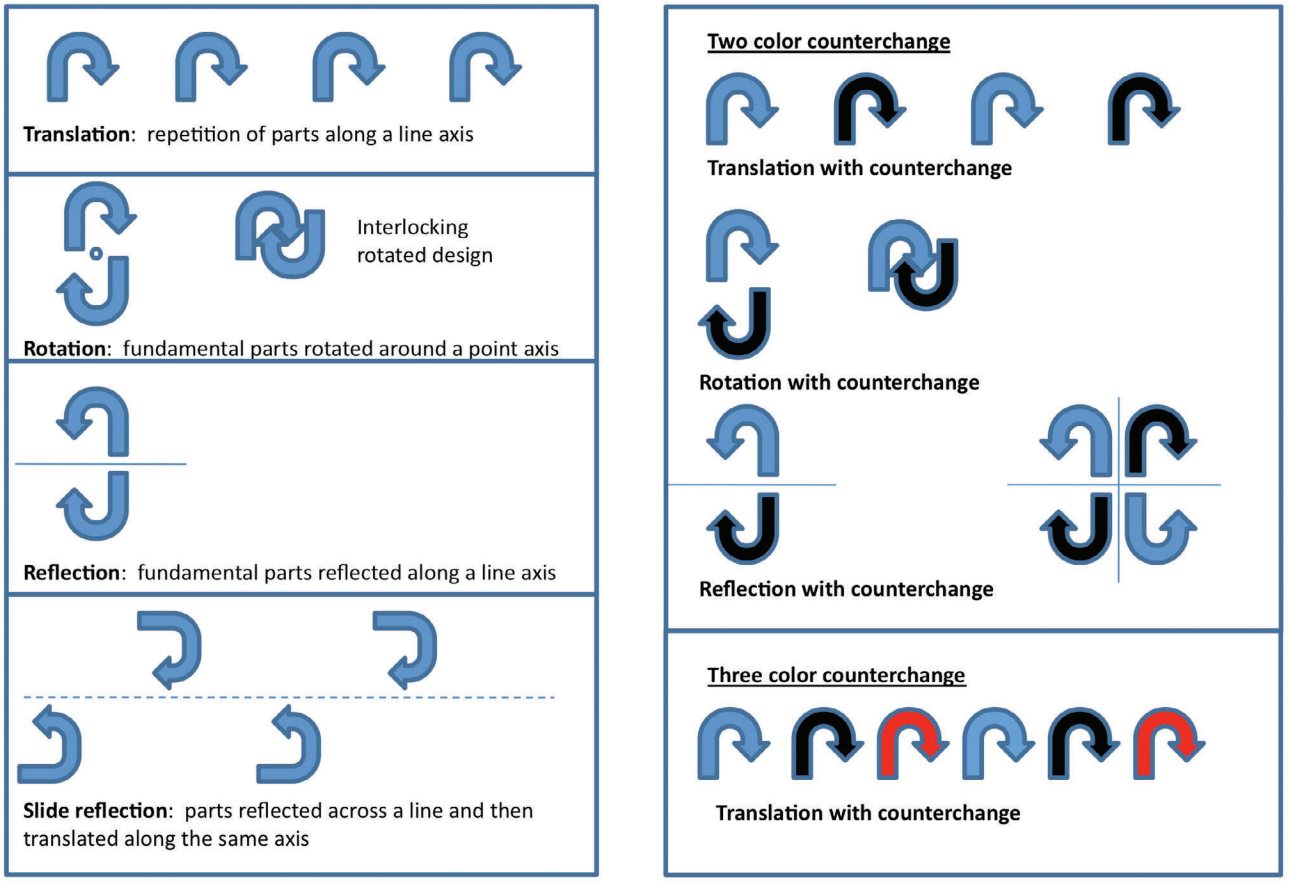


Figure 8.3. Definitions of symmetry terms used in text. (a) Basic symmetry motions between design repetitions (b) Key types of counterchange, color alternation between design repetitions.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chronology and Regional Cochabamba Styles

To be able to tell whether the CVCT style combines local and Tiwanaku traits, it is necessary to briefly review the local styles, whether precursors to the period of Tiwanaku contact or contemporaneous with it. The time periods to be considered include the Late Formative Period (AD ~200 to ~650), occurring immediately prior to Tiwanaku contact and characterized by the appearance of a variety of local painted styles, and the Middle Horizon (AD ~650 to ~1100), defined by the presence of Tiwanaku-style ceramics. The AD 650 date for the beginning of the Middle Horizon in Cochabamba is an approximation based on four somewhat inconsistent radiocarbon dates (Céspedes Paz et al. 1994; Döllerer 2004:7; Rivera Casanovas 1994:185 citing Céspedes Paz), as well as comparisons with temporally diagnostic ceramics from the highlands (Anderson 2013; Janusek 2003).

Changes in the variety and frequency of local and Tiwanaku styles allow us to divide the Middle Horizon into two major phases, the Illataco and Piñami Phases (Céspedes Paz 2000; Céspedes Paz et al. 1994) (Figure 8.4). Illataco is a transitional phase characterized by having a variety of local, Tiwanaku, and other imported styles together that roughly correspond to Late Tiwanaku IV in the highlands chronology. The later Piñami phase is characterized by the dominance of the CVCT style and the reduction of other local and foreign styles and roughly corresponds to Tiwanaku V in the highland chronology.

The seven regional Cochabamba styles I will present here were all found in the Central Valley during the Middle Horizon. Four of these, Quillacollo, Tupuraya, Sauces, and Mojocoya, were Late Formative styles that continued into the Illataco Phase. Two of the remaining styles, Omereque and Caraparial, possibly developed in

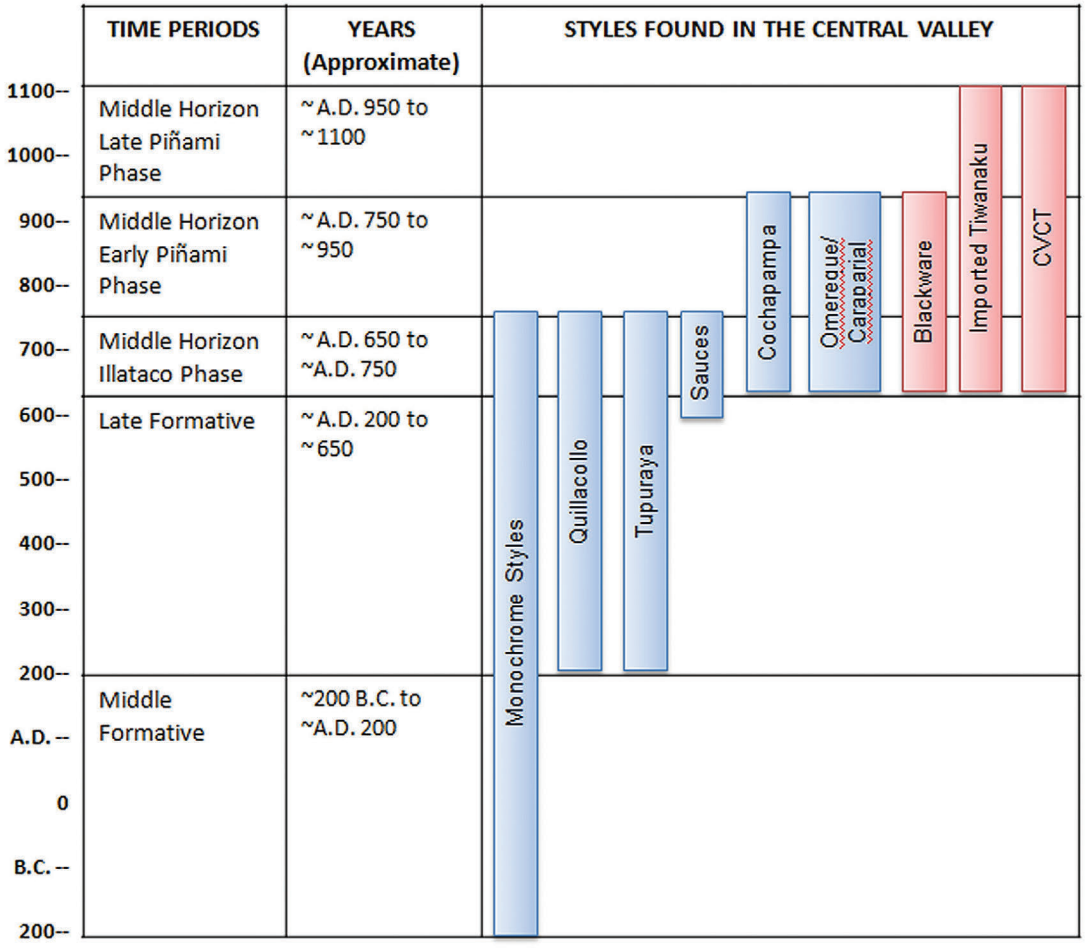


Figure 8.4. Central Valley Chronology, Formative to Middle Horizon, showing ceramic styles present at Piñami and Quillacollo. Styles are considered to be discontinued if their frequency in the assemblage is 0.3 percent or less. Dates for phases are approximate. The chronology does not reflect the beginning and ending time periods for styles, only the beginning and end of their appearance in the Cochabamba Central Valley.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

the Late Formative but did not reach the Western Valleys until the Middle Horizon. The last style, Cochapampa, is new to the Middle Horizon.

Quillacollo Style. The Quillacollo style was first recognized in 1993 (Céspedes Paz et al. 1994) and to date has been found in a few sites in the Central Valley. The most concentrated find of this style was at the type site of Quillacollo (Anderson and Céspedes Paz 1998; Céspedes Paz et al. 1994). It is present at Piñami, and reportedly, similar material was found by Brockington in the Eastern Valleys area (Brockington, personal communication, 1994).

The most common painted form for Quillacollo ware is a shallow, round bowl (Figures 8.5). Simple painted decorations are applied on the interior of the bowls using reddish-brown or purple paint applied over a cream-to-orange wash or thin slip. The primary motifs are vertical stripes, cross-hatching, and wavy lines. The most typical symmetry type is translation along a horizontal axis.

Tupuraya and Mojocoya Styles. Tupuraya and Mojocoya are common Late Formative styles, with Tupuraya found in the Western and Eastern Valleys (Döllerer 2004) and Mojocoya more common in the Eastern and Far Valleys (Pereira and Brockington 2005). Both styles are characterized by black and red paint using similar geometric iconography (Figures 8.6a and 8.6b). Step volute designs are common in both, and each frequently uses rotational interlocking design symmetry with two-color counterchange. In both, the primary designs are on the exterior of the vessels. The Tupuraya style can be distinguished from Mojocoya by its whitish base slip applied over the entire vessel and by its primarily rectilinear designs. In addition to the step volute design, Tupuraya uses boxes and comb motifs. The Mojocoya style typically has an orange to tan base slip, and the interlocking black and red designs are more often curvilinear.

Sauces Style. The Sauces style is found in the Eastern and Far Valleys and in the northern department of Chuquisaca, possibly starting in the Late Formative (Ibarra Grasso and Querejazu Lewis 1986) but arriving in the Central Valley at the beginning of the Middle Horizon (Céspedes Paz 2000). Sauces is characterized by black painted designs with cream-colored outline, usually over a red or orangeish slip or wash (Figure 8.7). The key motifs include flags, rows of triangles, steps, and the half cross. The main motifs are usually filled in with black paint, and at times cream-colored dots are applied over them. Sauces motifs tend to be repeated using horizontal translation symmetry. Sauces painted designs are much simpler and bolder in outline than those of Tupuraya and Mojocoya, and the brush strokes produce thicker lines. Interestingly, Sauces-style vessels are frequently found as burial offerings alongside Tiwanaku vessels through the Early Piñami Phase at the Piñami site, whereas Quillacollo- and Tupuraya-style vessels are not present.

Caraparial and Omereque Styles. These two styles are from the Far Valleys region, especially along the Rio Mizque drainage and into northern Chuquisaca (Anderson 1997; Anderson and Céspedes Paz 1998; Bennett 1936:387–388; Ibarra Grasso and Querejazu Lewis 1986:214–215; Janusek 2003:81). They are notable in that, unlike the styles discussed above, they persisted throughout most of the Middle Horizon. Only limited examples are found in the Western Valleys (Byrne de Caballero 1984; Céspedes Paz 2000; Céspedes Paz et al. 1994; Higueras-Hare 1996). At Piñami, only a few Omereque vessels were present as grave offerings, and Omereque fragments were very rare in domestic contexts throughout the Middle Horizon. While the Omereque and Caraparial styles can easily be distinguished from one another, they are clearly related as they occur in the same contexts and can be found painted in different sections of a single vessel (Anderson 1997).

The Caraparial style is similar to Tupuraya and Mojocoya and is a precursor of the Late Intermediate Period Yampara style (Ibarra Grasso 1965) (Figures 8.8a and 8.8b). Interlocking step volute designs, rotational symmetry, and translation are common. The style has a wider palette than the styles discussed previously, including black, white, purple, orange, red, and gray. The vessels most frequently use two-color counterchange between black and another color or use two design colors with black as a background. It is characteristic of the Caraparial style that areas of black, whether background or interlocking motif, are of a similar width to the major designs and that designs have thin white outlines.

The Omereque style, also referred to as Nazcoide (Ibarra Grasso 1965), is the only Cochabamba style that routinely uses anthrozoomorphic motifs. It is a highly polychrome style (Figures 8.9a and 8.9b and Figures 8.10a and 8.10b), usually having six or more colors per vessel. The vessels typically have an orange base with motifs painted in three or more colors (out of purple, red, orange, ochre, or gray). Motifs are outlined first in black and then white. Omereque anthrozoomorphic figures are highly stylized and, like Caraparial, the designs tend to be portrayed such that all figural elements are a consistent width (compare Figures 8.9b and 8.10a).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

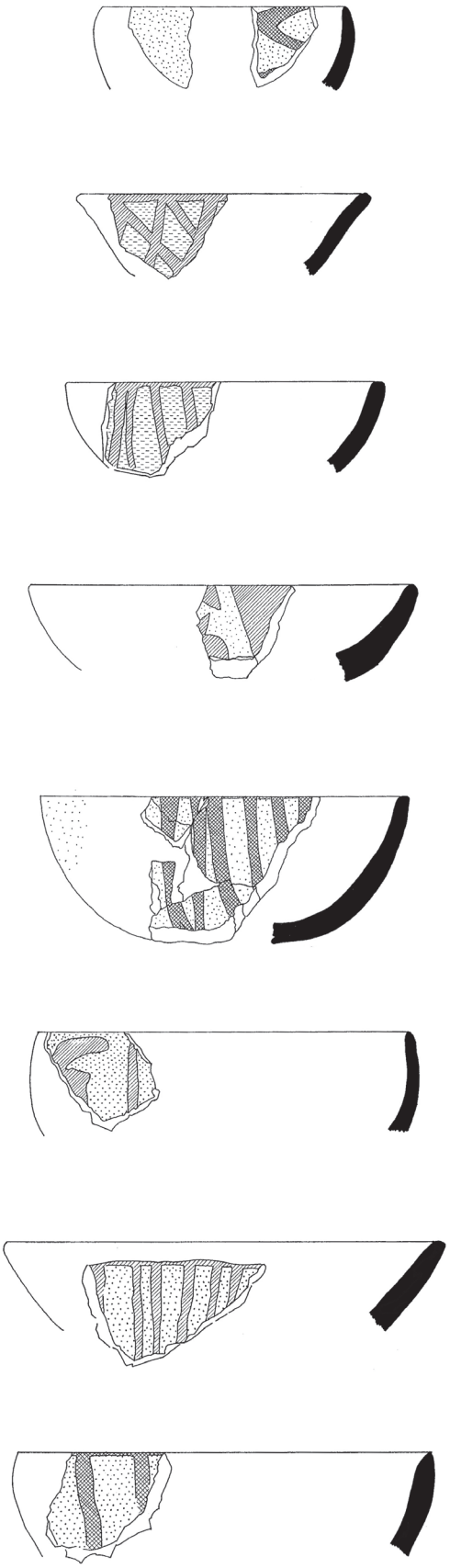


Figure 8.5. Quillacollo style bowls excavated at Quillacollo (Q-2). Right, fragments in the Quillacollo style. Photo by author. Left, illustration of Quillacollo bowls, adapted from Céspedes Paz et al. 1994, original drawings by Javier Gonzales.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

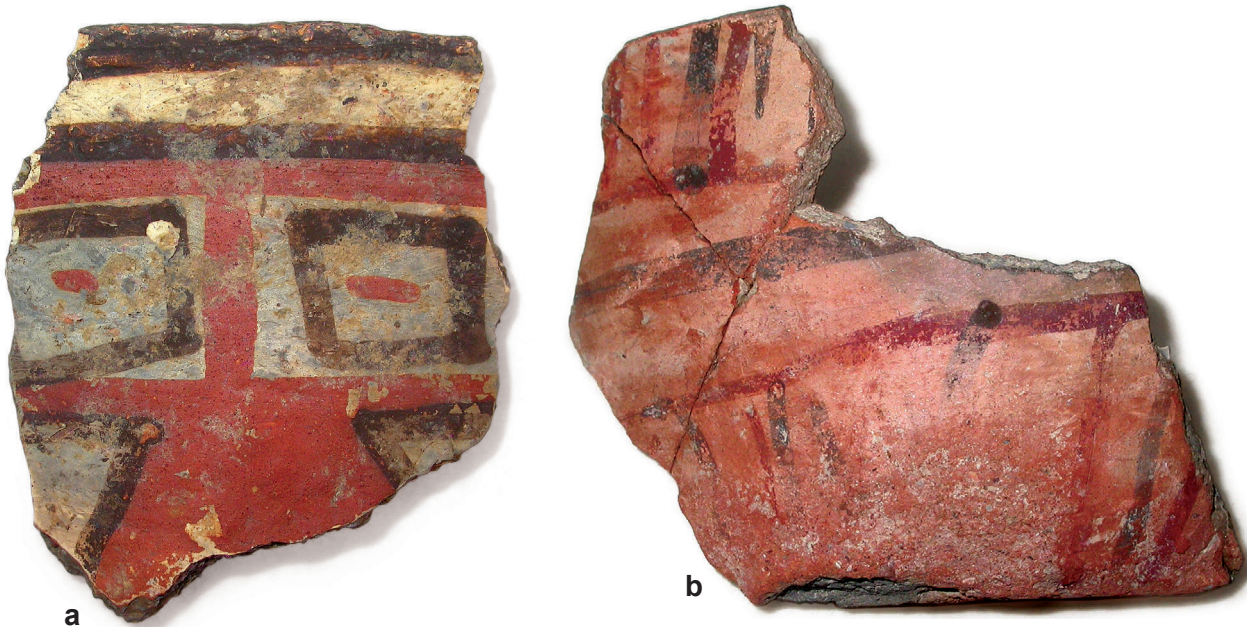


Figure 8.6. Tupuraya-style sherds from Piñami (a) and Quillacollo (b).

The anthrozoomorphic motifs used in the Omereque style are distinct from Tiwanaku and include a long-arm front-face figure, a snake surrounded by other stylized animals, and a figure with a step body (Figures 8.9a, 8.9b and 8.10a). However, a particular Omereque motif, a front-faced figure with raised arms (Figure 8.9a), is one that some archaeologists suggest was adopted by Tiwanaku (Janusek 2003:75).

One of the most diagnostic elements of the Omereque style is its unique color symmetry, which uses three-color counterchange. While the Omereque symmetry pattern for repeated designs is usually simple translation or rotation, the paint colors used are not typically repeated exactly but instead alternate between repetitions. For example, the vessel in Figure 8.10a uses purple, orange, and gray for motifs, but colors alternate between repetitions so that the head of the figure is gray in one repetition and purple in the next, and so on. This three-color counterchange is also used on one of the diagnostic bands common to the Omereque and Caraparial styles (Figure 8.10b).

Cochapampa Style. The Cochapampa style is still poorly defined and is considered a Tiwanaku/local hybrid (Céspedes Paz 2000).[5] This style is found particularly in the Western Valleys (Céspedes Paz 2000; Döllerer 2004), and in Central Valley excavations, it first appears in the Middle Horizon during the Illataco Phase. Cochapampa vessels have black paint applied over a tan to orange paste that is smoothed or roughly burnished (Figures 8.11a, 8.11b and 8.11c). The iconography is almost entirely geometric, employing Tiwanaku motifs such as chevrons and triangles with diagonal lines as well as non-Tiwanaku motifs such as comb patterns, concentric squares, and rectangles with crosses. The primary designs are on the exterior of closed forms but, unlike Tiwanaku and similar to Sauces, they are on the interior of open forms such as *tazones*. *Keros* are more common in the Cochapampa style than they are in any of the styles mentioned above. Cochapampa *keros* are less flaring, and the design application is less symmetrical than is typical for the Tiwanaku and CVCT styles (Figure 8.11a).

Overall, at the time of early Tiwanaku interaction, the regional styles, aside from Omereque, used geometric iconography with primarily one or two paint colors. Interlocking designs with counterchange were common in Tupuraya, Mojocoya, and Caraparial.

Tiwanaku Styles

The Tiwanaku style has been well documented and described by various authors, notably Alconini Mujíca (1993), Bennett (1934, 1936), Burkholder (1997), Goldstein (1985, 1989), Janusek (2002, 2003), Rivera Casanovas (1994), Rydén (1959), Vetters and Tschauner (n.d.), and Wallace (1957). For the purposes of this chapter, I will highlight aspects of the Tiwanaku state style that facilitate my comparisons.

The Tiwanaku style developed rather suddenly around AD 500 (Janusek 2003:56). Although it had Late Formative precursors, the new style was quite distinct

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.7. Sauces-style vessels. All vessels are from Piñami.

and, once developed, it remained in use throughout the duration of the Tiwanaku state, until ~AD 1100. Among the most notable aspects of this new style are its deep red slip and a distinctive iconography composed of both geometric and naturalistic motifs, including humans, felines, camelids, birds, fish, and snakes, applied to a new and varied assemblage of vessel forms. The most common serving ware forms are the *kero* drinking vessel and the *tazon* flaring bowl. The style includes a wide range of other vessel shapes, including various small jars (*vasijas*), pitchers (*jarras*), and ceremonial vessels such as incense burners and effigy vessels (Janusek 2003).

New production technologies were introduced at the advent of the Tiwanaku Period as well. Tiwanaku style vessels are well burnished, with some vessels highly burnished. Tiwanaku firing techniques result in hard vessels that are oxidized, partially oxidized with a reduced core, or fully reduced (Janusek 2003:82). Pastes could be without temper but typically contained fine sand and occasionally mica or limestone (Janusek 2003:80; Rivera Casanovas 1994:166–167).

At both Piñami and Quillacollo, there is a substantial percentage of imported Tiwanaku ceramics beginning at the earliest phase of the Middle Horizon, comprising ~3 to 5 percent of the assemblage or 25 to 35 percent of the decorated sherds during the Illataco Phase. Imported Tiwanaku material was identified based on some of the differences to be discussed below, although

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.8. Caraparial-style vessels. Diagnostic of the style are geometric motifs that use black in similar proportion to the colored design, separated by a thin white outline. (a) interlocking volute motif of black and purple. (b) example with black used as a background and color counterchange occurring between design repetitions. (a) is from the site of Quillacollo; and (b) is from a private collection, photographs by the author.

key among them were diagnostic pastes, temper, and slip and paint colors (Figure 8.12). Interestingly, the imported Tiwanaku ware found in the Central Valley included some of Tiwanaku's most well-known substyles. One notable substyle is Tiwanaku blackware (Figure 8.13), which uses many of the same forms as redware but is reduction fired and smudged, producing a glossy black finish. Blackware is found throughout the Tiwanaku sphere but appears to have been more popular in the southwestern Titicaca Basin, including Copacabana and the Island of the Sun, and also in western periphery Moquegua (Goldstein 2005:198) (Figure 8.1). Other notable substyles present in the Central Valley are vessels that correspond to those typical of the Katari Valley located to the northeast of the Tiwanaku Valley. Katari Tiwanaku material has the majority of the typical Tiwanaku forms and motifs but is distinguished by tanwares in addition to redwares, by the preference for some motifs such as continuous volutes, by some *tazones* that are slipped red on the interior and only show a red band on the upper exterior, and by ritual vessels such as effigy *incensarios* (Bermann 1990; Janusek 2003). Imported examples of these Katari variations were found at Piñami and Quillacollo excavations (Figures 8.14a, 8.14b, 8.14c and Figure 8.15). Thus, during the transitional Illataco Phase, the Central Valley was exposed to not only a variety of Cochabamba regional styles but also ceramics from throughout the Tiwanaku heartland and peripheries.

The CVCT Style—Forms, Iconography, Technology, and Use

Before discussing the CVCT style in detail, it is important to briefly review the chronological and social context for the genesis of the style. The stratigraphic evidence from Piñami and Quillacollo shows that the CVCT style began early in the Illataco Phase, appearing alongside Cochapampa, imported Tiwanaku, and other regional styles. Considering the number of styles available, the frequency of CVCT was relatively high, comprising ~25 percent of the Illataco phase servingware. By the Piñami Phase, the CVCT style was the dominant decorated style, comprising ~85 percent of the servingware, and all other styles were reduced or absent.

In the following sections on the CVCT style, I emphasize the ways in which it is like and unlike the Tiwanaku style and other Cochabamba styles, in terms of vessel forms, iconography, technology, and use patterns.

CVCT Vessel Forms

The assemblage of forms used in the CVCT style is generally the same as in the highlands at sites outside the ceremonial core, although there are some clear

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.9. Omereque-style vessels. The Omereque style is polychromatic and uses distinctive, stylized anthrozoomorphic motifs. *Ch'allador* (a) is from Piñami, *ch'allador* (b) is from a private collection. Photos are by author with permission.

Cochabamba adaptations. For the CVCT assemblage, the most common forms are tall flaring flagons (*keros* and *ch'alladores*) and shorter flaring bowls (*tazones*).

Keros. Keros were present in Cochabamba from the Early Formative but were rare in household contexts. Formative Cochabamba *keros* vary in shape but are generally more cylindrical than flaring and sometimes have handles (Figure 8.16). Interestingly, despite the presence of *keros* in Cochabamba prior to Tiwanaku (Anderson 2009; Céspedes Paz 2000; Pereira Herrera et al. 2001), the CVCT *kero* adopted the flaring outline and raised bands common in the Tiwanaku style. CVCT *keros* are one of the most common forms in domestic and mortuary contexts throughout the Middle Horizon.

As at Tiwanaku, CVCT *keros* come in a variety of sizes, including mini *keros*, small *keros*, and the standard *keros* typical in Tiwanaku (Janusek 2003:60). However, we find two size clusters at Piñami: one that is similar in shape and size to typical Tiwanaku *keros*, averaging 16.2 cm in height with an average rim diameter of 14.3 cm, and a significantly taller *kero*, averaging 21 cm in height with a narrower waist and flaring rim averaging 16 cm in diameter (Figure 8.17). These taller, narrower, and more flaring *keros* are one of the forms that distinguish CVCT ceramics.

Ch'alladores. The *ch'allador* or funnel cup is the only CVCT form that was not common in the Tiwanaku assemblage (Figure 8.18). Instead, the form is characteristic of the Far Valleys styles Mojocoya, Omereque, and Caraparial possibly starting in the Late Formative (Pereira Herrera and Brockington 2005). The diameter of the *ch'allador* is similar to that of a *kero* (average 13.6 cm), but the base is so small that the vessel cannot stand up on its own. The CVCT version of the *ch'allador* applies Tiwanaku iconography and banding to the local form.

A distinctive variant of the CVCT *kero* has an angular, constricted waist surmounted by a straight flaring upper body, perhaps representing a synthesis of the *ch'allador* and the *kero* (Figure 8.19). This type of *kero* was only found in the Illataco and Early Piñami Phases.

Tazones. Despite a variety of bowl forms present among the Cochabamba regional styles, the only bowl form popular in CVCT is the *tazon*, which is also the most common bowl form of the Tiwanaku style (Janusek 2003:63) (Figure 8.20). *Tazones* of the CVCT style are distinct in that they tend to be smaller than those found at Tiwanaku, with rim diameters averaging 12.6 cm compared to the 14.5-cm diameter reported for Tiwanaku *tazones* (Janusek 2003:63).

Other Forms. Tripod forms common to most of the Cochabamba regional styles and round shallow bowls characteristic of the Quillacollo style were not adopted in the CVCT style, and rounded Tiwanaku bowls (*cuencos*) are extremely rare. Tiwanaku-style *jarras*, *vasijas*, and wide jars are present in the CVCT style, although in limited quantities (Figure 8.21). The majority of specialized ritual vessels, such as *incensarios* (Figure 8.15), in contrast, appear to be imported, and these vessel forms likely did not become a part of the CVCT style.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

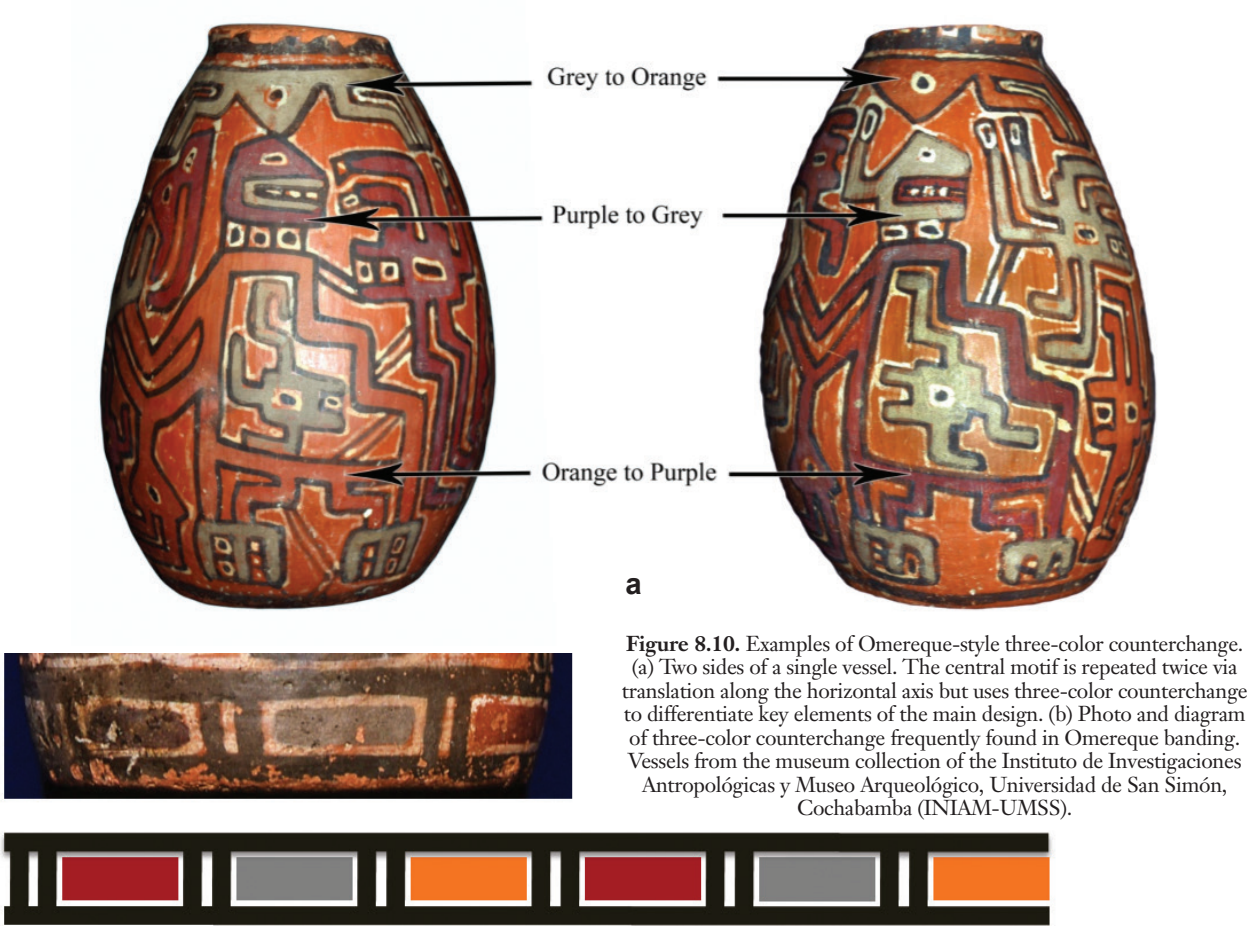


Figure 8.10. Examples of Omereque-style three-color counterchange. (a) Two sides of a single vessel. The central motif is repeated twice via translation along the horizontal axis but uses three-color counterchange to differentiate key elements of the main design. (b) Photo and diagram of three-color counterchange frequently found in Omereque banding. Vessels from the museum collection of the Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas y Museo Arqueológico, Universidad de San Simón, Cochabamba (INIAM-UMSS).

CVCT Iconography

Motifs. The iconography of the CVCT style strongly follows Tiwanaku canons and includes the majority of the basic motifs found at Tiwanaku, including the following:

Geometric motifs—squares, diamonds, circles and crosses and stepped elements, volutes, spirals, concentric circles, straight and wavy lines, and "interlocking fret" designs (Figure 8.22).

Anthropomorphic figures—realistic human figures; stylized (mainly human) heads seen both in profile and as rhomboidal front-face images (Figure 8.23).

Zoomorphic figures—lake birds, raptors, flocks of birds, felines (both heads and full body), camelids, and fish (Figures 8.17 and 8.18).

Mixed zoomorphic figures—figures composed of parts of multiple animals (bird wing on feline body, etc.) (Figure 8.24).

An examination of the major motifs found on whole Tiwanaku-style vessels from Piñami burials (Table 8.1) shows that the most common motifs are essentially the same as the most common ones at Tiwanaku. For example, two of the most common figural motifs from Piñami are the profile human head and the profile feline head, and among the most common geometric motifs at Piñami are wavy vertical lines, steps and diagonal lines, volutes, and scroll designs; all of these are reported to be among the most common motifs at Tiwanaku as well (Janusek 2003:64–65).

Examination of motif by vessel form shows additional similarities between highland Tiwanaku and CVCT. For example, Janusek notes that highland *tazones* almost exclusively use geometric designs (Janusek 2003:64). At Piñami, of 38 whole *tazones*, 36 (95 percent) have geometric iconography (Figure 8.25). *Keros* at Tiwanaku portray more figural imagery, especially during Tiwanaku IV (Janusek 2003:61–62). At Piñami, 62 percent of the whole *keros* (primarily from early Middle Horizon burials) use anthrozoomorphic iconography. Thus, not all motifs are found on all vessel types, and the CVCT preferences for motifs by vessel type parallel those at Tiwanaku.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.11. Cochapampa-style vessels from Piñami.

Figure 8.12. Examples of imported Tiwanaku vessels. All examples are from Piñami and have clear highland temper and paste.

A number of researchers have pointed out particular motifs they consider to be diagnostic of vessels from Cochabamba. These include the inverted scroll (a backward S, a variant on the common Tiwanaku scroll "S" motif), a star/eclipse design often found as part of a snake band, a J design, and crosses, including dotted, Andean, and pendant half-cross varieties (Burkholder 1997; Janusek 2003:75; Rivera Casanovas 2003). Variants of the cross design and the snake band are commonly used in CVCT (Figures 8.26a, 8.26b, 8.26c, 8.26d, and 8.26e), although cross-design variants also appear to be present in some parts of the highlands (see Burkholder 1997:188, Figure 8.9) and may not be characteristic of Cochabamba. Other supposedly "Cochabamba" motifs are not characteristic of the CVCT style, although they may be more prevalent in the Eastern and Far Valleys. For example, scroll designs are common in CVCT, as at Tiwanaku (Janusek 2003), but the majority found at Piñami are normal Tiwanaku scrolls, not the reversed "Cochabamba" scroll.

Colors. The CVCT style uses the typical complement of Tiwanaku colors for designs: white, black, orange, and sometimes gray, on an orange, red, or red-brown background slip. Both white and black are used for figural elements, not just outlines. CVCT color use is consistent with Tiwanaku; that is, motifs that are typically orange with black in Tiwanaku are painted orange with black in CVCT as well.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.13. Tiwanaku blackware *keros* from Piñami.

Figure 8.14. Imported Tiwanaku-style *tazones* exhibiting characteristics more common in the Katari Valley than in the Tiwanaku Valley (Janusek 203:80): (a) tanware, (b) *tazón* with an exterior red band, (c) continuous volute ending in a face. (See also Figure 8.15, *incensarios*.) Examples (a) and (b) are from Piñami; (c) is from Quillacollo.

However, while CVCT color use is consistent with Tiwanaku, the hues are frequently distinguishable. For example, CVCT does not have the deep red base slip common to the Tiwanaku heartland, instead using red-brown to light orange. Local paint pigments are distinct from the highlands as well. For example, CVCT orange is tanner than in the highlands, the white is more of a cream, the black more sepia, the gray greener, and so on. These differences are likely due to the mineral sources available in Cochabamba but may also reflect local preference.

The color gray has been considered by some to be a Cochabamba addition to the Tiwanaku repertoire (Burkholder 1997; Janusek 2003). Gray is suggested to have spread from the Omereque and Caraparial styles, where it is common, either directly to Tiwanaku, or via early adoption of gray in the Cochabamba Tiwanaku styles and then spreading to the highlands. While gray is a color found in the CVCT style, it is not clear whether this predates the adoption of gray in the highlands.

Symmetries. CVCT uses the same range of symmetry patterns used at Tiwanaku, while a number of the symmetry patterns typical of other Cochabamba styles are not employed. Main motifs in the Tiwanaku style are usually repeated by simple translation along a horizontal axis and are repeated without color counterchange; this is the case for the CVCT, as well (Figures

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.15. Examples of imported Tiwanaku *incensarios* from Piñami. All vessels have non-local pastes and temper.

Figure 8.16. Cups in the Monochrome style of the Pre-Tiwanaku Formative in Cochabamba. Vessels shown are unprovenienced vessels in the museum collection of the Instituto de Investigaciónes Antropológicas y Museo Arqueológico, Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Cochabamba (INIAM-UMSS). Drawing by author.

8.27a1 and 8.27a2), particularly for anthrozoomorphic designs. Tiwanaku does have some complex symmetry patterns attached to specific motifs such as stepped triangular heads, angular faces, and so forth. These symmetries can include color counterchange, rotation, and reflection, and many are likely based on textile designs. CVCT seems to use the same complex symmetries with the same motifs as Tiwanaku (Figures 8.27b and 8.27c).

Design Structure, Dividing Lines, and Design Placement. Design structure, the spatial arrangement of designs on vessels, is significant since these characteristics are subtle and less likely to be imitated without close social contact or training (Bowser 2002; Rice 1987:264–266). Overall, CVCT divides vessels into the same spatial zones as Tiwanaku and uses the same types of dividing bands (or lack thereof) to demark design spaces. For instance, a very characteristic dividing band common to both Tiwanaku and CVCT is a configuration of orange, black, and white horizontal stripes (Figure 8.28), and both Tiwanaku and CVCT vessels typically have no rim band or use a single black stripe.

Although generally consistent, design placement on *keros* may be another way CVCT differs from the Tiwanaku style. For Tiwanaku *keros*, the main motif is on the torus or the body, with the top register (between the torus and the rim) usually left undecorated during

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.17. CVCT-style *keros* showing standard (left) and tall (right) variations. All vessels from Piñami.

Figure 8.18. CVCT *ch'alladores* (funnel cups) from Piñami. The *ch'allador* is a drinking vessel common in the Omereque and Caraparial styles; its form was incorporated in the CVCT style.

Tiwanaku IV and only occasionally decorated during Tiwanaku V (Janusek 2003:62). In contrast, decoration in the upper register is fairly common in CVCT. However, it is worth noting that Tiwanaku *keros* from Moquegua (Goldstein 2005:151, 159) and Iwawi (Burkholder 1997:188) also have decoration in the upper register, so this may not strictly be a Cochabamba variant.

Central Valley Examples of Blending. Some CVCT vessels do show both Tiwanaku and non-Tiwanaku elements on a single vessel. For instance, Omereque/Caraparial black-white-black rim bands are occasionally found on otherwise CVCT vessels (Figure 8.29). In some vessels, specific parts of the design space display non-Tiwanaku motifs with the remainder following Tiwanaku rules. For instance, in Figure 8.30, both the *kero* and *ch'allador* have sections displaying Caraparial motifs on otherwise CVCT vessels. Examples of such mixes are rare in the Central Valley.

CVCT Technological Style

Technological style is an important part of ceramic analysis. It includes all aspects of how the clay is prepared and fired, what tools appear to have been used, how strong the final vessels are, how thick or thin, and how light or heavy. The precision with which a style is copied, whether limited to the more obvious aspects of form or extending to the more subtle aspects of forming techniques, is a good indicator of whether the style diffused or spread through instruction from potters fluent in the style (Bowser 2002; Gosselain 1992, 1998; Rice 1987). In general, production techniques for the CVCT style are extremely similar to Tiwanaku production techniques and do represent a departure from preexisting local styles.

Pastes and Temper. CVCT pastes are compact and use finer temper than is typical of most Cochabamba styles. The color of the pastes ranges from dark orange to brownish red but do not reach the deep red of some commonly used highland clays. CVCT pastes typically have no temper or use very fine sand and/or very fine grog.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.19. Rare CVCT *kero* variant from Early Middle Horizon contexts at Piñami. This form appears to be a synthesis of the *kero* and *ch'allador*. All vessels from Piñami.

Figure 8.20. CVCT *tazones*. Similar to the pattern at Tiwanaku (see Janusek 2003), CVCT decorative motifs on *tazones* are primarily geometric. However, CVCT *tazones* are smaller on average than their highland counterparts (Janusek 2003). All vessels from Piñami.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.21. Examples of CVCT *vasija* and *jarra* forms. All vessels from Piñami.

Figure 8.22. Common CVCT geometric motifs. All vessels from Piñami.

Figure 8.23. Examples of CVCT anthropomorphic head motifs. All vessels from Piñami.

Evenness and Symmetricality. CVCT vessels tend to be more even and symmetrical than most vessels of the Late Formative local styles. This applies to the overall vessel form, the evenness of the interior and exterior surfaces, and uniform thickness of the vessel walls (compare local (left) and CVCT (right) vessels in Figure 8.31). In addition, CVCT painted decoration is more regular than that of its Late Formative counterparts. For example, horizontal and vertical bands are consistently parallel or perpendicular to the base, and repetitions of the major motif are the same size, rather than one repetition being squeezed or abbreviated.

Burnishing. CVCT vessels, particularly *keros*, show a more consistently shiny surface than local styles (Figures 8.32d and 8.32e). Quillacollo-, Tupuraya-, and Sauces-style vessels are not burnished. The hybrid Cochapampa style tends to be only roughly burnished; burnishing marks are easily visible, and the surface is somewhat irregular (Figure 8.32a, 8.32b and 8.32c). Omereque and Caraparial vessels are burnished but frequently before the application of the painted design, such that the painted design is matte over a burnished base slip.

Firing. Firing within the CVCT style results in vessels that are completely oxidized, oxidized with a

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.24. CVCT variations of zoomorphic motifs showing abbreviated or mixed animal motifs. All vessels from Piñami.

reduced gray core, or completely reduced with only the surface oxidized—a pattern quite similar to that found at Tiwanaku (Janusek 2003:82). CVCT firing techniques combined with other technological choices such as paste and temper result in vessels that are notably harder than the fineware of other local styles.

Differentiation of Fineware. There is a heightened differentiation between CVCT fineware and utilitarian ware not found in local Late Formative styles. For example, comparing Quillacollo serving and utilitarian wares, the painted bowls are very similar in texture and finish to the larger cooking and storage vessels (Figure 8.33a). For the CVCT style, the difference between fineware and utilitarian ware is quite marked; the utilitarian ware is only smoothed with no burnishing, while the serving ware is well smoothed, slipped, and burnished (Figure 8.33b).

Tactile and Ceremonial Nature of Technological Style. The combined effect of the production characteristics of the Tiwanaku and CVCT styles taken as a whole enables one to distinguish Tiwanaku or CVCT from local vessels simply by touch. That is, the technology used to produce the CVCT wares did not just result in vessels that "looked" Tiwanaku but in vessels that "felt" Tiwanaku— noticeably denser, smoother, thinner and more symmetrical. I believe that these tactile elements were a key aspect of the style that was intentionally reproduced. This argument is strengthened by the fact that many of the production methods used to manufacture CVCT vessels required far more effort than those employed for the majority of fineware vessels of the local styles. Creating symmetrical vessels with thin and even walls, carefully applied designs, and rigorous and even burnishing fired to a temperature that results in a distinctly hard vessel all require additional investments of time, energy, and knowledge.

As Lechtman suggests for metal production (Lechtman 1977, 1988) and Conklin suggests for textiles (Conklin 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2004d), the production steps required to make artifacts can be seen as a set of complex rituals with specific meanings. In this context, the extra steps and effort required to make CVCT fineware may have added ritual value to these already symbolically charged vessels.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

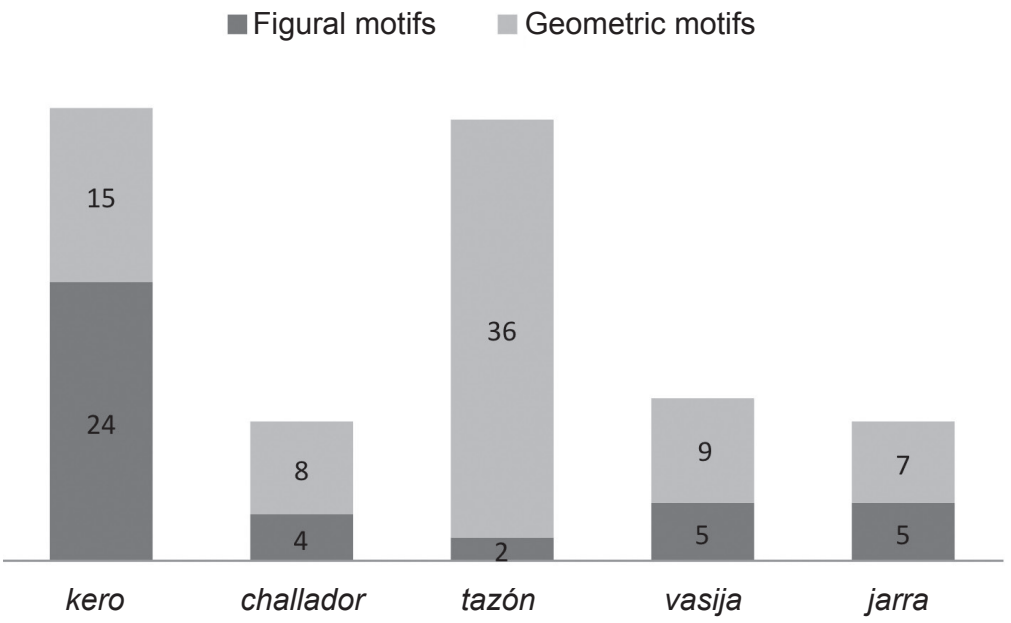


Figure 8.25. Comparison, by vessel form, of figural vs. geometric central motifs. All examples are from whole vessels (n =115) from Piñami.

Figure 8.26. Examples of CVCT motifs from Piñami considered diagnostic of "Cochabamba-Tiwanaku" (Janusek 2003:75; Fig 3.69): (a) inverted scroll; (b) star/eclipse; (c) dotted cross; (d) half cross; (e) diamond (snake).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.27. CVCT symmetry patterns. (a) Example of the most common CVCT symmetry pattern for major motif repetition: translation along a horizontal axis with no color counterchange between repetitions. (b and c) Examples of CVCT vessels with more complex symmetry patterns, including color counterchange, rotation and reflection. All vessels from Piñami.

CVCT Style of Practice

When we examine the CVCT style, we need to look not only at the vessels themselves but also at whether the practices associated with eating and drinking are similar to those at Tiwanaku.

One hallmark of Tiwanaku ceramics is a great increase in the quantity of servingware from the Late Formative. During the Middle Horizon, servingware ranged from 19 to 25 percent of assemblages at Tiwanaku and from 7 to 35 percent in sites around the southern Titicaca Basin (Janusek 2004:130). This is a considerable increase from the Late Formative, when decorated Qeya-style wares typically formed only 3 percent of the total assemblage (Janusek 2003:50). We see a similar increase in the Central Valley sites where the level of painted servingware is 2 to 3 percent during the Late Formative, 5 to 8 percent during the Illataco Phase, and ~20 percent during the Piñami Phase (Figure 8.34).

It is a characteristic of the Tiwanaku state and its peripheries that decorated servingware is widely dispersed and found in high frequencies even in domestic contexts (Bermann 1990; Burkholder 1997; Goldstein 2005; Janusek 2002, 2003, 2004; Rivera Casanovas 2003). Although some forms and motifs do appear to have been

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.28. Comparison of CVCT and Tiwanaku banding showing close similarity in placement, colors and band width. Imported Tiwanaku vessels on the left; CVCT vessels on the right. All vessels are from Piñami.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.29. Uncommon use of Omereque/Caraparial black-white-black horizontal bands in a CVCT *kero*.

restricted to elite or ceremonial contexts, such as *escudillas* and recurved *tazones* (Alconini Mujíca 1993; Couture 2002; Janusek 2003), most forms, including ritual vessels such as *incensarios*, are not restricted. At Piñami, the pattern is the same; high percentages of CVCT servingware are found in almost all domestic contexts and as offerings in the majority of burials.

Another hallmark of Tiwanaku practice is the high value placed on drinking vessels, particularly the *kero*, which is one of the most decorated and finely made vessel types and is considered particularly symbolic of the Tiwanaku state (Goldstein 2003, 2005; Janusek 2002, 2003:60). *Keros* were extremely rare in the highlands during the Late Formative but are ubiquitous during the Middle Horizon in ceremonial, domestic, and mortuary contexts (Alconini Mujíca 1993; Goldstein 2003; Janusek 2003). While *keros* had been present in the Cochabamba region from the Early Formative (Anderson 2009; Brockington et al. 1995; Pereira Herrera et al. 1992), they were rare, especially in domestic areas. During the Middle Horizon, however, we see a precipitous increase in *keros* in both domestic and mortuary contexts, with *keros* becoming one of the two most common servingware forms in the CVCT style.

Figure 8.30. Rare mixed styles on vessels from Piñami. (a) *Ch'allador* with exterior in the CVCT style and interior rim using Caraparial iconography. (b) *Kero* with Caraparial style iconography on the upper register but Tiwanaku style banding and motifs on the lower register.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.31. Comparison of vessel form and painting technique between Sauces and Cochapampa style vessels (left) and CVCT style vessels (right). In keeping with the Tiwanaku style, CVCT vessels are generally more even and symmetrical in vessel form and paint application than the local Central Valley styles. All vessels from Piñami.

Overall, the pattern of use of CVCT style ware is remarkably similar to that found at Tiwanaku sites and indicates substantial changes in local household eating and drinking practices from the Central Valley Late Formative.

Discussion

A dramatic shift in ceramic vessel style and context of use, such as we have seen here, can indicate a wholesale replacement of local peoples by immigrants, but this does not appear to have been the case in the Central Valley of Cochabamba. At both Piñami and Quillacollo, the variety of local ceramic styles that continue during the transitional Illataco Phase suggests that at least part of the preexisting population stayed in the valley. Quillacollo appears to be continuously occupied from the Late Formative through the Middle Horizon, and many Western Valley sites have both Late Formative and Middle Horizon occupations and possibly were continuously occupied. (See surveys by Higueras-Hare [1996] in Capinota [Figure 8.2] and Gyarmati and Varga [1999] in the western Central Valley.) In addition, a number of characteristic aspects of Late Formative material culture including, some utilitarian forms and burial practices, remained in use during the Middle Horizon, which we would not expect if there had been wholesale demographic replacement from the highlands.

If we do not see complete replacement, neither do the data support a model of ceramic change solely through long-distance diffusion. Indeed, ethnoarchaeological studies of ceramic production show that the most easily visible traits, such as basic form, color, and central motifs, are most easily transferred via diffusion. Less visible traits—technologies of forming and firing, as well as details of iconography such as symmetries, banding, and outlining—are harder to "see" and imitate without instruction from a potter trained in those techniques (Bowser 2002; Gosselain 1992, 1998; Rice 1987). The conformity of the early CVCT to Tiwanaku norms, even in less prominent details, suggests that early producers of CVCT had intimate knowledge of Tiwanaku ceramic cannons and production techniques. The similarity in use practices is also indicative of detailed knowledge and conscious imitation of highland traditions.

Thus, I propose that, during the Middle Horizon, a significant number of Tiwanakans, including traders and colonists, immigrated to the Western Valleys, bringing with them new material culture and an ideology and worldview that quickly spread and gained acceptance.

Examining the changes in pottery over time provides a better view of how local acceptance progressed. We can say that the increased interregional trade of the Illataco Phase was pivotal for early changes. While there had been long-distance trade in Cochabamba since at least the Early Formative (Brockington et al. 1995), the variety and quantity of foreign ceramics present during the Illataco Phase increased dramatically. However, trade is not the whole story. Despite the variety of styles present, Tiwanaku servingwares dominated in the Central Valley

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

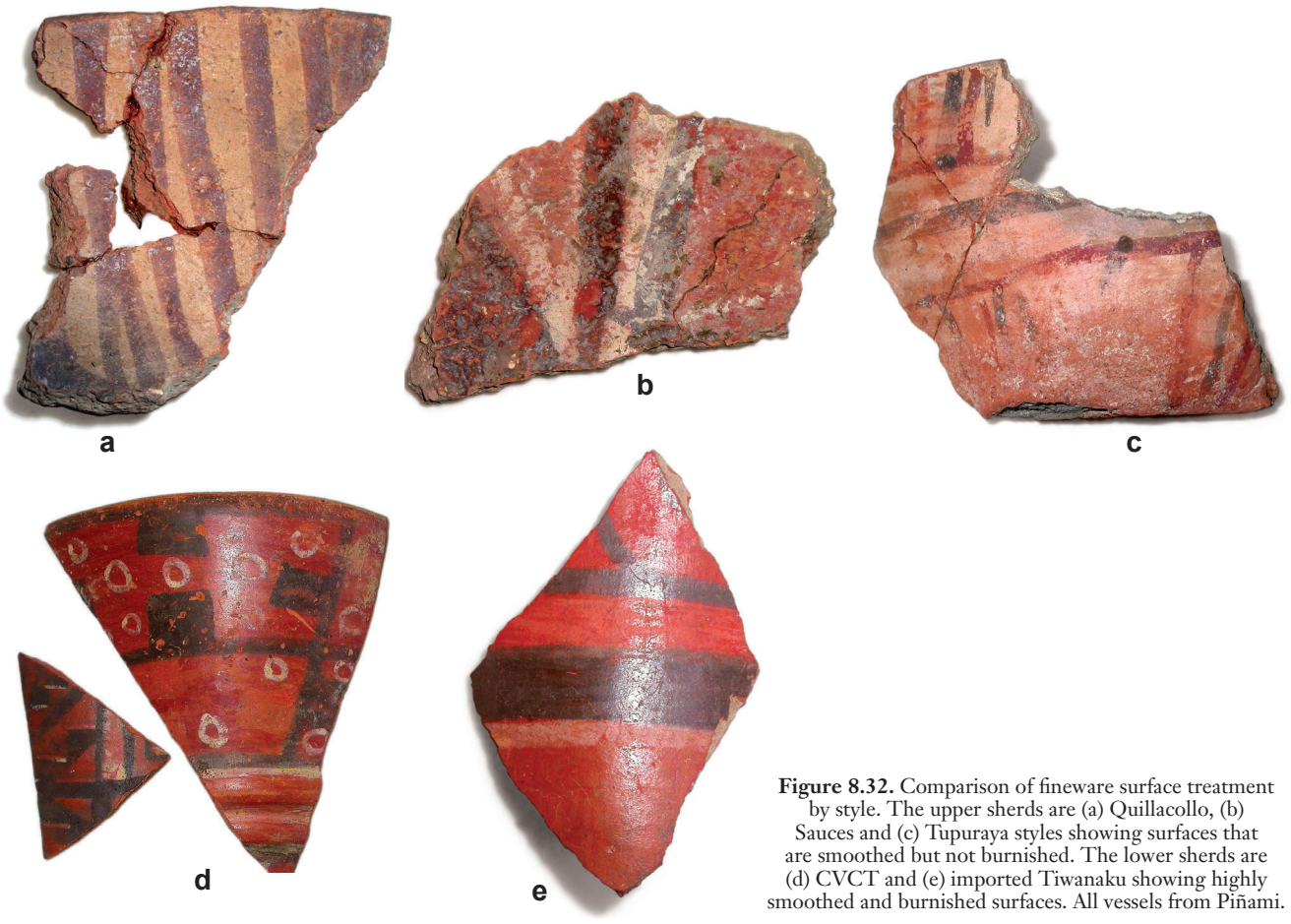


Figure 8.32. Comparison of fineware surface treatment by style. The upper sherds are (a) Quillacollo, (b) Sauces and (c) Tupuraya styles showing surfaces that are smoothed but not burnished. The lower sherds are (d) CVCT and (e) imported Tiwanaku showing highly smoothed and burnished surfaces. All vessels from Piñami.

even during the Illataco Phase and, counting Tiwanaku imports and CVCT together, comprised over 60 percent of the servingware for the phase. Significantly, CVCT is not the end result of an extended period of trade, nor does CVCT develop gradually with early experimentation followed by greater virtuosity; instead, the style employs Tiwanaku rules and techniques from the beginning. For these reasons, I believe that CVCT ceramics were most likely the result of transplanted potters, or locals directly trained by Tiwanaku potters, early on in this transitional phase.

Chronologically, the Illataco Phase appears to correspond to Late Tiwanaku IV, a period when political power at Tiwanaku was apparently not highly centralized. Governance and decision making were based more on popular consent and reciprocal obligations rather than coercive demands (Janusek 2004, 2008). This may explain why the Tiwanaku imports in the Central Valley appear to have come from a variety of regions. Early contact and trade expansion into Cochabamba may not have been directed by the Tiwanaku state but could indicate competitive gift giving and alliance formation on the part of independent, competing lineages from throughout the Tiwanaku hegemony.

By the Piñami Phase, the association between the Central Valley and Tiwanaku was very strong. The most noteworthy characteristics of the Piñami Phase assemblage are the enormous jump in the frequency of servingware and the transition from multiple decorated styles to complete dominance of the CVCT style (Figure 8.35). The Piñami Phase appears to roughly correspond to Tiwanaku V, considered a time of greater inequality at Tiwanaku, including more elite control over critical resources (Janusek 2004, 2008). It was also a time of increasing emphasis on feasting and communal consumption at all levels of society possibly to legitimize the growing inequality (Janusek 2004:282).

In the Central Valley, the transition to exclusive production of a local Tiwanaku style could mean the Central Valley was more controlled by the state. However, we

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 8.33. Comparison of surface treatment between utilitarian and serving ware in local styles and CVCT. (a) Interior and exterior of Quillacollo bowls (left) and corresponding storage or cooking vessels (right). (b) Exterior of CVCT serving ware (left) and associated storage and cooking vessels (right). All examples from Quillacollo.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

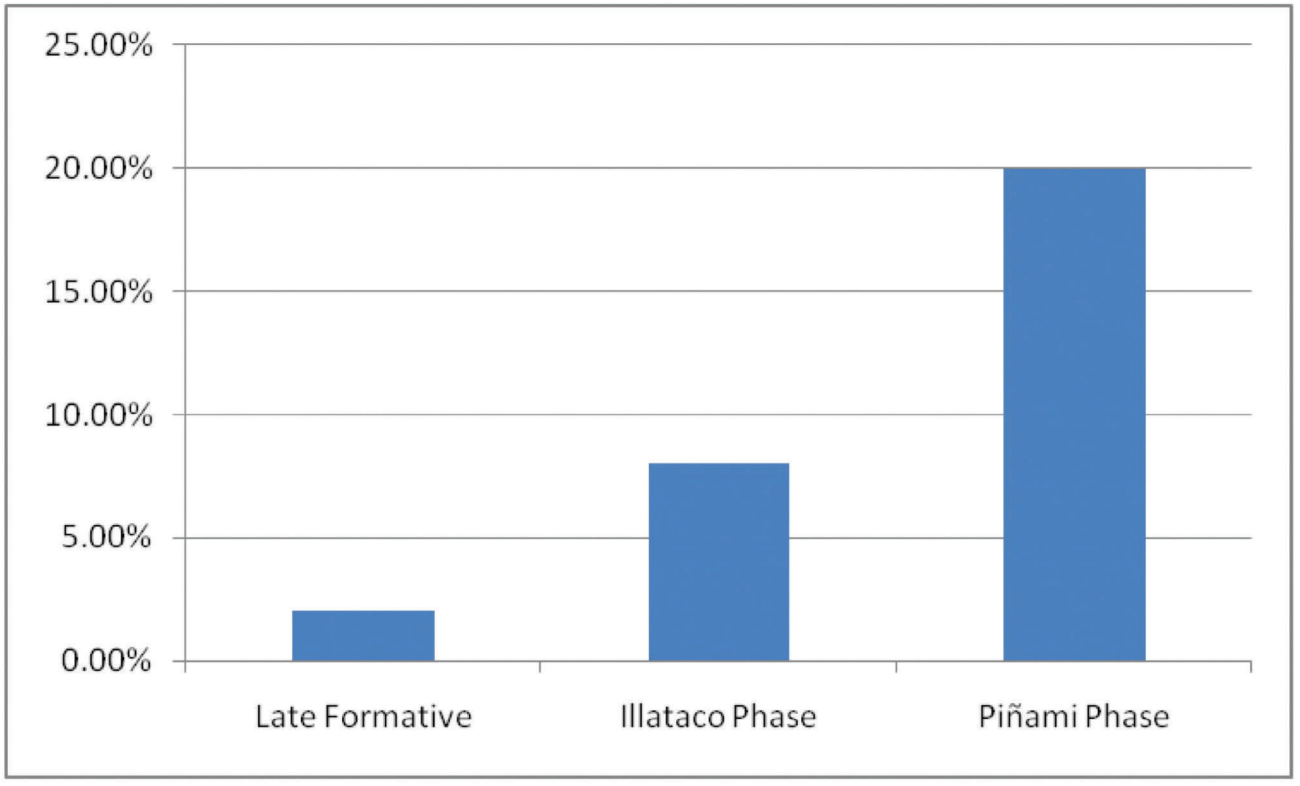


Figure 8.34. Increased frequency of decorated ceramics (of any style) in the Late Formative, Illataco and Piñami Phases at Piñami.

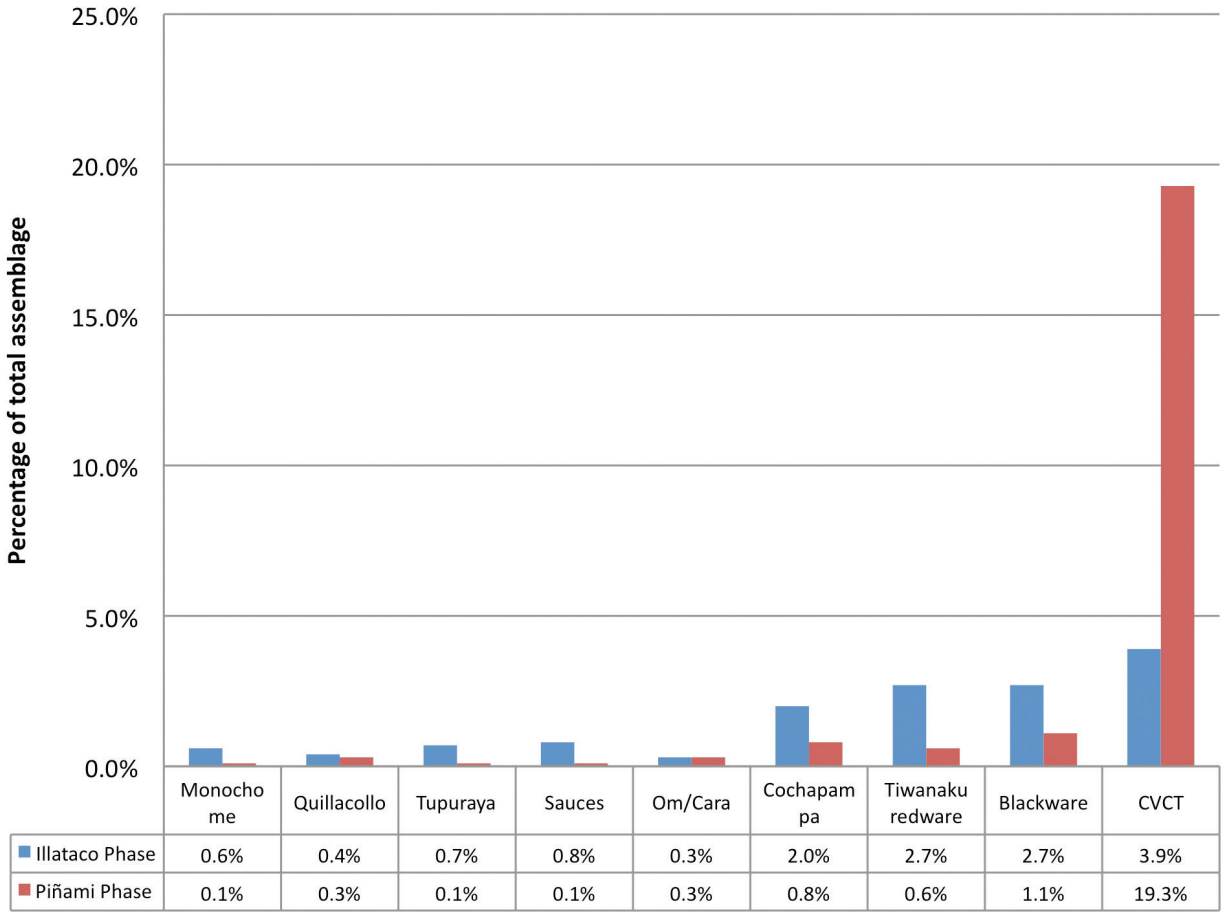
do not see any signs of local resistance or rejection of Tiwanaku until the end of the Piñami Phase, when the quantity and quality of servingware diminish. Instead, the enormous jump in the quantity of CVCT fineware during the Piñami Phase implies that the Central Valley population actively participated in and internalized the highland emphasis on communal consumption via Tiwanaku servingware. If there was more state control of the region, the populace generally seemed to think it was advantageous as social identity remained resoundingly and exclusively focused on Tiwanaku.

Conclusion

The central purpose of this chapter has been to examine the CVCT style and determine whether, as a whole, it falls within the range of variation typical for ceramics of the Tiwanaku core and Tiwanaku peripheries or whether it should instead be considered a "Derived" style, combining Tiwanaku and local Cochabamba traits. To that end, I have examined the Tiwanaku and Cochabamba styles and compared them to the forms, iconography, technology, and practice of the CVCT wares. I find that, overall, the CVCT style is highly similar to the Tiwanaku style and should be considered to fall within the range of variation typical of the Tiwanaku core and key peripheries. While CVCT vessels can display particular attributes that enable them to be "read" as Tiwanaku vessels from Cochabamba, in general CVCT faithfully follows the highland Tiwanaku style. The forms and motifs are generally consistent (except as mentioned above), and notably, some of the less obvious traits of the Tiwanaku style—the symmetry, banding, and aspects of the technology of production—are very similar, resulting in vessels that both look and feel "Tiwanaku." Perhaps even more significantly, it is clear that not only was the ceramic style adopted but also the whole behavior surrounding the use of Tiwanaku pottery, as evidenced by the high percentages and varied use contexts of CVCT fineware.

Tiwanaku ideology, rituals, and associated material culture held a unique power that was transformational and central to the apparently willing and enthusiastic adoption of Tiwanaku practices. As Janusek writes, in speaking about the unique qualities of the Tiwanaku state, "At least as critical to Tiwanaku's success, I believe,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD



	Monocho me	Quillacollo	Tupuraya	Sauces	Om/Cara	Cochapam pa	Tiwanaku redware	Blackware	CVCT
Illataco Phase	0.6%	0.4%	0.7%	0.8%	0.3%	2.0%	2.7%	2.7%	3.9%
Piñami Phase	0.1%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	0.8%	0.6%	1.1%	19.3%

Figure 8.35. Comparison of changes over time, by style, in the frequency of fineware in the ceramic assemblage during the Middle Horizon at Piñami.

was its ability to incorporate diversity through a flexible, elegant cosmology and a range of prestigious goods and practices that gave each group good material *and* ideological reasons for being a part of and identifying with its centers, leaders and ritual specialists" (Janusek 2004:280, emphasis in the original).

Also critical to Tiwanaku's success was the fact that ideologically charged items were not reserved for elites but were, for the most part, distributed and available across all levels of society (Goldstein 2003; Janusek 2004:280, 2008).

Despite the considerable distance between the regions, CVCT is not a "Derived" style loosely mimicking prestigious goods from afar. Instead, it is a Tiwanaku style expressing Tiwanaku ideology and identity. CVCT vessels provided continual, highly visible, and tactile reminders of ties to Tiwanaku, with prestigious goods used daily by all households. As with other regions in the Tiwanaku hegemony, CVCT also "incorporated diversity" and provided local expression through minor variations in the style.

Thus, in the Central Valley, we see a prime example of the effectiveness of the Tiwanaku mystique. Materially and symbolically, the CVCT expressed local social identities but built upon a strong base of Tiwanaku ideology, identity, and practice.

Acknowledgments

Funding for the Piñami project research was provided by a National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Grant, a National Geographic Society Emergency Grant, and the University of California Research Expedition Programs. Support and collaboration within Bolivia were provided by the Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas y Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Cochabamba.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

This project has been a multiyear collaborative effort. Special thanks to archaeologist Zulema Terceros Céspedes, Project Piñami co-director; David M. Pereira Herrera, museum director and project supervisor; Maria de los Angeles Munoz Collazos, museum director; archaeologist Ricardo Céspedes Paz, archaeologist Ramon Sanzetenea Rocha, and the neighbors of Barrio Quechisla.

Notes

1 The source material for Bennett's Mizque Tiahuanaco style came from analysis of surface collections of Nordenskiöld (1917, 1953)along the Rio Mizque 50 to 100 km to the east of the Mizque Valley at the sites of Peres, Perereta, Pucara, Saipina, and Pulquina (Bennett 1936:387).

2 The percentages of Tiwanaku material from Higueras-Hare's site surveys are based on his Appendix C, "Table of Capinota-Parotani Survey Area Site Features and, Part 7: Percentages of pottery styles by lot collections in the Capinota-Parotani survey area (in percentages, %)," and Appendix D, "Table of Mizque Survey Area Site Features Part 7: Percentages of pottery styles by lot collection in the Mizque survey area (in percentages)." In these tables, he lists the percentages of each style found in each lot, which includes all time periods. Higueras-Hare designates the Middle Horizon decorated ware categories to be Tiwanaku and Omereque. Thus, for these totals, I excluded the other style categories. This of course would be just a rough approximation of the Middle Horizon since the Late Formative styles continued into the early Middle Horizon. However, the percentages for the Capinota Valley are very similar to what we found in excavation for the Piñami Phase, and I feel that this is a valid approximation of the differences between the two valleys.

3 Piñami was first excavated in 1988 by Ricardo Céspedes Paz (Céspedes Paz 2000) and in 2002–2005 by my team. The material presented here is from my excavations during the 2002–2005 field seasons. Quillacollo was excavated and the material analyzed by Ricardo Céspedes Paz, Ramón Sanzetenea, and myself in 1993 (Céspedes Paz et al. 1994). I reanalyzed the Quillacollo ceramics in 2005.

4 Although the material found in the Central Valley is likely similar to that found in the other Western Valleys, I have not had the chance to confirm this. For the time being, I prefer to refer to the Tiwanaku material found in the Central Valley separately.

5 The Cochapampa style was first identified and named by Céspedes Paz (2000). Döllerer also studied the style but named it the Parotani style (Döllerer 2004). I use the original name of Cochapampa.

References

Alconini Mujíca, Sonia
1993 La Cerámica de La Pirámide Akapana y Su Contexto Social en el Estado de Tiwanaku. Licenciatura thesis, Department of Anthropology-Archaeology, Universidad de San Andrés, La Paz.

Anderson, Karen
2013 *Tiwanaku Influence on the Central Valley of Cochabamba*. In *Visions of Tiwanaku*, edited by Alexei Vranich and Charles Stanish, pp. 87 – 112. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles.
1997 The Omereque Style of South Central Bolivia. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Barbara.
1999 Tiwanaku Political Economy: The View from Cochabamba. Paper presented at the 64th annual meetings of the Society for American Archaeology. Chicago, Illinois.
2009 Tiwanaku Influence on Local Drinking Patterns in Cochabamba, Bolivia. In *Drink, Power and Society in the Andes*, edited by Justin Jennings and Brenda Bowser, pp. 167 – 199. University of Florida Press.

Anderson, Karen, and Ricardo Céspedes Paz
1998 Tiwanaku and the Local Effects of Contact: The Late Formative to Middle Horizon Transition in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Paper presented at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Seattle, Washington.

Bennett, Wendell C.
1934 Excavations at Tiahuanaco. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 35(3):359–494.
1936 Excavations in Bolivia. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 35(4):329–507.

Bermann, Marc
1990 Prehispanic Household and Empire at Lukurmata, Bolivia. PhD thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
1994 *Lukurmata: Household Archaeology in Prehispanic Bolivia*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Bowser, Brenda
2002 The Perceptive Potter: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Pottery, Ethnicity, and Political Action in Amazonia. PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Brockington, Donald L., David M. Pereira Herrera, Ramón Sanzetenea Rocha, and Maria de los Angeles Muñoz Collazos
1995 Estudios Arqueológicos del Período Formativo en el Sur-Este de Cochabamba. In *Cuadernos de Investigación*, Serie Arqueología No. 8. Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Cochabamba.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Burkholder, J.
1997 Tiwanaku and the Anatomy of Time: A New Ceramic Chronology from the Iwawi Site, Department of La Paz, Bolivia. PhD thesis, Binghamton University, State University of New York.

Byrne de Caballero, Geraldine
1984 El Tiwanaku en Cochabamba. *Arqueología Boliviana* 1:67–72.

Céspedes Paz, Ricardo
2000 Excavaciones Arqueológicas en Piñami. *Boletín de INIAN—MUSEO. Serie Arqueología No.* 9:1–14.

Céspedes Paz, Ricardo, Karen Anderson, and Ramón Sanzetenea
1994 Report on the Excavation at the Parochial Building, Quillacollo, Bolivia. Museo Arqueológico de La Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Cochabamba. Manuscript on file, Instituto Antropológico y Museo Arqueológico de La Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Cochabamba.

Conklin, William J.
2004a Color and Abstraction in Wari Weaving. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca* (*with Essays by Sergio J. Chávez*, *Nicole C. Couture*, *Paul S. Goldstein*, *Alan Kolata*, *and Mario A. Rivera)*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 180–181. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
2004b The Fire Textile. Hali 133 (March–April 2004):94–100.
2004c Shaped Tapestry Sash. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca (with Essays by Sergio J. Chávez*, *Nicole C. Couture*, *Paul S. Goldstein*, *Alan Kolata*, *and Mario A. Rivera)*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 86–87. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
2004d Wari Tunic. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca (with Essays by Sergio J. Chávez*, *Nicole C. Couture*, *Paul S. Goldstein*, *Alan Kolata*, *and Mario A. Rivera)*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 178–179. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Couture, Nicole
2002 The Construction of Power: Monumental Space and an Elite Residence at Tiwanaku, Bolivia. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Döllerer, Cristof
2004 Proyecto Tupuraya: Informe Preliminar sobre los Trabajos Arqueológicos y Documentación de los Estilos Cerámicos Tupuraya y Sauces como los dos Desarrollos Tránsitos entre el Formativo y la Epoca Tiwanaku en Cochabamba, Bolivia. Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas y Museo Arqueológico.

Gabelmann, Olga
2005 Proyecto Santa Lucía 2003/04: Organización social, producción de cerámica e intercambio en el Período Formativo en el valle alto de Cochabamba. In *Jornadas Arqueológicas 2004*, edited by V. E. Salinas Camacho, pp. 51-73. Centro de Investigación Arqueológica, Universidad Mayor de San Francisco Xavier, Sucre.

Goldstein, Paul S.
1985 Tiwanaku Ceramics of the Moquegua Valley, Peru. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
1989 Omo, a Tiwanaku Provincial Center in Moquegua, Peru. PhD thesis, University of Chicago.
2003 From Stew-Eaters to Maize-Drinkers: The Chicha Economy and the Tiwanaku Expansion. In *The Archeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara L. Bray, pp. 143–172. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.
2005 *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of South American Empire*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Gosselain, Olivier
1992 Technology and Style: Potters and Pottery among Bafia of Cameroon. *Man* (n.s.) 27(3):559–586.
1998 Social and Technical Identity in a Clay Crystal Ball. In *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, edited by Miriam T. Stark, pp. 78–106. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Gyarmati, Janos, and A. Varga
1999 *The Chacaras of War: An Inka State Estate in the Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia*. Museum of Ethnography, Budapest.

Higueras-Hare, Alvaro
1996 Prehispanic Settlement and Land Use in Cochabamba, Bolivia. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh.

Ibarra Grasso, Dick Edgar
1965 *Prehistoria de Bolivia*. Los Amigos del Libro, La Paz.
1973 *Prehistoria de Bolivia*. 2nd ed. Los Amigos del Libro, La Paz.

Ibarra Grasso, Dick Edgar, and Roy Querejazu Lewis
1986 *30.000 Años de Prehistoria en Bolivia*. Los Amigos del Libro, La Paz.

Janusek, John Wayne
2002 Out of Many, One: Style and Social Boundaries in Tiwanaku. *Latin American Antiquity* 13(1):3–33.
2003 Vessels, Time, and Society: Toward a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, edited by Alan Kolata, pp. 30–89. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2004 *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*. Routledge, New York.

2008 *Ancient Tiwanaku*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Lechtman, Heather

1977 Style in Technology: Some Early Thoughts. In *Material Culture: Style, Organization, and Dynamics of Technology*, edited by H. Lechtman and R. S. Merrill, pp. 3-20. West Publishing, New York.

1988 Traditions and Styles in Central Andean Metalworking. In *The Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys*, edited by R. Maddin, pp. 344-78. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Nordenskiöld, Erland

1917 Die üstliche Ausbreitung der Tiahuanacokultur in Bolivien und ihr Verhaltnis zur Aruakkultur in Mojos.*Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie* 49:10-20.

1953 *Investigaciones arqueologicas en la region fronteriza de Perú y Bolivia*, translated by Ponce Sanginés and S. Rydén. Biblioteca Pacena, La Paz, Bolivia.

Pereira Herrera, David M., Maria de los Angeles Muñoz Collazos, Ramón Sanzetenea Rocha, and Donald L. Brockington

1992 *Conchupata: Un Panteón Formativo Temprano en el Valle de Mizque*. Serie Arqueología 7. Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas y Museo Arqueológico, Cochabamba, Bolivia.

Pereira Herrera, David M., and Donald L. Brockington

2005 Mojocoya y Greyware: Interacción e Intercambios Entre la Amazonia, Chaco y Andes. *Cuadernos de Investigación*, Serie Arqueología No. 10. Museo Arqueológico Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Cochabamba.

Pereira Herrera, David M., Ramón Sanzetenea Rocha, and Donald L. Brockington

2001 Investigaciones del Proyecto Arqueológico Formativo en Cochabamba, Bolivia. *Textos Antropológicos* 13(1–2):167–182.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos

1976 *Tiwanaku: Espacio, Tiempo y Cultura*. Ediciones Pumapunku, La Paz.

Rice, Prudence M.

1987 *Pottery Analysis: A Sourcebook*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Rivera Casanovas, Claudia

1994 Ch'iji Jawira: Evidencias Sobre la Producción de Cerámica en Tiwanaku. Licenciatura thesis, Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, La Paz.

2003 Ch'iji Jawira: Evidencias sobre la Producción de Cerámica en Tiwanaku. Licenciatura thesis, Universidad Mayor de San Andrés.

Rydén, Stig

1959 *Andean Excavations II: Tupuraya and Cayhuasi: Two Tiahuanaco Sites*. Monograph Series No. 6. Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm.

Seddon, Matthew T.

1998 Ritual, Power and the Development of a Complex Society: The Island of the Sun and the Tiwanaku State. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Stark, Miriam, Mark D. Elson and Jeffery J. Clark

1998 Social Boundaries and Technical Choices in Tonto Basin Prehistory. In *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, edited by M. T. Stark, pp. 208-231, Smithsonian Institution Press. Washington D.C.

Vetters, Marianne, and Hartmut Tschauner

1995 Cronologia, Estructura Decorativa e Iconografia Tiwanaku: Un analisis de la ceramic procedente de Tiwanaku en la Coleccion Fritz Buck, La Paz.

Wallace, Dwight T.

1957 The Tiahuanaco Horizon Style in the Peruvian and Bolivian Highlands. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Washburn, Dorothy K.

1977 *A Symmetry Analysis of the Upper Gila Area Ceramic Design*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 68. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 9: Introduction

Gods and Goddesses in Diaspora
Gender, Patriarchy, and Resistance in Tiwanaku Ceramic Iconography

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 9, Paul Goldstein discusses diverse and cross-cutting identities inferred for the ancient Tiwanaku cultural sphere. Given that archaeologists must infer cultural institutions and activities, including movements and interactions among human groups, through variation in artifact forms—especially ceramic styles, iconography, and architecture—Goldstein begins his discussion by examining how meaningful material styles are mobilized from origin centers across landscapes. Assuming that all stylistic variation identified by archaeologists expressed ancient identities, he contrasts the transport of objects, as in caravan trade, with travel by craftspeople who manufactured heartland-style goods in distant locations and may have traveled among multiple locations, perhaps even an itinerant route.

Following the brief consideration of mobile craft production versus transportation of goods, Goldstein turns to issues of Tiwanaku identities, including the exploration of cross-cutting identities that were probably based on qualities of social space, rather than the physical space and regionalism more frequently assumed by archaeologists. Indeed, this novel approach to Tiwanaku and the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) phenomena might prove insightful for the more traditional analyses have failed to convincingly explain many of the curious details of diverse archaeological records—for example, the impressive special objects cached in the Jujuy settlements of northwestern Argentina, described by Tarragó (Chapter 14, this volume). Goldstein proposes an interesting concept, "transregional communities," that, although not clearly defined, would seem to imply social identities based on an instrumentalist understanding of identity that develop not around origin centers, home, and heartlands but around long-distance interests shared by scattered participants through various forms of interaction. As with Tarragó's discussion, analogies with Trobriand Islands' Kula spring to mind. However, Goldstein's discussion seems founded in primordialist assumptions about identity, as he discusses the colonization of the Middle Moquegua Valley settlement clusters by specific altiplano ethnic groups from regional homeland locations, beginning around AD 700. These settlers brought with them an official Tiwanaku state identity forged in the homeland. So apparently Goldstein's "transregional communities" refers to relocated heartland identities, not truly a differently based identity process, predicated on relationships "in motion" over long distances and long times. However, I suspect that some kind of truly transregional community basis for identity may be key to eventually understanding Tiwanaku and the ancient SAIS sphere, so perhaps Goldstein and others working in the southern Andes will continue to develop this kind of theoretical perspective, along with relevant concepts as well as archaeological methods for productive investigations.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Goldstein informs readers that Tiwanaku colonists in Moquegua settled "four large cosmopolitan town sites at the settlement groups of Omo, Chen Chen/Los Cerrillos, Rio Muerto, and Cerro Echenique," establishing a population that he estimates between 10,000 and 20,000. Significantly, the Omo site includes a sizable compound judged by Goldstein to have been a temple. Two subcultural groups participated in the colonization, distinguishable by their respective settlement locations, domestic lifeways, ceramic styles, and mortuary practices. One is called Omo, the other Chen Chen, after their principal settlements. Goldstein describes fascinating differences in the settlements, architecture, and pottery and asserts confidently that "it will be possible to link the Omo and Chen Chen ceramic styles, and perhaps the colonists who brought them, to specific parent communities in the altiplano through further quantitative assemblage research." In the meantime, he suggests that Omo ceramics most resemble assemblages found in Tiwanaku settlements of the Copacabana Peninsula, the southwestern lakeshore, and its islands.

It is interesting that Goldstein does not address the chronological issue raised by the virtually total temporal overlap of the Omo and Chen Chen styles or ethnic groups. For decades, archaeologists have debated whether Bennett's (1934) Classic and Decadent Tiwanaku, Ponce Sanginés's (1976) Tiwanaku IV and V, and Janusek's (2008) Tiwanaku 1 and 2 are really temporal phases distinguishable by change in pottery style or more or less simultaneous variation in style responding to something other than time, such as regional ethnicity. When archaeologists first defined the Omo and Chen Chen styles in Moquegua, they correlated them with Tiwanaku IV (Classic, or 1) and Tiwanaku V (Decadent, or 2), respectively, arguing that they represented sequential occupations, as at Tiahuanaco. Today, radiocarbon dating makes it clear that Moquegua's two named Tiwanaku styles are contemporary, overlapping for most if not all of their histories on the coast. Does their synchronization not implicate the debate for the Tiahuanaco heartland as well? This issue requires resolution if the prehistory of Tiwanaku styles and identities are to be adequately understood.

Having discussed identity expressed in ceramic style—which may have been ethnic in nature—Goldstein turns to cross-cutting axes of identity and their manifestation in material cultural variation, especially issues of gender. He correctly points out that gender has been ignored in Tiwanaku prehistory (at least until Burkholder's contribution, Chapter 20, this volume) and also correctly notes that the majority of Tiwanaku's ceramic shapes and virtually all of its decorations appear quite suddenly at the onset of Tiwanaku IV (or 1) during the seventh century or so. This represents a major culture change that Goldstein relates to the appearance of a new "patron role" ritual that celebrated elite men in the ceremonial consumption of corn beer from vessels of distinctive shapes that often represent male faces. Some of these faces are so distinctive that they may be portraits of prominent individuals. Furthermore, Goldstein infers that Staff God imagery and its Profile Attendants all depict males, affirming masculine dominance in cosmic and social power. Some readers may find these exciting interpretations rather speculative. It is also wise to remember that Haeberli (this volume, Chapter 6) argues convincingly that early Staff Gods were goddesses, and Klarich and Chávez (this volume, Chapter 3) observed that feasting seems to have been very important in altiplano cultures since at least Pucara/Late Yaya-Mama times. Be that as it may, this is a fascinating issue for future investigation. Can related practices be observed in other southern Andean contexts, such as the kero drinking cups cached or offered in northwestern Argentina (Tarragó, Chapter 14, this volume)? How about in Wari?

Although beer can be produced from other Andean plants, Goldstein emphasizes corn exclusively and relates the complex of cultural changes at the outset of the Tiwanaku Period to coastal colonization, undertaken at least in part so that corn could be grown in quantity, with transshipment to altiplano consumers. He also states that there is support for increased consumption of corn from chemical analyses of human bones, that also reveal gender differences in maize consumption in Tiwanaku culture. They do not at Conchopata, in the Huari heartland (Finucane et al. 2006). Furthermore, to the degree that Goldstein is correct, patrimonial feasting in Tiwanaku celebrating elite males would seem to represent a significant departure from Early SAIS ideology—where gender complementarity (Chávez, Chapter 2, this volume) and prominent female deities (Haeberli, Chapter 6, this volume) were conspicuous in the art and iconography. Furthermore, Korpisaari (Chapter 7, this volume) reports fine effigy vessels representing women in the Pariti offering. These are exciting issues for future research and discussion.

Goldstein ends his chapter considering women in Tiwanaku art—represented on utilitarian ceramics and in simple figurines. He suggests that female symbolism may have been a covert response to, and perhaps even resistance of, excessively masculine social domination through cult activity. Was this defense through counterattack, creating feminine cultism, as Goldstein suggests, or was there less gender conflict than suggested? Interestingly,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

utilitarian Wari ceramics were also sometimes decorated with female images, although at Conchopata, this has been interpreted as emphasizing an analogy between the female body and the cooking/brewing pot, where miraculous transformations took place (Isbell and Groleau 2010). Whether gender was more conflictual in Tiwanaku and more complementary in Wari is another issue for future research. Goldstein's discussion of variability in material culture infers "a rich and complex universe of unitary and segmentary, gendered, and political identities within Tiwanaku culture that we are only beginning to understand."

Readers are reminded that this chapter focuses on the Tiwanaku people who occupied the Middle Moquegua Valley, the same valley discussed in Chapter 16 by Donna Nash. She, however, discusses the Wari occupation in the Upper Moquegua Valley. While the chapters have been separated in the organization of this volume, many readers may want to read them together.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Bennett, Wendell C.
1934 Excavations at Tiahuanaco. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 35(4):329–507.

Finucane, Brian, Patricia Maita Agurto, and William H. Isbell
2006 Human and Animal Diet at Conchopata, Peru: Stable Isotope Evidence for Maize Agriculture and Animal Management Practices during the Middle Horizon. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33(12):1766–1776.

Isbell, William H., and Amy Groleau
2010 The Wari Brewer Woman: Feasting, Gender, Offerings, and Memory. In *Inide Ancient Kitchens: New Directions in the Study of Daily Means and Feasts*, edited by E. A. Klarich, pp. 191–220. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Janusek, John Wayne
2008 *Ancient Tiwanaku*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos
1976 *Tiwanaku: Espacio, Tiempo y Cultura*. Ediciones Pumapunku, La Paz.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 9

Gods and Goddesses in Diaspora

Gender, Patriarchy, and Resistance in Tiwanaku Ceramic Iconography

Paul S. Goldstein

What was the role of art in the transmission of the social and gender ideologies of Tiwanaku as that civilization expanded? We find different answers to these questions in each region that Tiwanaku touched during the Middle Horizon. Elaborate and iconographically rich Tiwanaku items, such as tapestry tunics and jeweled snuff kits, were traded widely, albeit sparsely, in the south-central Andes. These objects, many of which carried the icons of the Southern Andean Iconographic Series, were of great artistic, ritual, and spiritual value to the diverse peoples of the southern Andes. The appearance of Tiwanaku-style preciosities among other cultures outside of the altiplano homeland indicates that the mainstream religio-political Tiwanaku iconography represented a powerfully attractive concept to many people of the southern Andes. The chapters in this volume discuss a variety of forms of contact between Tiwanaku and Wari agents and other peoples that may have transmitted religious, social, and political values across the Middle Horizon. Here, I focus on cases of direct Tiwanaku colonization of the lowland valleys of southern Peru, a pattern that may also apply to eastern Bolivia and northern Chile. In contrast to regions where native elites chose to affiliate with Tiwanaku high culture by adopting elements for use in symbolic contexts like burials or ritual, Tiwanaku colonists brought a wider range of domestic culture from the altiplano homeland to their new homes in diaspora.

In this chapter, I will consider the movement both of the familiar icons of Tiwanaku and of several less well-known iconographic subtraditions that accompanied Tiwanaku colonists when they colonized new regions like Peru's Moquegua Valley. I will posit that these less studied iconographic substyles represent more than just regional diversity but particular ethnic, social, and gender-specific factions within the Tiwanaku sphere. I will argue that these factions crosscut, coexisted with, and contested the realm of dominant religio-political ideology represented by the South Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS).

To do so, I first briefly consider the transportation of objects and the movement of craftspeople and ideas in the Tiwanaku civilization. Second, I will describe the great Tiwanaku migration, focusing on the sociopolitical organization of the Tiwanaku colonies, their enduring ties to their homelands, and their coexistence with indigenous and Wari cultural neighbors. Finally, I will consider the meaning of the several cross-cutting iconographic traditions that the altiplano colonists carried to their new homes as part of their daily surroundings and how these may reflect social and gendered affiliations within the Tiwanaku sphere.

Transporting Iconography—Practical and Symbolic Considerations

Iconography cannot travel by itself, yet transported iconography is among the best evidence we have of the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

articulations between state cores and their colonies and how these varied over time and space. This is because migrants exercise choice over which homeland traditions they bring to new lands, what they leave behind, and new concepts they might pick up or abandon along the way. While such choices may be conditioned by the affiliation and tastes of the migrant group, another part of this selection process is influenced by the practical economics, of portability. Communities in motion are limited in what they can bring along, and certain media are simply more portable than others. While water transport around the altiplano may have permitted the movement of Tiwanaku monumental stone carvings, architectural elements, and larger ceramic pieces (Chávez 1976, 1981; Chávez and Mohr Chávez 1976; Ponce Sanginés and Mogrovejo Terrazas 1970), these were unlikely to have been brought to lowland regions due to the difficulty of the terrain and the absence of draft animals. This "distance decay" phenomenon (Stein 1999) also applies to raw materials, bulk subsistence goods, and consumables (maize, coca, incenses, and so on). Even among more portable media—like ceramic, wooden, bone or jewelry objects, and textiles—lighter, less delicate, and more easily packed objects may travel better. This logic suggests export assemblages that favored items that were easy to stack and unlikely to break. The peddler's pack can carry more bowls and blankets than teakettles, and only a few of the most complex and elaborate Tiwanaku craft objects may have been worth the extra effort to transport from homeland sources.

Ultimately, where the movement of objects was costly, it may have been easier to move ideas, craftspeople, and raw materials rather than finished crafts. Transplanted Tiwanaku communities would have sought to be self-sufficient for the production of many everyday items and may have only traded with their parent communities for objects or raw materials that could not be reproduced within the colony. Most Andean textiles, for example, are woven in the home by family members versed in the techniques and styles of their parent community. Hence, textiles woven by Tiwanaku weavers would be Tiwanaku textiles, whether imported as completed garments or woven in the colony, perhaps using imported yarns, wool, or dyes. This latter model of goods that were locally made by Tiwanaku-trained craftspeople particularly applies to categories like domestic ceramics and plain-weave cloth, where the high cost of transport makes import substitution likely over time. Another possibility suggested by ethnohistoric sources might be itinerant crafting communities who followed demand and raw material sources, rather than export their wares from a permanent workshop (Murra 1972).

Whether imported or reproduced, the range and elaboration of colonial assemblages may have also been limited by the colonists' social and economic capital. Migrants often represent the more marginal segments of larger communities, and initial settlers in particular may be disproportionately younger and nonelite individuals (Anthony 1990). Most Tiwanaku colonists were farmers, herders, and craftspeople, rather than military or administrative elites, and the bulk of colonial Tiwanaku material culture reflects this proletarian origin, with a small proportion of high-status elite goods.

Tiwanaku colonists also injected variability into their material culture by drawing from distinct source substyles, which seem to correlate with distinct social groups within the greater Tiwanaku sphere. Because some of these distinct substyles may have some degree of regional affiliation, it is tempting to propose them as regional variants of Tiwanaku. However, Tiwanaku stylistic variability may not correspond strictly with spatial distribution. For example, as many as 13 distinct ceramic styles have been identified within the Tiwanaku-related ceramic assemblage at the Iwawi site, including both local styles and styles that feature prominently at the Tiwanaku site (Burkholder 2001). This suggests that the distribution of Tiwanaku substyles was more complex than simple regional variation and that choices made by Tiwanaku populations from among multiple substyles could have crosscut, or even ignored, purely regional affiliation.

Additionally, if Tiwanaku social groups shared preferences for certain ceramic substyles, many of these groups were themselves transregional communities, with members simultaneously inhabiting parent towns and regions in the altiplano, barrios within the city of Tiwanaku, and perhaps colonies on both sides of the Andes. Shared choices among substyles in Tiwanaku thus may follow the idea of an "extended community" that transcends pure geographical definition. The following discussion of Tiwanaku ceramics in Moquegua is thus less the description of "regional" substyles than the definition of those elements of the greater Tiwanaku assemblage that appear most frequently in Moquegua and in other corners of the Tiwanaku sphere settled by affiliated peoples with similar preferences.

Finally, beyond regional and transregional social affiliations, the stylistic and iconographic choices made by Tiwanaku peoples may also reflect diverse political, social, gender, and class identities. In what follows, I

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

will argue that the male human portraiture, zoomorphic themes, and the Gateway gods tradition of the SAIS appear in elite media, such as serving ceramics and stone sculpture, and are found in contexts associated with high cultural practices of Tiwanaku civilization: temple ritual, mortuary offering, and, I would argue, Tiwanaku political "patron-role" feasting (Dietler 2001:82–85; Goldstein 1993, 2003). However, the SAIS was not the only iconographic and stylistic tradition within Tiwanaku culture. In this chapter, I also consider a little-known popular tradition focused on female imagery that appears in domestic plainware ceramic throughout the Tiwanaku sphere and how this may represent a gendered affiliation resistant to the state patrimony suggested by the masculine associations of the SAIS iconography.

Understanding Tiwanaku Colonization

By the seventh century AD, as the peoples of Tiwanaku were creating a cosmopolitan urban capital and controlling a core region in the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, elements of Tiwanaku culture and iconography also began to appear in far-flung corners of the southern Andes. In southern Peru, Tiwanaku state expansion was diasporic in nature, as altiplano migrants to lowland valleys like Moquegua formed large residential enclaves that remained genealogically and culturally linked to altiplano Tiwanaku parent communities. These colonists maintained Tiwanaku traditions and furnished their new communities with material culture and icons that reinforced their complex affiliations with homeland society, culture, and religion.

As archaeologists have begun to evaluate Tiwanaku expansion through contextualized problem-oriented archaeological research, a more nuanced picture of Tiwanaku expansion has emerged. The development of a scientific mortuary archaeology and bioarchaeology for Tiwanaku now allows us to associate objects with tomb structures, burial practices, and the gender, age, and health of cemetery populations. Research on stylistic variations in intentional cranial modification, the deliberate molding of head shape in childhood, points to a correspondence with sociocultural affiliation to ethnic subgroups within the Tiwanaku region (Blom 2005; Buikstra 1995; Hoshower et al. 1995; Torres-Rouff 2002). Biological distance studies also offer insight into genetic relationships among Tiwanaku populations across time and space (Blom 1999; Blom et al. 1998; Lozada Cerna 1998; Rothhammer et al. 1989; Rothhammer and Santoro 2001; Sutter et al. 2009, 2000), while isotopic paleodiet studies can point to culinary and agrarian variability among Tiwanaku-affiliated populations and, notably here, between Tiwanaku men and women (Sandness 1992; Somerville et al. 2011; Somerville et al. 2015; Tomczak 2003). Equally important are isotopic paleomigration studies, which point to the highland origins of Tiwanaku's lowland colonists (Knudson 2008; Knudson et al. 2004; Knudson et al. 2005; Knudson et al. 2014), and paleodemography, which suggests the return migration of some (Baitzel 2008). At the same time, household archaeology—the excavation of town sites, homes, and middens—provides a window on daily lifeways under Tiwanaku influence in the altiplano and the lowland Tiwanaku settlement sites (Bermann 1994, 1997; Goldstein 1993b, 2005; Janusek 2003a, 2004). Analysis of regional settlement patterns is particularly important for understanding demographic distribution, settlement location choice, and subsistence strategies in the Tiwanaku heartland (Albarracin-Jordan 1996, 1997; Janusek and Kolata 2004; McAndrews et al. 1997; Stanish 2003) and provinces.

The Moquegua Colony

The Middle Moquegua (also known as Middle Osmore) Valley of southern Peru lies approximately 300 km west of the site of Tiwanaku. With elevations between 900 and 2,000 m, the Middle Moquegua Valley is one of the closest temperate valleys to the Tiwanaku homeland and was one of Tiwanaku's most important sources of lowland produce such as coca, peppers, beans, wood, and, most notably, maize, the key ingredient for *chicha* beer and an important part of Tiwanaku's ritual economy. Varieties of maize from Moquegua Tiwanaku sites have been identified at the Tiwanaku site, confirming this connection (Hastorf et al. 2006). Moquegua's desert conditions also offer unparalleled preservation of entire Tiwanaku town plans, with house platforms, cemeteries, residential plazas, and temple architecture visible on the surface and in aerial photos, and the aridity of the valley also preserves many organic artifacts and architectural and subsistence remains that are not preserved in the rainy altiplano.

A Tiwanaku presence in Moquegua has been documented for some time (Disselhoff 1968; Fujii 1980; Ishida 1960; Mujica 1985; Murra 1972; Pari 1987). Sustained problem-oriented research includes the Moquegua Archaeological Survey (MAS) in the 1990s, which systematically surveyed the 150 km^2 of the Middle Moquegua Valley, recording a total of 531 pre-Columbian site components (Goldstein 2000, 2005), and household, mortuary, and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

monumental excavations at the Omo, Chen Chen, and Rio Muerto Tiwanaku sites (Goldstein 2005).

Tiwanaku colonization replaced the indigenous cultural tradition in Moquegua, known as the Huaracane, a politically noncomplex society relying on floodplain irrigation to sustain a valley-wide population of perhaps 7,000. The Huaracane ceramic tradition consisted of neckless or short-necked *ollas* built from a coarse sand or fiber-tempered paste, along with fine-paste hemispherical serving bowls, slipped in orange or in reduced black (Goldstein 1989, 2000). Early Huaracane textiles are mostly twined or knotted cotton, camelid, vegetable, and composite blankets and mats, although warp-faced plain weaves with polychrome warp striping gain popularity in later Huaracane sites. Huaracane assemblages incorporate both south-coast trade goods, including Nasca-style ceramics, textiles, and metals, and vessels of the altiplano Pukara style, which appear as grave goods in elite Huaracane cemeteries (Goldstein 2000). A Pukara-style textile fragment with paired wefts was also found at Cerro Trapiche (Conklin 1983).

Tiwanaku settlers appeared in Moquegua in the seventh century. Migration may have been spurred by a massive El Niño event, occurring in approximately AD 700 that would have presented a major blow to indigenous Huaracane agriculturalists and an opportunity for Tiwanaku settlers dispossessed by altiplano droughts to occupy a new agrarian niche in the valley (Goldstein and Magilligan 2011). Moquegua's Huaracane people did not live in the newly established Tiwanaku sites or, it appears, intermarry with the new Tiwanaku settlers (Blom et al. 1998).

Over the next four centuries, Tiwanaku and Tiwanaku-derived settlements came to occupy over 141 ha of new residential site areas in the Middle Moquegua Valley (Figure 9.1), surpassing the scale of indigenous Huaracane settlement. Tiwanaku occupation was organized in fundamentally different ways than the prior local culture, concentrated in four large town sites at the site groups of Omo, Chen Chen/Los Cerrillos, Rio Muerto, and Cerro Echenique. Each site group had its own complex of cemeteries, and both the habitation area and the density of tombs indicate a valley-wide Tiwanaku population somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000. Tiwanaku settlement location in Moquegua demonstrates a cultural preference for a distinct agrarian "niche" near springs and new irrigable lands reclaimed by canals extending deep into the desert (Goldstein and Magilligan 2011). This new network of sites was connected by desert caravan trails, marked with giant llama geoglyphs still visible on hillsides near Chen Chen, Omo, and Rio Muerto (Figure 9.2).

Tiwanaku colonization consisted of two distinct migration streams, each of which appear in Moquegua as subcultures with distinctive ceramic styles, domestic lifeways, and mortuary practices. The Omo-style occupation may represent Tiwanaku's pioneer expansion into the western valleys like Moquegua, with initial dates in the late seventh century, continuing through the tenth century. Fifteen site components, covering a total of 28.7 ha, in the Middle Moquegua Valley have been associated with this style, suggesting a total population of perhaps 3,000 people. Omo-style settlements were clustered in distinct residential sectors at the three site groups of Omo, Chen Chen/Los Cerrillos, and Rio Muerto. In each town site, the Omo occupations are the furthest away from the irrigable valley floodplain, located as far as 2 km from the floodplain and closest to the desert caravan routes marked by llama geoglyphs. This suggests that the Omo-style Tiwanaku colonists may have arrived as pastoralists, who deliberately located their camps to avoid the farmsteads of the floodplain. Omo-style homes were multiroom structures of mats or skins supported by a skeleton of small-diameter wooden posts. These were arrayed in community groups around plazas with ceremonial trench circles that were virtually free of artifacts, suggesting they were kept clean as areas for public assembly or dance.

Either simultaneous with or shortly after the Omo-style colonization, a second set of Tiwanaku communities appeared in Moquegua. This migration brought a distinct subset of Tiwanaku material culture known as the Chen Chen style. The Chen Chen–style groups neither replaced nor mingled with the Omo-style colony but instead established an independent and overlapping settlement pattern. Chen Chen–style settlements in the Middle Moquegua Valley covered a total of 54.6 ha of domestic area, with an additional 10.4 ha occupied by 48 distinct cemeteries arrayed around the town sites (Figure 9.1), indicating a population well over 10,000 (Goldstein and Owen 2001). Chen Chen settlements housed the labor force, which supported a period of remarkable Tiwanaku agricultural intensification in the valley, reclaiming desert land through massive canal systems (Williams 1997:90). Hoes, grinding stones, and storage cists indicate industrial-scale processing and storage of maize both to feed the colonial population and for export (Goldstein 2005; Hastorf et al. 2006; Sandness 1992). Chen Chen–style towns consisted of domestic compounds different from Omo-style household

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

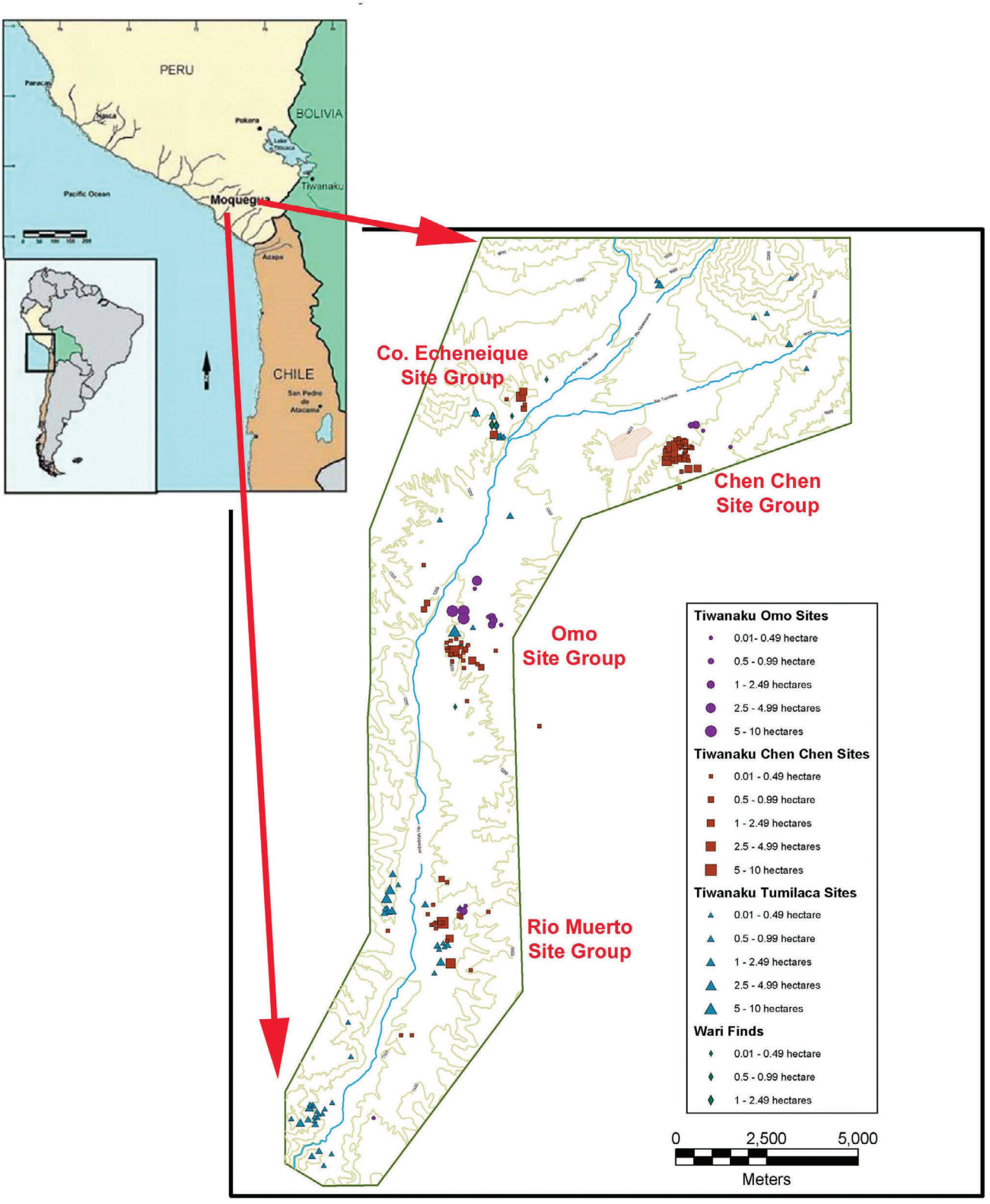


Figure 9.1. Map locating the Moquegua Valley in far southern Peru, with detail insert showing four large townsite groupings of Tiwanaku residents in the middle Moquegua Valley.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

groups, with cane-walled rooms constructed with heavy roof timbers and backyard activity areas, mud-plastered storage cists, trash middens, and other features. The distinct domestic architecture suggests an ongoing social distinction between the two Tiwanaku colonial groups.

Settlers, Lifeways, and Ceramic Styles

Moquegua's Omo- and Chen Chen–style Tiwanaku ceramic assemblages both represent entirely Tiwanaku techniques and motifs with no evidence of transculturation with the local ceramic tradition. Both domestic and mortuary sites were fully furnished with vessel types indistinguishable from archetypes found in the Tiwanaku core region and thus seem to reflect only altiplano Tiwanaku tastes and preferences. Radiocarbon dates suggest that the Omo and Chen Chen stylistic units overlap in time and coincide with the styles commonly known as Tiwanaku Phases IV and V in the altiplano. (Editor's note: these phases have been renamed Tiwanaku 1 and 2 by John Janusek and Arik Ohnstad [Chapter 4, this volume].) While forms and size distribution varied, the prevalent utilitarian vessels in both assemblages were two handled cooking *ollas* and restricted neck *tinajas*, suggesting similarity between the two styles in terms of culinary function and thus cuisine (Figure 9.3). In both stylistic assemblages, fine serving vessels include *keros*, *tazones*, small pitchers, portrait vessels, zoomorphic *incensarios*, and jars, normally red slipped, often with polychrome slip painting in black, white, and orange.

Distinctions between the two styles can be subtle, but there are several key differences. The simplest distinguishing feature of the Omo style is that, while the majority of fine serving vessels are variants of decorated red-slipped ware, up to 40 percent of the fine serving vessels in the domestic assemblages of Omo-style sites are of polished blackware pottery. These vessels were burnished and smudge-fired in a reducing atmosphere to produce a hard and glossy black finish. The Omo style also has several distinct vessel form variants that are absent in the Chen Chen assemblages, notably a tendency to shorter, wider-based *keros*[1] (Figure 9.4) and a preferential frequency of some other forms, such as *escudilla* bowls, and duck, llama, and other zoomorphic modeled vessels. Omo-style vessels of both red-slipped and blackwares tend to have thinner walls and higher temperature firing, and surface treatments tend toward higher burnishing. Omo-style painted decoration on red-slipped servingware tends to use fine curvilinear lines and, while it may conform to horizontal registers, is seldom confined to rectangular panels, and many motifs are entirely free on the vessel. The most common

Figure 9.2. Tiwanaku llama and *kero* geoglyphs, Chen Chen site, Moquegua.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

identifiable motif is the continuous volute (Figure 9.5), followed by various other geometrics, including step-stair motifs, profile heads, Omo-style renditions of felines, eagles and the Front-Face God, and portrait vessels. Some technical details of the Omo style, notably the greater use of modeling on portrait vessels, may be due to distinct production streams that sent some identically formed vessel blanks to be fired as blackware and others to be painted as redware. Similar motifs may appear as postfiring engraving on blackware and wooden vessels. Postfiring engraving is also used for identifying marks on Omo-style fineware vessels, most commonly in the form of a bird talon figure that may appear on the base, body, or rim (Figure 9.6).

In contrast, the Chen Chen–style fine serving assemblages rarely include blackware. Chen Chen–style red-slipped vessels emphasize standardized forms such as the classic flaring *kero* shape,[2] a bulging top *kero* variant shaped like a Coca-Cola glass, the *tazon* bowl form (Figure 9.7), pitchers, and feline-headed *incensarios*. Chen Chen–style painted decoration tends to use thicker and blockier areas of black than that of the Omo style. Designs are usually contained in well-defined horizontal design registers that typically comprise two identical main panels and two narrower divider panels. Designs are executed in black, with white and orange used to outline black areas or as subsidiary details. A blue-gray slip color appears on a small number of Chen Chen–style vessels with more complex designs; this color is not found in the Omo-style assemblage. The most common identifiable motif is the step-stair motif (Figure 9.8), followed by various other Chen Chen–style geometrics, profile heads, flamingos, felines and eagles, the front-face god, and portrait vessels. The continuous volute is not found in Chen Chen–style assemblages.

It may be possible to link the Omo and Chen Chen ceramic styles, and perhaps the colonists who brought them, to specific parent communities in the altiplano through further assemblage research. Omo-style pottery shares the most affinities with Tiwanaku ceramics of the Copacabana Peninsula, the southwest shore of Lake Titicaca and the lake islands; these include a high

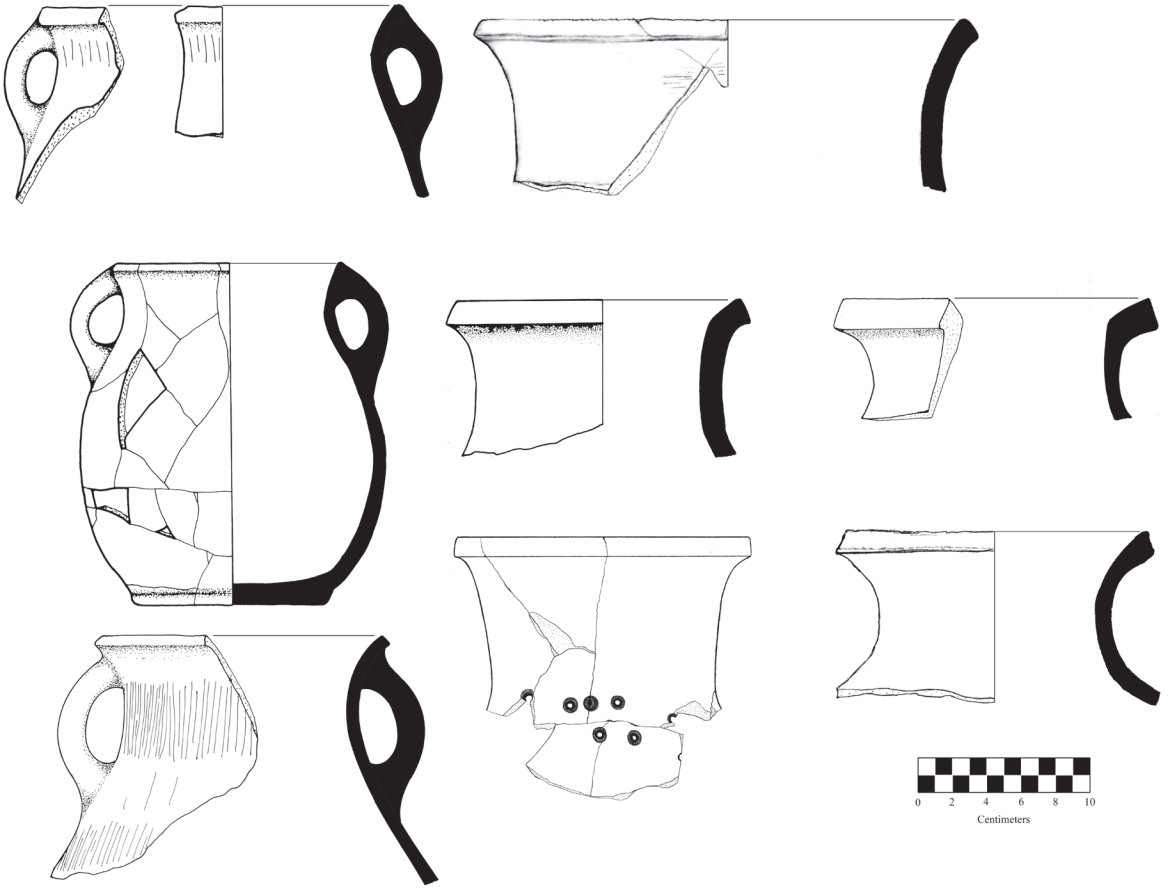


Figure 9.3. Omo-style utilitarian *ollas* and *tinajas*, Omo M12 site.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 9.4. Omo-style serving ceramics, Omo M12 site.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

frequency of polished black servingwares, some particular variant shapes of *keros*, zoomorphic and portrait vessel forms (see below), the use of a fine-line painting style on redware vessels, postfiring engraved decoration on blackware, and bird talon usage markings on blackware and redware *keros*. Postfiring engraving is used for identifying usage marks, often in the form of a small "X" scratched on the base, body, or rim of fine serving vessels, but it is not used for complex motifs (Figure 9.6). Particularly diagnostic is the high prevalence of the continuous volute motif at the Omo-style sites at lakeside sites, such as Mocachi, Copacabana, Chiripa, Iwawi, Lukurmata, and Pariti, and on vessels from Ciriapata in the Bandelier collection at the American Museum of Natural History (e.g., B 2213, Figure 9.5a) (Bandelier 1910; Bennett 1936:455 and Figure 26c,d; Bermann 1994; Burkholder 1997, 2001; Casanova 1942; Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 43, 110, 111, 150, 185, 195, 209, 215, 216, 217; Isbell and Burkholder 2002; Janusek 2003b, 2004; Rydén 1947:74). These Omo-style elements are present in far lower frequency, at the Tiwanaku site. This indicates that the style was only one of many in use at the cosmopolitan center and supports the idea that Moquegua's first wave of Tiwanaku colonists originated from a specific parent community or social group within the Tiwanaku homeland, rather than from a demographic cross section of the type site.

Similar elements, including polished blackware and the continuous volute, also appear in some Tiwanaku collections from Cochabamba, suggesting a mirror colony by the same stylistic or ethnic group on the eastern slopes (Anderson 2009). Ceramics generally resembling Moquegua's Chen Chen–style pottery are so ubiquitous at Tiwanaku and throughout the Tiwanaku sphere that it will require careful study of assemblage variability to link the Moquegua group to a particular source. Documenting contexts with a similarly high frequency of the step-stair motif and other elements like flamingos may be of some help here, as well as careful interregional comparisons of household and mortuary patterns, ceramic sourcing, and biological distance within the Tiwanaku world.

Interethnic Coexistence: The Tiwanaku Colonies and Wari

Just as two stylistically distinct groups of Tiwanaku peoples coexisted in the colonies, the Moquegua Tiwanaku settlements also coexisted with a relatively small-scale colonization of Wari-affiliated settlers. The Wari site

Figure 9.5. Blackware double-banded *keros* (a) with postfiring engraved "continuous volute" motif, AMNH Adolph Bandelier collection, B 2213, Ciriapata, Island of the Sun. (b) Omo style, Omo M16 site.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 9.6. Postfiring engraving, bird talon marking: (a) *kero*, AMNH Adolph Bandelier collection, Island of the Sun. (b) *Kero* fragment, Omo M10.

Figure 9.7. Chen Chen–style serving vessels, Omo M10M cemetery.

of Cerro Baúl is only 10 km from the major Tiwanaku site of Chen Chen, and dates from Cerro Baúl and its companion sites indicate that this Wari colony was a long-term contemporary of the two Tiwanaku state colonies (Owen and Goldstein 2001; Williams et al. 2001; Williams and Nash 2002). Cerro Baúl's defensible location suggests both an intrusive occupation and a ritual interest in mountaintops and vistas (Moseley et al 2005; Williams and Nash 2006). The Wari enclave was characterized by Ayacucho-style architecture and the introduction of a major canal system and terraced agricultural fields in the Upper Osmore. However, settlement of Wari migrants was limited in scale compared to the Tiwanaku presence in the region, with perhaps

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 9.8. Tumilaca Phase *keros*, showing diversity of postexpansive local styles, including step-stair motif, third from upper left.

20 ha of domestic occupation and no known Wari cemeteries. The absence of site fortifications, garrisons, barracks, or stores of weapons in contemporary Tiwanaku Moquegua suggests that the Tiwanaku settlers did not respond militarily to the Wari presence, perhaps because Wari and their local allies inhabited a distinct agricultural "niche" in the upper valley.

Despite the proximity of the two colonies, Moquegua's Wari and Tiwanaku enclaves had little intercultural exchange and maintained highly distinctive arts and crafts industries. Tiwanaku and Wari sites are characterized by utterly distinct domestic architecture, utilitarian and decorated ceramics, groundstone and chipped lithics, and other household utensils and tools. A quantitative approach to domestic site sherd assemblages confirms that Wari sites like Cerro Baúl had virtually no Tiwanaku trade pottery, while Tiwanaku towns like Omo, Rio Muerto, and Chen Chen had virtually no Wari pottery (Goldstein 2005). Although Tiwanaku colonists did use minimal quantities of obsidian traceable to the Wari-controlled sources of Quispisisa, Andahuaylas A, and Alca (Burger and Glascock 2002), the vast majority of Tiwanaku arrow points were thin stemmed points of a type not found in Wari, made of white quartzite, and it is unknown whether the minuscule representation of obsidian was obtained through indirect trade or from the curation of small quantities of raw material or finished pieces pillaged from Wari sites.

In contrast to the Tiwanaku colonists' minimal contact with the indigenous Huaracane agriculturalists, the far less populous Wari enclaves in Moquegua interacted more extensively with local peoples. Mixed-culture Wari-Huaracane domestic sites in Moquegua suggest a more interactive frontier process of accommodation and transculturation between these groups (Costion and Green 2009; Green and Goldstein 2009). Hyphenated ceramic traditions in general (i.e., locally made provincial hybrids of imperial introduced styles and indigenous traditions) may represent intercultural households resulting from intermarriage or other interactions between settlers and indigenous peoples (Deagan 1996, 2004; Donnan 1997). The contrast between Tiwanaku colonial scale and autonomy and Wari frontier *mestizaje* and labor cooption makes sense, considering the relative population sizes of the Wari and Tiwanaku enclaves and Moquegua's much closer proximity to the Tiwanaku homeland, which allowed the settlement and close maintenance of an enormous colonial agrarian labor force. This distinction in expansive policy suggests geographic coexistence, yet great social distance, between Tiwanaku colonists and the descendants of the indigenous Huaracane and the Wari colonists.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

State Icons in Diaspora: Gods and Men in Tiwanaku Pottery

Despite the stylistic and technical differences between Omo-style and Chen Chen–style colonial assemblages, both styles share some of the major themes of the SAIS. This suggests a shared state cultic identity that transcended the stylistic and ethnic diversity within Tiwanaku. To set the stage for a discussion of gendered ideologies in the Tiwanaku state, I will consider two iconographic themes associated with this unifying sociopolitical tradition—the Front-Face God complex and elite male portraiture—both of which found expression in ceramics and textile arts in the Tiwanaku colonies. While the former seems to represent a commonly revered Tiwanaku pantheon of stylized mythical beings, and the latter realistically represents high-status male human figures, both of these iconic sets coincide with a focus new to the Middle Horizon: the production, storage, and serving of *chicha* (maize beer) using functionally specific vessel forms.

The Front-Face God Complex

As discussed throughout this volume, the Front-Face God, Staff God, or Gateway God and its supporting figures are the archetypal state cult figures of the Middle Horizon. This complex is immortalized in stone in Tiwanaku's Gateway of the Sun and dozens of other major stone monuments of the type site and core region. For the Tiwanaku colonies, the spread of an abbreviated version of the Front-Face God represented in portable ceramic and wooden vessels and tapestry textiles was an iconic reminder of the Tiwanaku state cult and political growth.

Portable representations of the Front-Face Gateway God complex most commonly occur on snuff tablets, bone tubes, and other elements of hallucinogenic drug kits, tapestry tunics, and on ceramic and wooden *keros* and other vessels (Figure 9.9). In Moquegua, as elsewhere, Tiwanaku tapestry shirts worn by high-status males often bear iconography of winged human, avian, or feline figures in a profile running position, rather than the Front-Faced God himself (Figure 9.10) (Plunger 2009). I will here focus on front-face god imagery that appears on *keros* and other vessels found in domestic and mortuary contexts.

In his defining work on the motif, Ponce Sanginés noted the sharp contrast between the stiff, highly stylized representation of the front-face god and Tiwanaku's naturalistic portrait vessel types, noted its headdress elements, and concluded that the depiction is of a ceremonial mask (Ponce Sanginés 1948). The stylization of the front-face god figure is intentional, perhaps to distinguish this supernatural theme from human representations. Front-face god *keros* represent the face as a simple rectangle or trapezoid, with a projecting wedge-shaped nose and modeled chin. The degree of modeling varies but never approaches realistic portraiture. Eyes may be represented by circular bumps as is typical on Omo-style blackware and redware versions, or as black painted circles, often surrounded by an orange ring, on Chen Chen–style redware versions. Split eyes are never used on Tiwanaku front-face god figures. The mouth may be appliqué modeled in low relief or depicted by a painted rectangle. Face painting may be represented by orange circles on the cheeks or a cross shape painted around each eye. Blackware and wooden *keros* may use engraving to represent the same features.

Projecting modeled eagle heads with identical headdress elements were commonly substituted for the front-face deity on *keros*. This suggests an iconic interchangeability of the front-face god and eagle that could represent their convergence in a mythic theme or shamanic transformation. Examples of this convergence occur in polished blackware, in redware, and on wooden *keros* from Omo site M12 and Rio Muerto site M70 (Figure 9.11). Wallace notes the iconographic interchangeability of the two figures, considering them a single common type (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 101; Posnansky 1957:Plate XI; Ruben 1952:Plate 29; Wallace 1957).

Both the human and avian versions of the front-face god/projecting eagle theme share an identical set of painted or engraved headdress elements. Compared to the rayed headdress of the Gateway of the Sun, ceramic versions of the Front-Face God's headdress are simplified and enclosed in contiguous rectangular panels as a conventionalized adaptation to a mass-produced ceramic medium. The central element of the headdress ensemble consists of three vertical white rectangular plumes defined by thin black lines, above a horizontal rectangular base, directly above the face (see Figure 9.9; also see Bennett 1934:Figure 15d; Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 114, 115, 117, 147, 153, 162, 163; Posnansky 1945:Plates Xa and b, XXVIIIa, XXXa, XXXIVa, XXXVc, XXXVIc and d, Wallace types 2, 3a; Ryden 1957:Figures 5G, 11C). This element may occur alone or in association with avian motifs and is found in ceramic, stone, and textile media. The three-plumed motif also appears on gold headdresses like one found by Bennett at Pariti (1936:Figure 30o), suggesting that high-status individuals may have

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 9.9. The Tiwanaku Front-Face God depicted on ceramic *keros* (Rio Muerto M70, Island of the Sun, AMNH, Omo M12).

Figure 9.10. Running winged figure, detail of interlocked tapestry tunic, Rio Muerto M43=4507, M43A Tomb R52.

impersonated the Front-Face God or eagle figure.

Rectangularized feline heads always appear in the four corners of the headdress block. Felines often have a split or divided eye, a rounded nose in the upper outer corner, and a rectangular mouth in the lower corner (Figures 9.9c and 9.11b). Omo-style variants of the feline motif have a well-defined ear demarcated as a negative image by the shaping of the outlining black "box" swept back at an angle of approximately 45 degrees. Also typical for Omo-style variants is an inverted "L"-shaped element that extends from the base of the rectangular face to below the eye, perhaps representing the cheekbone (see also Bandelier 1910:Plate XXXI; Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 83-86 [Plates 84 and 85 are also illustrated by Ponce Sanginés 1948 as examples XIV and XV], 90, and 155; Ponce Sanginés 1948:Examples I-V, VII, and XIV–XVII; Posnansky 1957:Plate XIb; Ruben 1952:Plate 36, right; Wallace 1957:58–59, Figure 4). The headdress ensemble is found engraved on blackware variants, often including the notched-ear and cheekbone feline elements (Casanova 1937:Figure 43; Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 101, 112; Ponce Sanginés 1948:Figures 42–45; Ruben 1952:Figure 29).

A variety of other elements may appear on the side panel of the headdress, between the corner felines. The most common consists of an outer square containing a solid circle and an inner rectangle containing a squared U-shape. Ponce Sanginés (1948:6) recognized these "quadrilaterals with rings" as element H in his schematic (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 85,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 9.11. Front-Face God depicted as projecting eagle head: (a) blackware ceramic *kero*, AMNH Adolph Bandelier collection, B2161, Island of the Sun, and (b) wooden *kero*, Omo M12 structure 7, M12=3151.

101) or sprouting vertically from the top of the relief face (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 84, 155; Ruben 1952:36). Less common headdress side panel elements include profile eagle head figures and fish heads, characterized by an upturned mouth and resembling the boga (genus *Orestia*), native to Lake Titicaca (Ponce Sanginés 1948, 198 Posnansky 1945:119, Figure 7, Plates XXI, XXIV, XXXV, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XL, XLVII, LX; Posnansky 1957:Figures 99-102, 113-115, 132-133; Wallace 1957:Figure 7: 1, 2, 3a).

Elite Male Portraiture

Identifiable male human figures are commonly found in the Tiwanaku state-contemporary servingware assemblages, usually on dedicated drinking vessels, the hallmark culinary assemblage of Tiwanaku's patron-role political feasting cult. These portrait *keros* or *huacos retrato* forms did not exist in the Formative and are associated exclusively with the Tiwanaku *chicha*-serving complex that spread explosively in the sixth and seventh centuries. Tiwanaku portrait *keros* constitute a "theme" in that they most often depict individually modeled males bearing one or more of the following elements to mark masculinity and high status: earspools, nose piercing, chin or lip plugs, face paint, turbans or four-pointed hats, coca quids in the cheek, and moustaches.

Portrait head *keros* are found in both the Omo-style and Chen Chen–style servingwares in Moquegua, usually representing an identifiable male figure wearing a turban-like head covering that extends from the bulging top of the vessel to cover the forehead, temples, and back of the neck. Omo-style portrait vessels are distinguishable for their extraordinarily realistic modeling of human features, in which the eyes, mouth and lips, chin, cheekbones, nose, nostrils, brow, and, in some cases, cheek bulges that indicate coca chewing, are subtly executed in three-dimensional relief, making certain that the portraiture could be conveyed by modeling alone (Figure 9.12).

Bennett (1934:416) noted the general presence of fragments of "modeled heads" in both painted and blackware at Tiwanaku, and Rydén (1947:74) considered "modeled head bowls" in his own and other collections from Tiwanaku sites in Bolivia. Posnansky (1957:Plate LXVI A–G) illustrated some 30 portrait vessels, of which the majority are in blackware with fully modeled

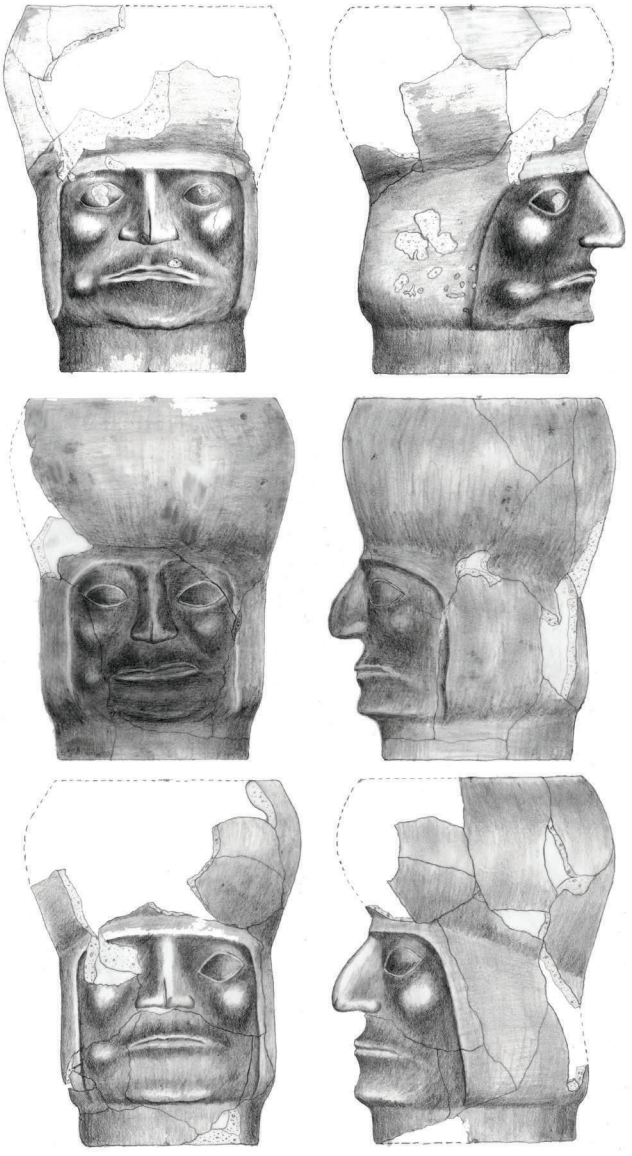


Figure 9.12. Three of a set of blackware portrait head *keros* representing elite males, Omo M12, Structure 2 *chicheria*. Illustration by Adán Umire.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

eyes and facial features. Sculptural modeling is found on most of the Volkerkunde Museum collection vessels illustrated by Eisleb and Strelow (1980:Plates 249, 252, 257). These vessels come from both Copacabana and Tiwanaku itself, and Casanova (1942:Figure 14) reported a similar vessel in red-slipped ware from a Classic level at Mocachi. These associations support the aforementioned preponderance of blackware in the southwest lakeshore sites.

Omo-style portrait vessels that were finished as red-slipped ware vessels display the same modeling as the blackware. Painted decoration consists of dark red slip and fine-line decoration typical for the Omo style and is usually not used to define facial features but to depict headdress elements, face paint or tattoo designs, and moustaches (Ponce Sanginés 1981:Plate 5; Posnansky 1957:LXVI, B, 4, LXVI A).

Fragments of several human head effigy vessels found at Omo-style sites M12 at Omo and M70 at Rio Muerto are distinct from most portrait *keros* in form and subject (Figure 9.13a). These represent a partially decomposed human head, with hollow, sunken eye sockets, cut-off nose with exposed nostrils, and stylized representation of skin tightly stretched over the mandible and malar bones. While these vessels might be designated as representations of trophy heads, they are depicted with lifelike eyeballs in place and have none of the elements commonly used to depict lifelessness in Nasca trophy head depictions, such as cactus spine-pinned mouths or stitched eyes. The vessels from Omo are slipped overall in an orange, with black used to emphasize the hollow eyes and other modeled features. Fragments of two similar vessels were recently discovered in a private collection from the island of Pariti (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011). This again supports the general association of the Omo style with Tiwanaku substyles of the southwest lakeshore. Whether these represent trophy or ancestral heads is unknown (Figure 9.13).

Chen Chen–style portrait head vessels depict the same thematic elements as their Omo counterparts (i.e., portraits of elite male individuals). However, Chen Chen–style portrait *keros* differ from those of the Omo style in that some facial features are often only painted on. Painted portrait vessels may have only limited sculptural modeling of facial features. It would be a mistake to consider this distinction to be a degradation of ceramic artistry; indeed, some of the Chen Chen–style portrait vessels are elaborately painted with complex polychrome detail (Figure 9.14). Instead, the reliance on painted-on detail may relate to the absence of black polished servingware in the Chen Chen–style assemblage, which made sculptured portraiture unnecessary. The eyes and ears of some portrait vessels from Tiwanaku are similar in execution (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plates 250 and 251). In addition to facial features, Chen Chen–style portrait vessels also include painted moustaches and goatees, as well as face paint designs in white and orange—most commonly, an arrow that comes down from the eye and angles toward the back of the head. Some individuals are depicted wearing turbans or four-pointed hats with motifs on the headband that include profile heads with multiple mouths, vertical diamonds, and step frets. These resemble knit hats found archaeologically in Moquegua (Figure 9.15) that are believed to have been associated with males of high status.

Feasting, Male Iconography, and Tiwanaku Patriarchy in the Colonies

Two important iconographic themes—the Front-Face God and identifiable elite male portrait figures—point to male-centered patron-role political feasting under a state cult that transcended ethnic or stylistic diversity. The association of a male deity and human male figures with drinking vessels, the hallmark culinary assemblage of Tiwanaku's "*chicha* revolution," is no accident (Goldstein 2003). These dedicated drinking vessel forms did not exist in the Formative, and their appearance coincides with the explosive political growth of the Tiwanaku state and the expansion of Tiwanaku colonization into maize-producing regions.

Significantly, only male figures are depicted on "portrait *keros*." Even the common depiction of moustaches on many male portrait *keros* might be seen as a reinforcement of the hypermasculine association of these figures. Tiwanaku political iconography focused heavily on representations of these high-status males, and their depiction may have symbolized real-life male political power, bounty, and well-being. Drinking from the head of identifiable male figures must have helped to reify social relations in the burgeoning state, as elite male figures symbolically provisioned their followers with *chicha* (Goldstein 1993b). This points to a complex of feasting that was at least symbolically patriarchal in that the iconography of the specialized portrait drinking vessels only represents male individuals.

Isotopic dietary data provide independent support for gendered distinctions in feasting during the Middle Horizon and, consequently, differential participation in political cults by males and females. Stable carbon

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

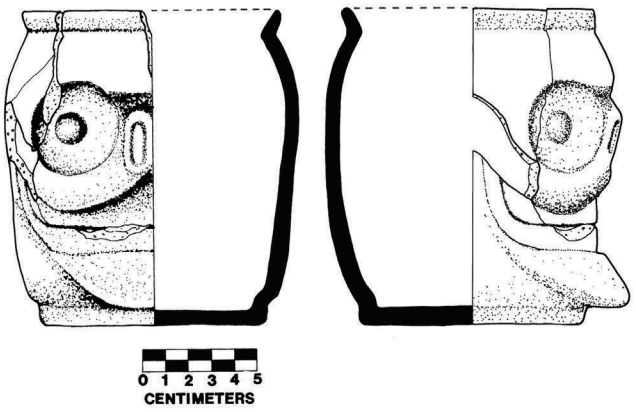


Figure 9.13. Skull portrait head *keros*, representing dead elite males: (a) M12 domestic area and (b) Chen Chen cemetery, M1=91.

isotope analysis is useful in measuring the amount of C3 versus C4 plant contribution to an organism's diet (Somerville et al 2015). C3 plants have an average δ13C value of –26.5‰ while C4 plants, such as maize, have an average δ13C value of –12.5‰. Consumption of maize products, such as *chicha*, therefore leaves a strong signature in human bone. Preliminary studies of Tiwanaku individuals buried at the Omo M10 site found that males had a significantly higher consumption of maize (Sandness 1992). A recent analysis of 22 additional sexed adult samples from the Rio Muerto Tiwanaku site confirm that Tiwanaku males consumed a significantly higher percentage of maize than did females (p = 0.048) (Somerville et al. 2011; Somerville et al. 2015). In light of the iconographic evidence associated with drinking vessels, it would seem likely that males participated more

Figure 9.14. Elite male portrait head *kero*, with four-pointed hat, earspools, moustache, Chen Chen M1, Francis Fahlman collection.

frequently in maize-beer consumption than women, a finding supported by the ceramic *keros* (goblets for *chicha* consumption) associated with male burials (Goldstein 2005:254).

Tiwanaku's Hidden Iconography of Women—A Subaltern Cult?

The overwhelmingly male-dominant iconography of the Tiwanaku style stands in stark contrast with more gender-balanced themes found in pre-Tiwanaku formative traditions. The Yaya-Mama formative tradition of the Lake Titicaca region depicts both male and female figures, often in complementary opposition. A common thematic representation of "woman with alpaca" also appears on fine Pukara ceramics in the same context as the staff-bearing "feline man," suggesting an ideology with complementary gender roles in the altiplano formative (Chávez 2004:92).

In the Middle Horizon, in contrast, only the masculine half of this complex survives in the iconography of the Tiwanaku state, in the form of the front-face staff god. Female figures and themes like the "woman with alpaca"

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 9.15. Tiwanaku four-pointed hat, Rio Muerto Cemetery, Tomb 47, M43=4451.03.

are not found in Tiwanaku slip-painted serving pottery, carved stone, or tapestry textiles. Indeed, identifiably female representations of any kind are extraordinarily rare in Tiwanaku painted redware pottery, and a wide survey found no examples of identifiable females on portrait head *keros* or drinking vessels of any sort. The only recognizable female form appearing in a painted ceramic medium takes the form of a globular jar representing a woman with two long braids wearing a *manta* or shawl with asymmetrical stripes (Janusek 2003; Korpisaari 2006:77; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005; Ponce Sanginés 2000:220). It should be stressed that these are the only published examples of these female depictions, making them extremely rare relative to male portrait vessels. Furthermore, it is also notable that these few female representations appear on restricted bottles, rather than the unrestricted *kero* forms, which would appear to associate the few female representations with vessels designed for carrying or serving liquids, rather than for the act of drinking itself.

A different story about depictions of females emerges from analysis of utilitarian pottery assemblages from domestic contexts, however. The study of plainware ceramics has revealed a second sphere of Tiwanaku iconography whose context and icons contrast with the serving vessels associated with the SAIS complex. Female figures appear with far higher frequency as plainware figurines and as vessel embellishments on unslipped, unburnished, and otherwise undecorated plain domestic *ollas* and *tinajas*. These modest plainware figurines and vessels have attracted little attention, largely because their crudity, exemplified by simple pinch modeling and eyes that are typically either incised slits or constructed with a "coffee bean"–style appliqué (Figure 9.16), sets them apart from the better known Tiwanaku corporate ceramic style. Indeed, when discussed at all, these vessels have often been ascribed a foreign, usually Amazonian, origin due to their stylistic distance from the fine Tiwanaku servingwares.[3] However, paste and temper comparison suggests that they were made of the standard Tiwanaku plainware fabrics used for other *tinajas* and *ollas* in Tiwanaku contexts.

A personage I describe as "Two-Braid Woman" comprises one identifiable theme in this little-known plainware medium. Like the generic anthropomorphic figures, the Two-Braid Woman theme is executed in standard Tiwanaku plainware pastes with no surface burnish, slip, or paint, either on restricted olla or tinaja vessels, or on figurines. She is characterized by two braids, swept forward, with the hair indicated by dashed incisions. Two-Braid Woman is often depicted with noticeable fronto-occipital cranial deformation, with a high crown and flattened forehead. Depictions of Two-Braid Woman's torso and legs vary and may be underscaled relative to the head (Figure 9.17a,b). Typically, the arms and hands are indicated by appliqué rolled clay, flattened for the hands, with incised fingers. Two-Braid Woman appears on figurines, as a vessel embellishment, and on musical instruments but has not been noted on any drinking vessels.

In Moquegua, vessels depicting Two-Braid Woman are found primarily in household contexts and domestic middens. One such figurine was found at the Chen Chen site in Structure 15-1, a context that is believed to be associated with women's ritual (Figure 9.18). This context was a small adobe structure that contained little or no domestic debris, with a subfloor camelid offering, an unusually high frequency of *incensarios* and miniature vessels, and offering pits containing seashells and numerous bronze *tupu* pins (Goldstein 2005). Notably absent was evidence of *keros* or drinking vessels, suggesting this was a location for activities other than beer drinking.

Pachamama or Barbie: Figurines, Meaning, and Gendered Representation in Prehistory

Who was Two-Braid Woman? While the interpretation of figurines can play an important part in the reconstruction of gender ideologies, the function, meaning, and even the subject matter of prehistoric figurines can seldom be determined with precision (e.g., Hamilton 1996:282; Lesure 2002:588; Marcus 1998:18; Ucko 1968, 1996:304). Without contextualization, figurines are

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

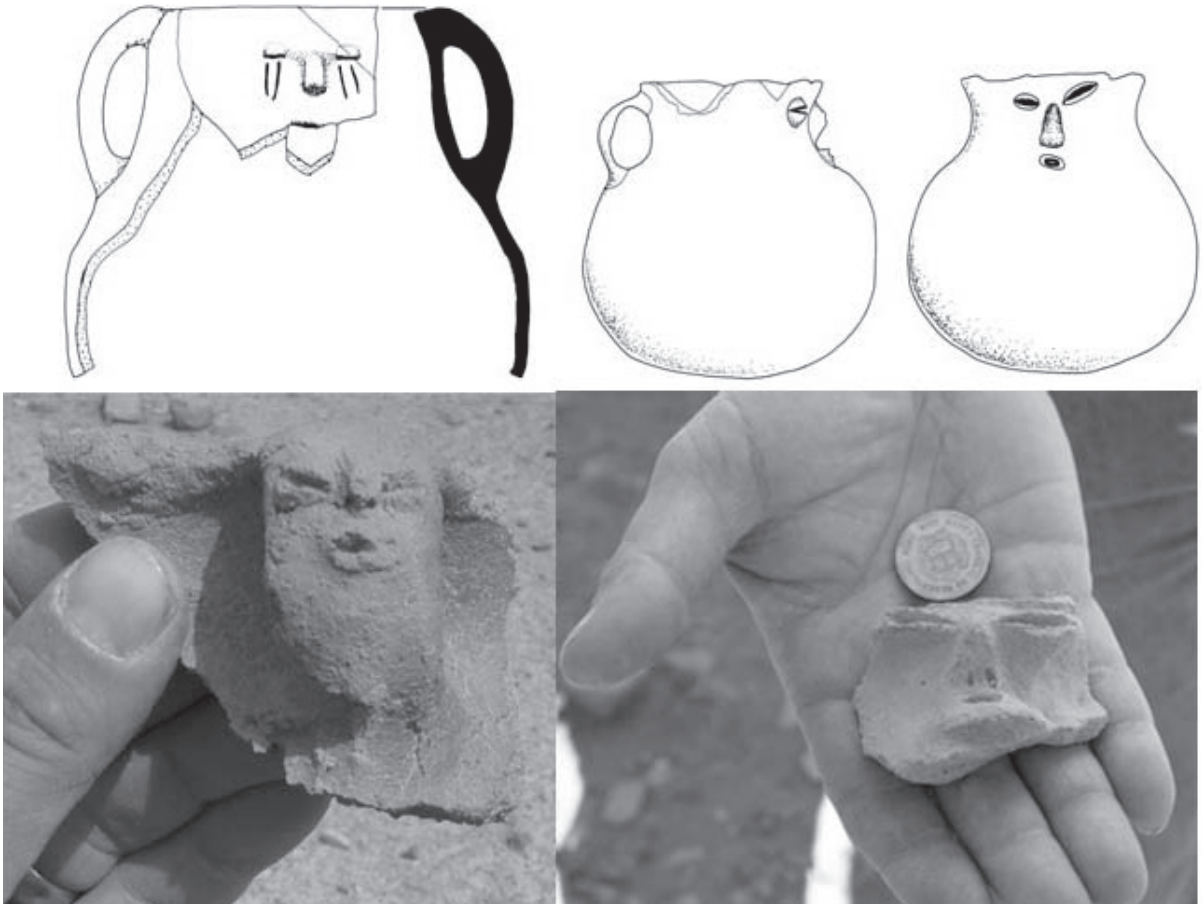


Figure 9.16. Plainware anthropomorphic *olla* fragments with "coffee bean eyes." Various Tiwanaku sites, Moquegua.

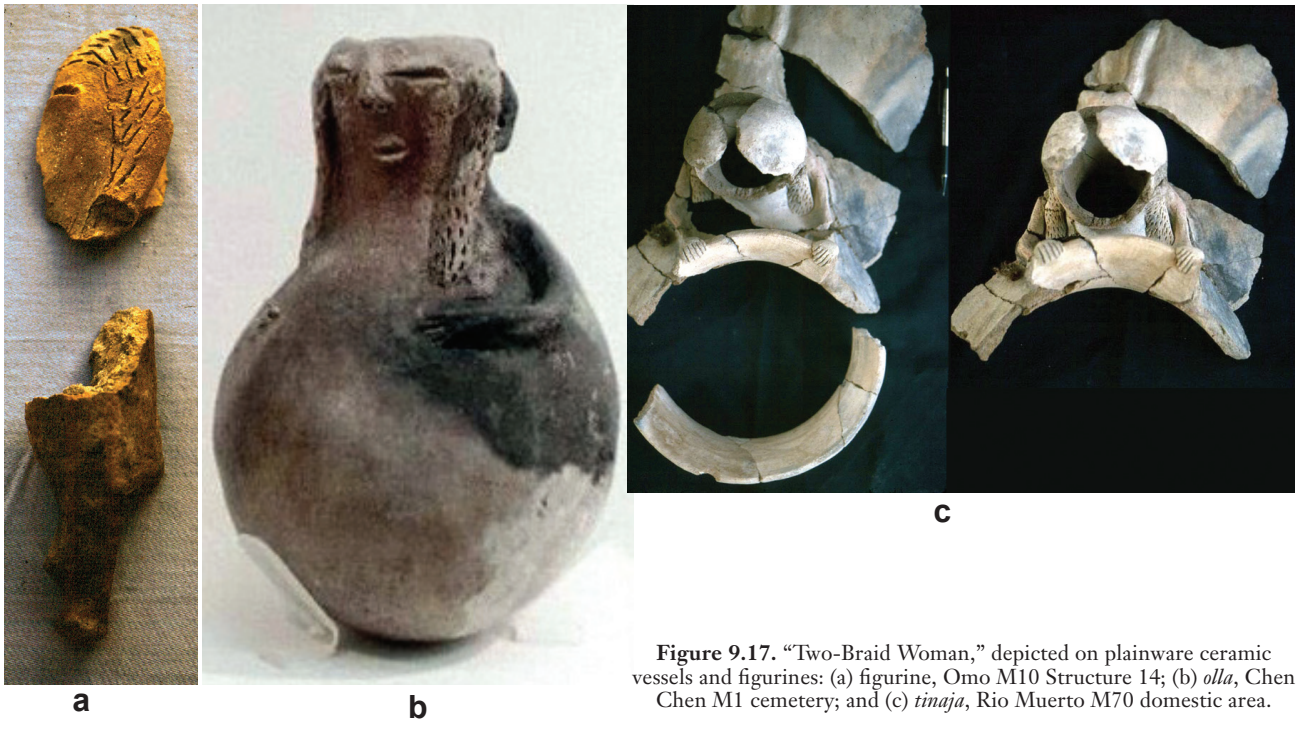


Figure 9.17. "Two-Braid Woman," depicted on plainware ceramic vessels and figurines: (a) figurine, Omo M10 Structure 14; (b) *olla*, Chen Chen M1 cemetery; and (c) *tinaja*, Rio Muerto M70 domestic area.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

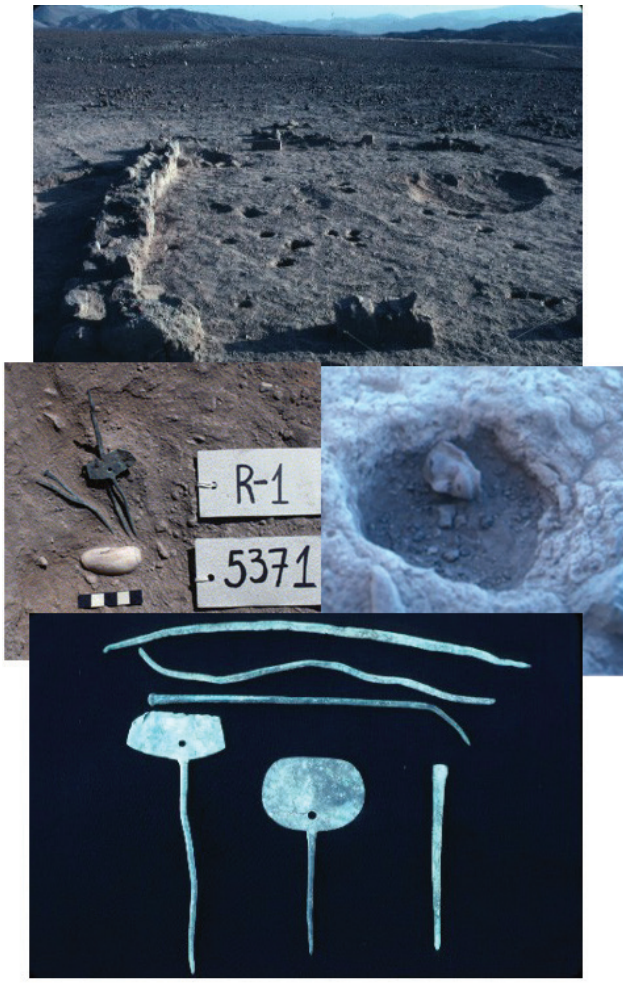


Figure 9.18. Chen Chen M1, Structure 15, women's ceremonial house and offerings, including figurine fragment of "Two-Braid Woman."

multivocal and their interpretation may be biased (Bailey 1994; Bruhns and Stothert 1999; Haaland and Haaland 1996:297; Hamilton 1996, 2000) or even venture toward "wild speculation" (Marcus 1996:285).

Even in a modern case like Pearson and Mullins's analysis of the material culture of Barbie, a modern doll whose 50-year history is well cataloged and linked to sociological trends, "the greatest challenge is simply defining what actually belongs in the Barbie universe" (1999:228). The meaning of Barbie is in the eye of the beholder, celebrating "a universe of preexisting women's aspirations and timeless 'feminine' attributes" (cf. Lord, 1994:90–91; Pearson and Mullins 1999:250), while at the same time ambiguous enough for the "conscious crafting of a deliberately wide range of possibilities for Barbie" (Pearson and Mullins 1999:257).

Some context for Two-Braid Woman and the Tiwanaku plainware figurine tradition may be found in the Ch'iji Jawira assemblage in Tiwanaku, which includes a series of coarsely modeled human, camelid, dog, bird, and other forms. Some of these were found in subadult tombs. The figurines display clearly defined genitals, suggesting a relationship with fertility and reproduction (Rivera Casanovas 2003:310). Like Marcus, Joyce, and Brumfiel, Rivera also surmises that Tiwanaku figurines may have been critical, instructive role models for children growing up in the Ch'iji Jawira community (Rivera Casanovas 2003:311).

Figure 9.19. "Two-Braid Woman" depicted on a musical instrument, Rio Muerto M70 cemetery.

Whether Pachamama or Barbie, votive figure or children's instructional toy, Two-Braid Woman and other plainware figurine icons appear to have been important in those domains of Tiwanaku culture peopled by women and children, rather than contexts and accoutrements associated with male-dominated political feasting (Figure 9.19). This plainware figural tradition appears to represent a subaltern complex very different from the patriarchal imagery of Middle Horizon high culture. Whether part of a cult of resistance, role modeling for children, or a persistence of Formative ritual practice and an older goddess figure, these figurines point to an identity quite separate from the patriarchal values of Tiwanaku state cult practice and perhaps in opposition to a male-dominated system of political patronage and feasting. Greater attention to some of these nondescript plain figures may elucidate gendered action and identity that persisted for centuries, perhaps in secret, in women's kitchens and children's play spaces throughout the Tiwanaku homeland and diaspora.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

State Collapse, Postcolonial Ethnogenesis, and the Tumilaca Styles

The inherent tensions between the Tiwanaku state and the many other cultural identities entrained within Tiwanaku civilization must have played a leading role in the collapse of the state system in the eleventh century. One of these fault lines may have been the imbalance of power between genders within the Tiwanaku state, and it is quite possible that the seeds of Tiwanaku collapse were sown within a longstanding tradition of female resistance.

Following collapse, the region of Tiwanaku expansion went through a postcolonial phase leading to locally led chiefdoms and reduced cultural contact and exchange with the altiplano (Bermann et al. 1989; Owen 2005; Stanish 1992:86). In Moquegua, I adopt the term "Tumilaca Phase" to describe the diversified ceramic traditions developed by increasingly isolated local potters in Moquegua at this time (Goldstein 1989). Tumilaca settlement pattern is typified by two trends: a "balkanization" (Bermann et al. 1989) of the Moquegua Tiwanaku colony into small refugee polities and "explosive collapse" with a secondary expansion of Tiwanaku-derived ceramic traditions to the previously uncolonized coastal Osmore Valley (Owen 2005) and the upper valleys (Bawden 1989:289; Stanish 1992:114) of the Osmore drainage. The great Omo and Chen Chen–style Tiwanaku town sites, with their monumental architecture and extensive canal and field systems, were largely depopulated, and there is evidence of violent iconoclasm and site destruction at this time. Aggregate habitation site area in mid-valley Moquegua was reduced from the 99 ha occupied by the Omo and Chen Chen–style occupation to 42 ha and redistributed among smaller settlements surrounded by defensive walls or protected by hilltop forts (Bawden 1989:289; Goldstein 1989, 2005; Stanish 1985, 1992:114).

Tumilaca Phase pottery also, with its main serving vessel forms—*keros*, *tazones*, flaring sided bowls, and small one-handle pitchers—and step-stair, flamingo, and recognizable Tiwanaku geometric motifs, indicates cultural continuity from prior altiplano traditions while the continued use of *incensarios* indicates some continuity of ritual practice as well. Despite evidence of continuity following state collapse, Moquegua's Tumilaca Phase colonists abandoned the state cult icons of the SAIS, although they maintained most of the Tiwanaku assemblage in modified form. Tumilaca-style potters ceased making images of the Front-Face God and portrait *keros*, perhaps in the same wave of iconoclasm that toppled the walls of the Omo temple (Goldstein 2005). This would seem to underscore the association of these SAIS icons with a once powerful, but impermanent, and eventually resented, state cult.

Conclusion: Power, Iconography, and Gender in Tiwanaku

Individuals negotiate identity by affiliating with multiple groups, choosing among cross-cutting identities that may be nested, complementary, or even contradictory (Sökefeld 1999). Iconography is not identity, but iconographic choices are made in the same complex social and political contexts where identity is negotiated. By paying strict attention to iconography's archaeological context, we can hope to reconstruct some of the myriad threads of meaning, action, and social identity that bound the Tiwanaku cultural world. Many of the authors in this volume would support the picture of Tiwanaku peoples finding meaning and solidarity in the well-known icons of the SAIS, toasting their male leaders with maize beer in finely made portrait *keros*, swearing allegiance to the unifying cult of the front-face deity, or watching the smoke curl from a Puma-headed *incensario* as they honored the mountain gods. Other forms of Tiwanaku identity could be reified by more mundane daily practice—by stirring a familiar-style dinner in a highland-style *olla* with a highland-style spoon, by not intermarrying with local populations, by opposing or ignoring the Wari peoples settled upvalley, or by wearing clothes or collecting a set of "Omo-style" serving pitchers like those of their specific parent community. Finally, female members of the very same Tiwanaku households may have found different kinds of meaning and solidarity by quietly teaching their daughters the stories of an ancient goddess represented in earthenware pots and figurines. All of these vignettes represent iconic resonances and practices that are distinctive, yet each distinctly, Tiwanaku. Their diversity points to a rich and complex universe of unitary and segmentary, gendered, and political identities within Tiwanaku culture that we are only beginning to understand.

Notes

1 Omo-style short *keros* have a base diameter greater than two thirds the rim diameter. Modal dimensions are rim = 14 cm, height = 16 cm, and base = 10 cm. This *kero* type has a band.

2 The proportions of "standard" Chen Chen *keros* are rim = height and base = ½ rim diameter. Modal dimensions are rim diameter = 16 cm, height = 16 cm, and base = 8 cm. Standard *keros* have banded and unbanded variants.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

3 "Donna Yates found a figurine in her unit this week. What makes this artifact special is that it is an Amazonian piece found in a domestic context high in the altiplano. It was most likely part of a bowl. We've identified it as Amazonian, because it has eyes shaped like coffee beans" (Lopez Bejarano 2004) and "four nearly intact miniature jars that depict anthropomorphic figures with 'coffee bean' eyes (figs. 11.14 and 11.15). The unusual style of these vessels suggests that they were not local but rather were imported from the eastern lowlands" (Rivera Casanovas 2003:300).

References

Albarracin-Jordan, J.
1996 Tiwanaku Settlement Systems: The Integration of Nested Hierarchies in the Lower Tiwanaku Valley. *Latin American Antiquity* 3(3):183–210.

Anderson, K.
2009 Tiwanaku Influence on Local Drinking Patterns in Cochabamba, Bolivia. In *Drink, Power and Society in the Andes*, edited by J. Jennings and B. Bowser. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

Anthony, D. W.
1990 Migration in Archaeology: The Baby and the Bathwater. *American Anthropologist* 92(3):895–914.

Bailey, D. W.
1994 Reading Prehistoric Figurines as Individuals. *World Archaeology* 25(3):321–331.

Baitzel, S. I.
2008 No Country for Old People: A Paleodemographic Study of Tiwanaku Return Migration in Moquegua, Peru. Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, University of California, San Diego.

Bandelier, A. F.
1910 *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*. The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

Bawden, G.
1989 The Tumilaca Site and Post-Tiahuanaco Occupational Stratigraphy in the Moquegua Drainage. In *Settlement, History and Ecology in the Osmore Drainage, Southern Peru*, edited by D. S. Rice, C. Stanish, and P. Scarr, pp. 287–302. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

Bennett, W. C.
1934 Excavations at Tiahuanaco. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 34(3):361–493.
1936 Excavations in Bolivia. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 35(4):329–508.

Bermann, M. P.
1994 *Lukurmata: Household Archaeology in Prehispanic Bolivia*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
1997 Domestic Life and Vertical Integration in the Tiwanaku Heartland. *Latin American Antiquity* 8(2):93–112.

Bermann, M. P., P. S. Goldstein, C. Stanish and L. Watanabe
1989 The Collapse of the Tiwanaku State: A View from the Osmore Drainage. In *Settlement, History and Ecology in the Osmore Drainage, Southern Peru*, edited by D. S. Rice, C. Stanish, and P. Scarr, pp. 269–286. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

Blom, D., B. Hallgrímsson, L. Keng, C. Lozada, and J. E. Buikstra
1998 Tiwanaku State Colonization: Bioarchaeological Evidence of Migration in the Moquegua Valley, Perú. *World Archaeology* 30(2):238–261.

Blom, D. E.
1999 *Tiwanaku and the Moquegua Settlements: A Bioarchaeological Approach*. Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago.
2005 Embodying Borders: Human Body Modification and Diversity in Tiwanaku Society. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24(1):1–24.

Bruhns, K. O., and K. E. Stothert
1999 *Women in Ancient America*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Buikstra, J. E.
1995 Tombs for the Living . . . or . . . for the Dead: The Osmore Ancestors. In *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices*, edited by T. D. Dillehay, pp. 229–280. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Burger, R. L., and M. Glascock
2002 Tracking the Source of Quispisisa Type Obsidian from Huancavelica to Ayacucho. In *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, pp. 341–368. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Burkholder, J.
1997 *Tiwanaku and the Anatomy of Time: A New Ceramic Chronology from the Iwawi Site*. Department of Anthropology. State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton.
2001 The Ceramics of Tiwanaku: What Does the Variability Mean? *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:217–250.

Casanova, E.
1937 Investigaciónes arqueológicas en el altiplano Boliviano. *Relaciónes de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropologia* 1:167–175.
1942 Dos yacimientos arqueológicos en la peninsula de Copacabana (Bolivia). *Anales del Museo Argentino de Ciencias Naturales* XL:333–339.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chávez, S. J.
1976 The Arapa Thunderbolt Stelae: A Case of Stylistic Identity with Implications for Pucara Influences in the Area of Tiahuanaco. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:3–25.
1981 Notes on Some Stone Sculpture from the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin. *Ñawpa Pacha* 19:79–92.
2004 The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 70–93. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Chávez, S. J., and K. L. Mohr Chávez
1976 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno, Peru and the Definition of an Early Style of Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:45–85.

Conklin, W.
1983 Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition. *Ñawpa Pacha* 21:1–44.

Costion, K. E., and U. M. Green
2009 Responding to the Colonization of the Moquegua Valley: The Changing of Huaracane Identity through the Selective Adoption of Colonial Traditions. Paper presented at the 74th Annual Society for American Archaeology Meeting. Atlanta, Georgia.

Deagan, K. A.
1996 Colonial Transformation: Euro-American Genesis in the Early Spanish-American Colonies. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 52(3):135–160.
2004 Reconsidering Taíno Social Dynamics after Spanish Conquest: Gender and Class in Culture Contact Studies. *American Antiquity* 69(4):597–626.

Dietler, M.
2001 Theorizing the Feast: Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Power and Politics in African Contexts. In *Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, edited by M. Dietler and B. Hayden, pp. 65–114. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Disselhoff, H. D.
1968 Huari und Tiahuanaco: Grabungen und Funde in Sud-Peru. *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie* 93:207–216.

Donnan, C. B.
1997 A Chimu-Inka Ceramic-Manufacturing Center from the North Coast of Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 8:30–54.

Eisleb, D., and R. Strelow
1980 *Altperuanische Kulturen III: Tiahuanaco*. Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin.

Feldman, R. A.
1989 The Early Ceramic Periods of Moquegua. In *Ecology, Settlement and History in the Osmore Drainage, Peru*, edited by D. S. Rice, C. Stanish, and P. Scarr, pp. 207–217. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

Fujii, T.
1980 Prehispanic Cultures of the Western Slope of the Southern Peruvian Andes. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 5:83–120.

Goldstein, P. S.
1989 *Omo, a Tiwanaku Provincial Center in Moquegua, Peru*. Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago.
1993 House, Community and State in the Earliest Tiwanaku Colony: Domestic Patterns and State Integration at Omo M12, Moquegua. In *Domestic Architecture, Ethnicity, and Complementarity in the South-Central Andes*, edited by M. Aldenderfer, pp. 25–41. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
2000 Exotic Goods and Everyday Chiefs: Long Distance Exchange and Indigenous Sociopolitical Development in the South Central Andes. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(4):1–27.
2003 From Stew-Eaters to Maize-Drinkers: The Chicha Economy and Tiwanaku. In *Pots as Political Tools: The Culinary Equipment of Early Imperial States in Comparative Perspective*, edited by T. Bray, pp. 143–172. Kluwer Academic, New York.
2005 *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of Andean Empire*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
2015 Multiethnicity, Pluralism, and Migration in the South Central Andes: An Alternate Path to State Expansion. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112(30):9202–9209.

Goldstein, P. S., and F. J. Magilligan
2011 Hazard, Risk and Agrarian Adaptations in a Hyperarid Watershed: El Niño Floods, Streambank Erosion, and the Cultural Bounds of Vulnerability in the Andean Middle Horizon. *Catena* 85:155–167.

Goldstein, P. S., and B. D. Owen
2001 Tiwanaku en Moquegua: las colonias altiplánicas. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:139–168.

Green, U. M., and P. S. Goldstein
2010 The Nature of Wari Presence in the Mid-Moquegua Valley: Investigating Contact at Cerro Trapiche. In *Beyond Wari Walls: Exploring the Nature of Middle Horizon Peru away from Wari Centers*, edited by J. Jennings, pp. 19–36. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Haaland, G., and R. Haaland
1996 Levels of Meaning in Symbolic Objects. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6(2):295–300.

Hamilton, N.
1996 Can We Interpret Figurines? *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6(2):281–307.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2000 Ungendering Archaeology: Concepts of Sex and Gender in Figurine Studies in Prehistory. In *Representations of Gender from Prehistory to the Present*, edited by M. Donald and L. Hurcombe, pp. 17-30. Palgrave MacMillan, London.

Hastorf, C. A., W. T. Whitehead, W. T., Bruno, and M. Wright
2006 Movements of Maize into Middle Horizon Tiwanaku, Bolivia. In *Histories of Maize: Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Prehistory, Linguistics, Biogeography, Domestication, and Evolution of Maize*, edited by J. E. Staller, R. H. Tykot, and B. F. Benz, pp. 429–447. El Sevier Academic Press, Amsterdam.

Hoshower, L. M., J. E. Buikstra, P. S. Goldstein and A. D. Webster
1995 Artificial Cranial Deformation at the Omo M10 Site: a Tiwanaku Complex from the Moquegua Valley, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 6(2):145–164.

Isbell, W. H., and J. E. Burkholder
2002 Iwawi and Tiwanaku. In *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, edited by W. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 199–241. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Ishida, E.
1960 *Andes, the Report of the University of Tokyo Scientific Expedition to the Andes*. University of Tokyo, Tokyo.

Janusek, J. W.
2003a The Changing Face of Tiwanaku Residential Life: State and Local Identity in an Andean City. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, edited by A. L. Kolata, pp. 264–295. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
2003b Vessels, Time and Society: Toward a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, edited by A. L. Kolata, pp. 30–91. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
2004 *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*. Routledge, New York.

Janusek, J. W., and A. L. Kolata
2004 Top-Down or Bottom-Up: Rural Settlement and Raised Field Agriculture in the Lake Titicaca Basin, Bolivia. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 23(4):404–430.

Knudson, K. J.
2008 Tiwanaku Influence in the South Central Andes: Strontium Isotope Analysis and Middle Horizon Migration. *Latin American Antiquity* 19(1):3–23.

Knudson, K. J., P. S. Goldstein, A. Dahlstedt, A. Somerville, and M. J. Schoeninger
2014 Paleomobility in the Tiwanaku Diaspora: Biogeochemical analyses at Rio Muerto, Moquegua, Peru. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 155(3):405–421.

Knudson, K. J., T. D. Price, J. E. Buikstra, and D. E. Blom
2004 The Use of Strontium Isotope Analysis to Investigate Tiwanaku Migration and Mortuary Ritual in Boliva and Peru. *Archaeometry* 46(1):5–18.

Knudson, K. J., T. A. Tung, K. C. Nystrom, T. D. Price, and P. D. Fullagar
2005 The Origin of the Juch'uypampa Cave Mummies: Strontium Isotope Analysis of Archaeological Human Remains from Bolivia. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 32(6):903–913.

Korpisaari, A.
2006 *Death in the Bolivian High Plateau*. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

Korpisaari, A., and M. Pärssinen
2005 *Pariti: Isla, Misterio y Poder: El tesoro cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*. Republicas de Bolivia y Finlandia, La Paz.
2011 *Pariti: The Ceremonial Tiwanaku Pottery of an Island in Lake Titicaca*. Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki.

Lesure, R. G., A. Cyphers, F. I. Strika, R. Joyce, R. Layton, M. Özdoğan, J. Thomas, and R. G. Lesure
2002 The Goddess Diffracted: Thinking about the Figurines of Early Villages. *Current Anthropology* 43(4):587–610.

Lopez Bejarano, J. M.
2004 Archaeology Interactive, Akapana Pyramid. http://interactive.archaeology.org/tiwanaku/fieldnotes/akapana2.html

Lord, M.
1994 *Forever Barbie: An Unauthorized Biography of a Real Doll*. William Marrow, New York.

Lozada Cerna, M. C.
1998 *The Señorio of Chiribaya: A Bio-Archaeological Study in the Osmore Drainage of Southern Peru*. Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Marcus, J.
1998 *Women's Ritual in Formative Oaxaca Figurine Making, Divination, Death, and the Ancestors*. Memoirs No. 33. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

McAndrews, T., J. Albarracin-Jordan, and M. P. Bermann
1997 Regional Settlement Patterns of the Tiwanaku Valley of Bolivia. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24:67–83.

Moseley, M. E., D. J. Nash, P. R. Williams, S. D. deFrance, A. Miranda, and M. Ruales
2005 Burning Down the Brewery: Establishing and Evacuating an Ancient Imperial Colony at Cerro Baúl, Peru. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 102(48):17264–17271.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Mujica, B. E.
1985 Altiplano-Coast Relationships in the South Central Andes: From Indirect to Direct Complementarity. In *Andean Ecology and Civilization*, edited by S. Masuda, I. Shimada, and C. Morris, pp. 103–140. University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.

Murra, J. V.
1972 El "control vertical" de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas. Visita de la Provincia de León de Huánuco en 1562 por Iñigo Ortiz de Zuñiga. J. V. Murra. *Huánuco*, *Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizan* 2:427–476.

Owen, B. D.
2005 Distant Colonies and Explosive Collapse: The Two Stages of the Tiwanaku Diaspora in the Osmore Drainage. *Latin American Antiquity: A Journal of the Society for American Archaeology* 16(1):45–80.

Owen, B. D., and P. S. Goldstein
2001 Tiwanaku en Moquegua: interacciones regionales y colapso. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:169–188.

Pari, F. R.
1987 *El Proceso Historico Social de los Tiwanaku y su Implicancia en el Valle de Moquegua*. Universidad Catolica Santa Maria, Arequipa.

Pearson, M., and P. R. Mullins
1999 Domesticating Barbie: An Archaeology of Barbie Material Culture and Domestic Ideology. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3(4):225–259.

Plunger, E. M.
2009 *Woven Connections: Group Identity, Style, and the Textiles of the "A" and "B" Cemeteries at the Site of Rio Muerto (M43), Moquegua Valley, Southern Peru*. Department of Anthropology, University of California at San Diego, San Diego.

Ponce Sanginés, C.
1948 *Ceramica Tiwanacota, Vasos con Decoracion Prosopomorfa*. Imprenta Lopez, Buenos Aires.
2000 *Tiwanaku y su fascinante desarrollo cultural: Ensayo y síntesis arqueológica*. Producciones Cima, La Paz.

Ponce Sanginés, C., and G. Mogrovejo Terrazas
1970 *Acerca de la procedencia del material litico de los monumentos de Tiwanaku*. Instituto Nacional de Arqueología, La Paz.

Posnansky, A.
1945 *Tihuanaco—The Cradle of American Man I, II*. American Museum, New York.
1957 *Tihuanaco—The Cradle of American Man*. Ministerio de Educación, La Paz.

Rivera Casanovas, C. S.
2003 Chi'iji Jawira: A Case of Ceramic Specialization in the Tiwanaku Urban Periphery. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, edited by A. Kolata, pp. 296–315. Smithsonian, Washington D.C.

Rothhammer, F., J. Cocilovo, E. Llop, and S. Quevedo
1989 Origines y Microevolucion de la Poblacion Chilena. In *Culturas de Chile, Prehistoria Desde sus Orígenes Hasta los Albores de la Conquista*, edited by J. Hidalgo L., V. Schiappacasse F., H. Niemeyer F., C. Aldunate, and I. Solimano R, pp. 403–413. Editorial Andrés Bello, Santiago de Chile.

Rothhammer, F., and C. Santoro
2001 El Desarrollo Cultural en el Valle de Azapa, Extremo Norte de Chile y su Vinculacion con los Desplazamientos Poblacionales Altiplanicos. *Latin American Antiquity* 12(1):59–66.

Ruben, W.
1952 *Tiahuanaco*. Atacama und Araukaner, Leipzig.

Rydén, S.
1947 *Archaeological Researches in the Highlands of Bolivia*. Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, Goteborg.
1957 *Andean Excavations Vol. II*. The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm.

Sandness, K.
1992 *Temporal and Spatial Dietary Variability in the Osmore Drainage, Southern Peru: The Isotope Evidence*. Department of Anthropology, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Sökefeld, M.
1999 Debating Self, Identity, and Culture in Anthropology. *Current Anthropology* 40(4):417–448.

Somerville, A. D., P. S. Goldstein, S. I. Baitzel, K. L. Bruwelheide, A. C. Dahlstedt, L. Yzurdiaga, S. Raubenheimer, K. J. Knudson, and M. J. Schoeninger
2015 Diet and Gender in the Tiwanaku Colonies: Stable Isotope Analysis of Human Bone Collagen and Apatite from Moquegua, Peru. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 158(3):408–422.

Stanish, C.
1985 *Post Tiwanaku Regional Economics in the Otora Valley, Southern Peru*. Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago.
1992 *Ancient Andean Political Economy*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2003 *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Stein, G. J.
1999 *Rethinking World Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Sutter, R. C.
2000 Prehistoric Genetic and Culture Change: A Bioarchaeological Search for Pre-Inka Altiplano Colonies in the Coastal Valleys of Moquegua Valley, Perú, and Azapa, Chile. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(1):43-70.

Sutter, R., N. Sharratt and B. D. Owen
2009 Continuity and Transformation during the Terminal Middle Horizon (A.D. 950-1150): A Bioarchaeological Assessment of Tumilaca Origins within the Middle Moquegua Valley, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 21(1):67-86.

Tomczak, P. D.
2003 Prehistoric Diet and Socioeconomic Relationships within the Osmore Valley of Southern Peru. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 22:262–278.

Torres-Rouff, C.
2002 Cranial Vault Modification and Ethnicity in Middle Horizon San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. *Current Anthropology* 43:163–171.

Ucko, P. J.
1968 *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece. Occasional Papers*, The Royal Anthropological Institute, Andrew Szmidla, London

Wallace, D.
1957 *The Tiahuanaco Horizon Styles in the Peruvian and Bolivian Highlands*. Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Williams, P. R.
1997 *The Role of Disaster in the Development of Agriculture and the Evolution of Social Complexity in the South-Central Andean Sierra*. Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Williams, P. R., and D. J. Nash
2002 Imperial Interaction in the Andes: Huari and Tiwanaku at Cerro Baúl. In *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, edited by W.H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 243–265. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.
2006 Sighting the Apu: A GIS Analysis of Wari Imperialism and the Worship of Mountain Peaks. *Archaeology at Altitude* 38(3):455–468.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 10: Introduction

Tiwanaku in the Tarapacá Region (Chile)
Realities or Illusions in the Desert?

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 10, Carolina Agüero and Mauricio Uribe examine archaeological materials from the Tarapacá region of northern Chile, where objects in Tiwanaku style have been reported since Max Uhle's excavations early in the twentieth century. The people of this region all participated in the great south Andean interaction sphere, also discussed by other contributors to this volume. However, can a single and unified type of interaction explain social and cultural processes materialized, primarily in mortuary remains, throughout this vast and diachronic region? Agüero and Uribe answer in the negative by providing first a review of interpretive thinking developed in the final decades of the twentieth century and then an alternative proposal based on carefully examined and illustrated material remains from the Tarapacá sites.

In the late twentieth century, thinking about the Tarapacá oases of northern Chile, and indeed the entire south Andean interaction sphere, was altiplano centric. A powerful and centralized Tiwanaku state, or empire, was assumed to have dominated the vast Andean south. Some form of colonial insertion of ethnic enclaves was believed to have been combined with an elusive form of provincial administration. Raised field agriculture was just beginning to be investigated as a possible explanation for dense highland populations, assumed to have resided in the altiplano capital on the basis of scarce information, so long-distance trade in staples was accepted as essential to the economy of ancient Tiahuanaco, as an urban capital.

Very influential in the last quarter of the twentieth century was John Murra's (1972) model of vertical ecological complementarity, a peculiarly Andean form of regional interaction and integration, which many archaeologists applied enthusiastically to the economies of prehistoric case studies throughout Andean archaeology. Not surprisingly, northern Chilean and Tarapacá prehistory were interpreted in terms of economically motivated colonization by Tiahuanaco, employing the vertical ecological complementarity model described by Murra. This was characterized by multiethnicity in peripheral, or colonized, settlements, with the transplanted people of each homeland producing for, and supplying specialized subsistence goods to, relatives who remained in communities of origin. The diversity of artifact styles discovered in Tarapacá and other northern Chilean cemeteries that dated to the Tiwanaku apogee seemed clear proof of multiethnicity among Tarapacá (and other) mortuary populations, exactly as predicted by the Murra model.

Reexamination of Tiwanaku-style textiles and other artifacts from Tarapacá yields surprises, which are carefully described and illustrated by Agüero and Uribe. First, the number of objects is shockingly small for a region thought to have been under significant control of Tiwanaku migrants concerned with maintaining heart-

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

land identities through the consumption of traditional material goods. Indeed, a resident population of migrants could hardly have expressed traditional identities with so very few objects of the appropriate style. Second, the kinds of objects differ from those in other areas of Tiwanaku influence, and dating seems problematic as well. In several cases, stylistic identifications of artifacts do not reveal Tiahuanaco heartland goods but products of Tiwanaku hybridity with other peripheries within the assumed altiplano interaction sphere. Agüero and Uribe conclude that processes varied from subregion to subregion within northern Chile and that, for example, Moquegua and probably also Arica enjoyed very different Tiwanaku experiences from Tarapacá. San Pedro de Atacama was apparently undergoing yet another Tiwanaku experience.

Agüero and Uribe conclude arguing that the nature and dating of Tiwanaku materials from Tarapacá cemeteries do not confirm an altiplano-centric process determined by a centralized and hierarchical Tiahuanaco policy. Rather, archaeologists must examine local cultural processes, social relations, and economic motives to understand the distribution of Tiwanaku-style objects and symbols. Furthermore, these processes certainly differed from time to time and place to place as the people of Tarapacá exercised their own agency in complex social and cultural fields composed by diverse actors, identities, and motivations.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 10

Tiwanaku in the Tarapacá Region (Chile)
Realities or Illusions in the Desert?

Carolina Agüero and Mauricio I. Uribe

"Since very early in archaeological research, the close stylistic similarities of certain materials . . . to those of Tiwanaku were regarded as evidence for the presence of this Altiplano culture in the north of Chile" [Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989:129, translation W.H. Isbell].

Until recently, the presence of Tiwanaku-style objects in the south-central Andes had been interpreted essentially as the direct or indirect establishment of enclaves or colonies and/or results of direct exchange. In the specific case of the Tarapacá populations in the north of Chile, studies on the type of relations with Tiwanaku affirmed the existence of an important bond with the altiplanic center. Some of these studies were based on a "migrational" approach, which established that the politically more powerful altiplanic societies moved toward these culturally "marginal" territories driven by a need for economic complementarity and imposing themselves over the coastal populations (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Rivera et al. 1995–1996). Simultaneously, the model based on the mobility of llama caravans explained the way in which movements carrying out economic transactions would have taken place. The alternative that cultural independence was maintained by various groups maintaining was, of course, also a possibility. Caravan traffic would originate in the highlands, setting up movable fairs integrating the altiplano territories, inland oases, and the coast. Direct control of production may have also been involved (Núñez 1984; Núñez and Dillehay 1995 [1979]). All this downplayed the importance of the local populations, assigning a fundamental and relevant role to the altiplano as the agent driving social and economic change.

Nevertheless, at least in Tarapacá, it was evident that the empirical base of these relations was not that clear. Also, the archaeological data were not similar to what was observed in other areas of the Chilean desert, such as Arica and San Pedro de Atacama. Therefore, the issue of Tiwanaku relations was open to discussion, as it was only a hypothesis in need of further evaluation and systematic investigation. Thus, a number of studies during the past decade have claimed that it was secondary settlements that would have articulated vast territories distant from the altiplanic center, generating a different kind of impact among populations that were distant from the political center, such as those in the Great North of Chile (Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004).

This prompted us to review what was assumed about Tiwanaku materiality in Tarapacá, specifically the sites, textile objects, and the psychotropic kits, which have traditionally been classified as belonging to the Middle Horizon (era of Tiwanaku influence) since, as also pointed out by the authors quoted at the beginning of this article, there were regions where "the protagonists of the event and their cultural materials never arrived" (Berenguer and Daueslberg 1989:129).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Tiwanaku in the Western Valleys of the North of Chile

The south-central Andes extends from Arequipa and Lake Titicaca (Peru) in the north to Chañaral in the south (Chile) and from the Pacific Ocean to Sucre (Bolivia) and Jujuy (Argentina) in the interior. Besides the Western Valleys, it also includes the circum-Titicaca, southern altiplano, Valluna, and Circumpuneña subareas (Figure 10.1b). The Western Valleys subarea extends from the Majes River (Peru) to the Loa River in the north of Chile, including the Tarapacá region, and it is characterized by a series of water courses that flow into the Pacific Ocean. It is located within the south-central Andean area, which is defined by the development of scattered settlements correlating with the existing ecological diversity, which never allowed urban development as was the case in the central Andes. Rather, it promoted high mobility, probably in the form of llama caravan traffic, but nonetheless promoting great levels of social and economic complexity (Lumbreras 1981; Núñez 1984).

In this context, in the north of Chile, Formative Period developments were followed by a chronological period between AD 500 and 1000, during which most of the territory would have been under the direct influence of Tiwanaku, according to the popular definition of this Middle period (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989). This altiplano culture would have come into contact with the formative populations of Arica and Atacama, and the Cabuza and Quitor Phases would have appeared between AD 300/400 and 700, respectively. Both would have represented "the first steps of Tiwanaku in order to incorporate a *periphery* for the high Andean plateau settlers in the valleys of the extreme north of Chile (Cabuza Phase), and an *ultraperiphery* for exchange of goods in the western edge of the Atacama Puna (Quitor Phase)" (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989:146, translation and italics ours). This interpretation became the accepted model that, nevertheless, is beginning to be debated (Berenguer 2000; Chacama 2004; Rivera 2004; Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004).

In this perspective, access by Tiwanaku to the Western Valleys of Arica was regarded as part of the vertical control model proposed by John V. Murra (1972), in which coastal expressions of "multiethnic archipelagos" were distinguished, whose political center lay in the circum-Titicaca altiplano. Such formations would have an archaeological correlate visible in the diversity of, for example, ceramic styles in a single site, which would be relatively contemporary and, therefore, would not represent overlapping phases as had been previously emphasized (Dauelsberg 1982; Focacci 1980). With this same approach and within the same economic interpretive framework, but considering a more ideological emphasis, the Tarapacá region was understood and integrated within the Tiwanaku system (Moragas 1995; Núñez 1979a, 1984; Rivera 2004, 2008; Sanhueza 1985).

Between 1970 and 1990, there was agreement in understanding Tiwanaku access to the Western Valleys under the verticality principle, with its consequent altiplanic settlements. However, the difficulty of identifying this process archaeologically was acknowledged by the creation of multiethnic and socially differentiated geographical maps. Thus, stylistic diversity was interpreted as the expression of multiethnicity. At the same time, departure from original or "pure" styles was taken as evidence of social hierarchy, and the archaeological material of Middle Horizon Arica and Tarapacá societies was interpreted in this light (Chacama 2004).

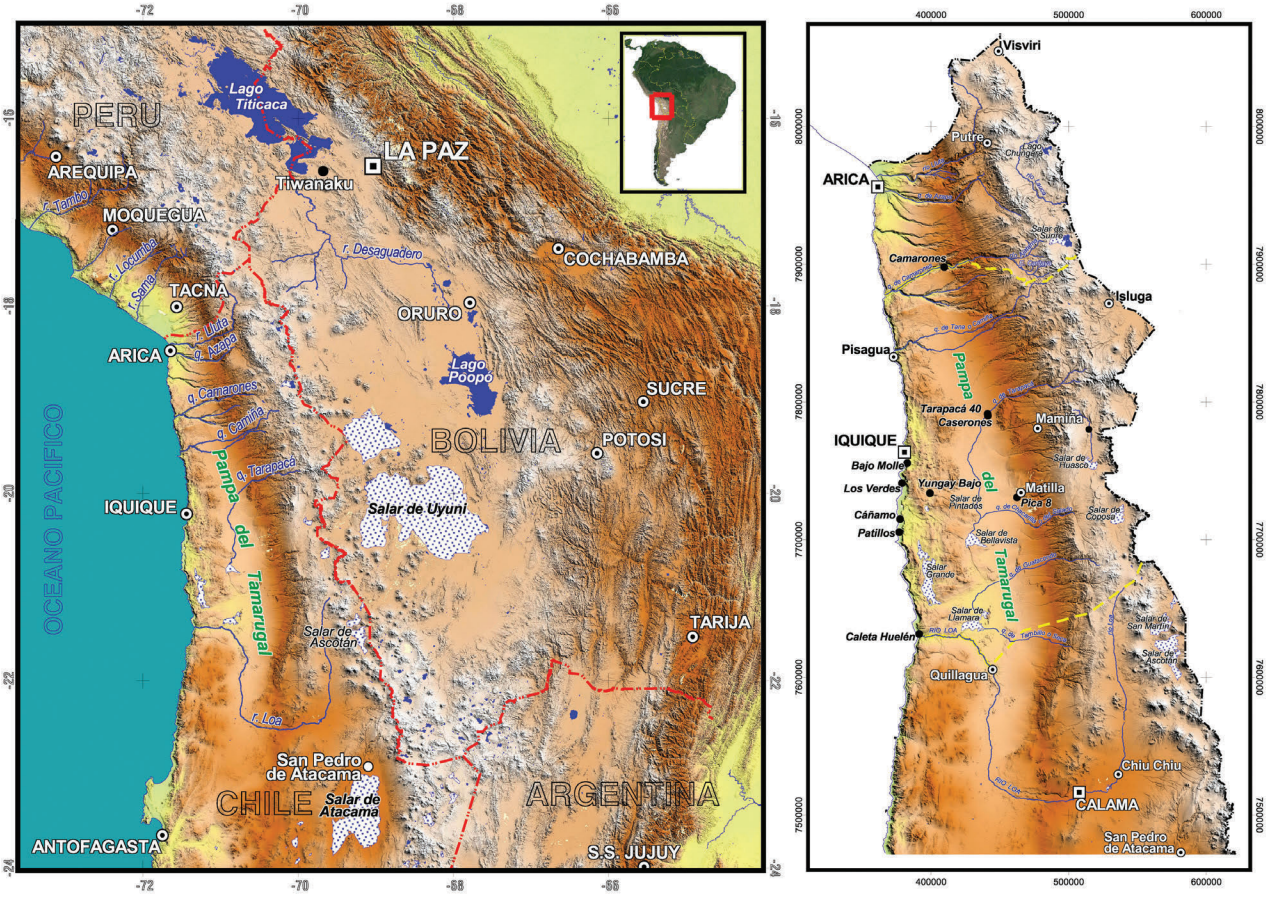
Initially, it was postulated that this process began in Arica around AD 300, although without sufficient absolute and calibrated dates (Focacci 1985).[1] Adding to this drawback was the scarce evidence coming from systematically excavated habitation sites (Goldstein 1995–1996). In fact, practically all the material dated comes from funerary sites, prioritizing cemeteries that have given the name and content to each phase and cultural group. At the time, the origins of the Cabuza population were not being discussed, which, although not believed to be necessarily Tiwanaku, were nevertheless considered altiplanic. However, more advanced genetic and population studies that are now available had not yet been performed on the bioarchaeological material from the cemeteries (Rotthammer et al. 2003; Sutter 2000). It was thought that

> entire families of these settlers, known as Cabuza, moved into the middle course of the valley, settling near watersheds that allowed them to water their crops. . . . For a while, the Cabuza coexisted with their predecessors, the Alto Ramirez, until these were gradually assimilated by the newcomers or moved somewhere else [Berenguer 2000:50, translation W.H. Isbell].

Consequently, the reconstruction of the Middle Period was based on funerary evidence lacking in adequate chronological and population information.

Within this framework, it was understood that the Azapa Valley was colonized and agriculturally exploited through an altiplanic pattern of sedentary settlement,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD



where the settlers would spread in hamlets made of perishable material that did not form villages. However, the population density was significant, judging by the great number of cemeteries that included hundreds of individuals in each of them (Focacci 1993).

It was thought that decorated Cabuza pottery—painted in black and/or white over red, where the challace or *kero* stands out—was introduced, as well as several textile techniques (e.g., loom textile weavings, floating warps, "fish bone" embroidery) and types of woven items (e.g., *chuspa* or coca bag, *inkuña* or small ritual cloth of rectangular shape, *bolsas-faja* or belt-bag and tunics). Excavation contexts included new headdresses (four-cornered hats) and hairstyles (complex braids) that replaced previous ones. Also noticed was a development of bone and wood carving in quotidian objects as well as more exclusive ones (e.g., spoons, vessels, and artifacts of the "psychotropic kit," namely, snuff trays, little boxes,

Figure 10.1. (a and b) Maps of the southern Andes, showing its environmental/cultural subregions, its geographic features, and modern national boundaries.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

and tubes used to prepare and inhale psychoactive substances), along with cane musical instruments (e.g., *sicus* or *zampoñas*), basketry, leather work, and gold metalwork. Agricultural evidence pointed to the production of corn, cucurbit, sweet potato, beans, quinoa, and squash. Coca leaves were also found. In then-popular thinking, part of this produce would have been consumed, being kept in storage pits within the settlements, while another part would have been shipped to the altiplano by llama caravans. The operation of these caravans was inferred from camelid wool and bone remains (e.g., feet) found in graves, llama depictions in several media, and manure associated with residential spaces, which suggested the existence of barnyard areas. Furthermore, the fact that the presence of marine resources was scarce toward the interior of the valley, in the same way that Cabuza materials were scarce on the coast (Bird 1943), strengthened the idea that there were two different populations, with those from the interior displacing ancestral littoral groups.

According to this pattern of colonization, the limited spread of Cabuza in the region appeared to be logical, showing a modest presence in the Camarones Valley and farther south, as well as in the northern Chiribaya Valley (Owen 1993; Schiappacasse et al. 1989). This would have been combined with a high mortality rate, accounting for numerous Cabuza cemeteries. An elevated frequency of death was attributed to syndromes associated with poor adaptation among the presumed altiplanic people in the warm lowlands, creating ideal conditions for the reproduction of infectious and contagious diseases, especially malaria (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989).

To complete this outlook, a style called Loreto Viejo was distinguished, which initially made exclusive reference to the polychrome ceramics of a funerary site in the south of Peru that had pottery with a distinctive Tiwanaku appearance and finer look (Lumbreras 1974). Subsequently, this same denomination was used for all those more sophisticated material expressions of the Azapa Valley, which displayed an assumed altiplanic stylistic relationship (e.g., polychrome four-cornered hats, tapestry tunics and bags, some spoons, decorated baskets, and metals). The materials and contexts of Loreto Viejo were judged as "clearly finer" (Berenguer and Daueslberg 1989:171), especially the polychrome four-cornered hats and decorated tunics, which were the high-ranking emblems that distinguished Tiwanaku elite who would have settled in the ravine. It was argued, "At first [the Cabuza] worked without supervision, . . . after four or five generations, the Lords of the Sacred Lake thought it was convenient to send high ranking individuals to administer these thriving albeit small coastal colonies" (Berenguer 2000:50, translation W.H. Isbell). Thus, the Cabuza populations were incorporated into the altiplano state. Nevertheless, the same researchers who hold this interpretation stress that, at least in regard to chronology, supporting data are insufficient (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989). Furthermore, we should not ignore the existence of a differential distribution of the funerary contexts with this class of special offering types in the local cemeteries (Focacci 1981, 1985). Beyond the problem of origins, these varied associations require discussion for they permit sociological interpretations of the mortuary activities (Uribe 2004a).

Once the Cabuza populations were integrated into the political sphere and the administrative periphery of Tiwanaku, it was proposed that a social reorganization must have taken place in Azapa. This would have created new material complexes such as Maytas, which, together with Loreto Viejo and Cabuza, would have shared the valley, promoting a high level of social complexity during the second phase of the Middle Period (AD 700–1000). Therefore, toward AD 700, the Maytas Phase started, which was initially understood as the "ultimate expression of the coastal colonies established by Tiwanaku in the north of Chile" (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989:167, translation W.H. Isbell). Furthermore, they mark the transition between the Middle Period and the Late Intermediate Period: Cabuza, Maytas, and San Miguel (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989:169; Ulloa 1981). In fact, it was believed that the three-color decoration of the Maytas Chiribaya ceramics, as well as the textile style and even the carved wooden spoons and other artifacts used to prepare and consume psychoactive substances, was more elaborate and displayed greater virtuosity than those assigned to Cabuza, so they were thought to represent an evolutionary development from that phase.

However, as it became evident that the Maytas Chiribaya style differed from styles of the altiplano and, surprisingly, showed greater affinity with the ceramic expressions of the far southern Peruvian coast, such as Churajón and Chiribaya, it was argued more recently that its producers should be regarded as a different group of coastal farmers who represent the antecedents of Arica culture (Berenguer 2000; Espoueys et al. 1995). The elements that make up the Cabuza material heritage are shared and behave similarly during Maytas, although they are more numerous and somewhat more sophisticated; "even though the Maytas Chiribaya at first wore the distinctive four-pointed hat and other

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Tiwanaku elements, and buried their dead in the same cemeteries as the altiplano settlers, they gradually accentuated their own cultural features" (Berenguer 2000:55, translation W.H. Isbell).

In short, it was proposed that the Azapa Valley was inhabited by a population divided in three social classes (Cabuza, Loreto Viejo, and Maytas) constituting a very complex political situation (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989:172). It was understood that, even though the altiplanic occupation of the coast had begun with Cabuza, it later expanded during Maytas to other sites of the littoral, some exclusive to this phase (e.g., sites of Playa Miller 9 and La Capilla 4). An efficient colonization process of the Azapa Valley is inferred, moving from the coast into the interior where the site San Lorenzo (Azapa 11) stands out as the central settlement with its location in the middle of the valley. This site includes occupations from the Maytas Phase and from the later Late Intermediate San Miguel Phase, although it also has traces of previous and subsequent activities. It consists of a residential space located on a promontory delimited by a wall that is located in the middle of two cemeteries. It is characterized by terraces that served as the base for habitations with stone foundations and cane walls (Muñoz 1983). The San Lorenzo settlement is associated with modern agricultural fields and springs of water. Within it are storage pits as well as camelid and guinea pig offerings in some of the walls, as well as graves. Because of its size and characteristics, the site was proposed to have been one of the Tiwanaku administrative centers in the Azapa Valley, assuming that the hierarchy of circum-Titicaca settlement structure participated in the colonial regime (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Kolata 1982). Furthermore, the mixed presence in the storage pits of sea and farm products, as well as an array of other products associated with both sides of the Andes (e.g., fish, algae, shellfish, corn, bean, coca leaf, cucurbit, chili, cassava, potatoes, lucumas, and tropical bird feathers, among others), was considered evidence for the kind of reciprocal and redistributional economy that concentrated goods at San Lorenzo and other sites for the resident settlers but also to be shipped via llama caravans to the altiplano.

As AD 1000 approached, Tiwanaku was able to maintain regular access to agricultural and maritime production in the Western Valleys as far north along the coast as the modern city of Arica, whether via colonial populations or local coastal groups. Interest in the extraction of copper minerals enhanced maritime traffic oriented toward producing prestige goods (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989:177). Scant Maytas Chiribaya ceramic evidence on the coast (i.e., in Camarones, Iquique, and the Loa River mouth and Taltal) would establish a basis for this argument (Núñez 1984).

However, later confirmation of a strong affiliation between Maytas and the Western Valleys (Espoueys et al. 1995) led to the proposal that it was not this population but in fact the "Cabuza colonizers [whom] worked out a way to continue sending llama caravans [loaded with products] to the altiplano" (Berenguer 2000:55, translation W.H. Isbell). Acceptance of a new Maytas origin also required disassembling the interpretive framework upon which Maytas materials have been associated with fishing equipment and maritime products (Focacci 1982) in the absence of Tiwanaku or Loreto Viejo evidence: association of the sparse data known to have belonged to the coastal region during the Middle Period, particularly material found in Playa Miller 9 cemetery.

Such materials were previously used as evidence to claim the existence of an efficient structure that articulated, through local and intermediate levels, the coastal communities with the vertical complementarity system of the altiplano settlements. This avoided greater investment in permanent state installations required for direct control.

More recently, studies focused on the artifacts—especially ceramics and textiles—and archaeological contexts (Chacama 2004; Uribe 1999; Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004) have shown that Cabuza and Maytas cannot be understood using the logic of a regime of altiplanic colonies. A similar assertion has already been proposed by Goldstein (1995–1996), who, after a survey of the Azapa Valley, did not detect settlements representing altiplanic installations of the importance of those in Moquegua (Peru), where state and colonial intervention has been demonstrated in the Osmore Valley (Goldstein 1989; Knudson 2004). Rather, the Arica settlement pattern reflects local behavior that took form during the Formative period, becoming more salient and complex only toward AD 1000 with the San Lorenzo village (Muñoz 2002). This view is largely shared by Sutter (2000), who conducted a bioanthropological study focused on the dental genetic markers. Sutter observes population continuity for the Azapa Valley from the Archaic Period until the moment of contact with the Incas. He points out that populations with a different dental pattern did not settle in the valley or that, at least, they were insufficient to cause genetic changes that could be identified in his analysis. Thus, the cultural process of the Azapa Valley seems to be continuous and endogenous, and although it admitted certain

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

foreign biological and cultural elements (Rotthammer et al. 2003), these would not have been sufficiently important to cause radical structural changes. These latest investigations have, therefore, provided points of view and archaeological evidence that contradict the thesis of altiplanic colonies settled in the Azapa Valley during the Middle Period (Chacama 2004).

Taking into account this evidence, two alternative models are currently under consideration as explanations of Tiwanaku presence in northern Chile's Western Valleys. Study of the stylistic and contextual behavior of pottery and textiles of the Cabuza and Maytas Phases especially has been approached from new interpretive frameworks that stress local dynamics and their specific political and ideological consequences (Berenguer 1998; Chacama 2004; Rivera 2004; Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004). Without a doubt, this has been influenced by advances in investigations in the Titicaca and the Moquegua regions (Albarracín-Jordán 1996; Goldstein and Owen 2001). Also important are developments within Chilean archaeology employing new analyses of former materials, using a systematic and specialized methodology that focuses on artifacts and associations, together with a new chronological framework supplemented by a large quantity of absolute dates (Chacama 2004; Espoueys et al. 1995). This new perspective allows investigators to overcome the center and periphery model proposed by Kolata (1982), with its extreme economic determinism derived from the verticality model combined with caravan exchange, that reduced all relations to strategies of colonial government and systems of patronage managed from the altiplano center (Berenguer 2000; Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Rivera 2008).

In the new perspective, Cabuza ceramics are seen, technologically as well as stylistically, as very different from both Tiwanaku and Maytas. Furthermore, their frequency is greater in relation to scarce altiplanic pottery and even larger in relation to Maytas Chiribaya materials (Uribe 1999). However, Maytas Chiribaya, along with Cabuza, is part of a local technical and stylistic tradition, while Tiwanaku pottery is clearly foreign and more closely related to the ceramics and region of Moquegua (Uribe 2004b). All of the cultural units appear distant from one another in terms of funerary space and are almost never associated, suggesting ceremonial practices characteristic of the production of cultural identity and political expressions typical of diversified cultural traditions (Uribe 2004a). On the other hand, although weavings show a local background with significant time depth (Cassman 1997), it is also possible to distinguish diverse technical and stylistic traditions that are linked to ceramics of Cabuza, Maytas Chiribaya, and Tiwanaku in a different way (Agüero 2000; Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004), highlighting the predominance of the local over the foreign to express relations with the highlands or the coast.

In Azapa, during the Middle Period, Tiwanaku elements were integrated into the formative textile tradition. The results include the following: variability in the number of wefts and a particular pattern of bands using colors similar to those of Tiwanaku; a tendency toward square forms in tunics and bags, which in Cabuza would be trapezoidal; warp-faced and weft-faced decoration, as well as loop-stitch embroidery; and, apart from tunics, a scarcity of other textile garments in funerary contexts. When they are present, *inkuñas* (rectangular or slightly trapezoidal cloth 40 to 50 cm on a side, used in modern rituals by Aymara speakers, including bundling coca leaves) have no edge finishings or are finished with narrow cord wefts or in loop-stitch embroidery; bags have three decorated bands with red, yellow, and blue floating warps over a red background, the same as the belt bags, which include more green and blue, with finishings in simple loop stitch. Minkes (2005) has recently proposed the unity of the Ilo-Tumilaca/Cabuza style, reaffirming the artistic and social closeness of the Osmore and Azapa Valleys.

Furthermore, and more or less simultaneously, a second set of garments associated with Maytas Chiribaya pottery (Uribe 1999) reveals strong stylistic affinity with the Chiribaya textiles of Osmore (Minkes 2005). This tradition continues in Arica until Inca times. It is characterized by the use of the colors purple, maroon, white, yellow, and green; trapezoidal forms, except for *inkuña;* belt bags; tunics with lateral bands; figurative decoration achieved with complementary warps in *chuspas* (bags with shoulder strap, usually for coca), *inkuñas*, and belt bags; and the inclusion of other garments, besides tunics, in the funerary contexts (Agüero 2000). Rare decorated weavings related to Tiwanaku are finally reduced to plain or striped *inkuñas*, repaired tunics, and blankets with loop stitches along the edges and bands on the sides or on the body (Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004). In fact, in the Azapa Valley, we registered only two textiles with figurative iconography (fish and felines) in the site of Azapa 3. Overall, the small numbers of textiles used as iconographic media are surprising. Instead, they mainly display geometrical motifs such as meanders and rectangles with centers, in loop stitch.[2]

In view of these data, direct links with Titicaca become increasingly diffuse, and what is more relevant is

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

the variety of local dynamics that played out diachronically through diverse connections among complex cultural spaces. Regional stylistic referents now become important, each representing its own local social and economic contradictions, in accordance with the styles and ideologies employed by archaeologists to identify cultural entities. These diverse and differentiated processes moved between altiplanic and Moquegua Valley communities in an early Cabuza Phase (AD 500–800) but later saw the predominance of coastal groups in the second Maytas Phase (AD 800–1200), during which some local traditions strengthened while others weakened under the hegemonic influence of the main south-central Andean center of the time, Tiwanaku. For this same reason, it is reasonable to confirm the contemporaneity of many styles, especially at the moment of Tiwanaku's greatest height, now more precisely dated to AD 800 (Espoueys et al. 1995).

According to this different perspective, which in a way picks up old discussions in the archaeology of Arica (Dauelsberg 1972–1973; Munizaga 1957; Núñez 1972–1973), what is more suggestive and coherent are models that make reference to the prominence of local processes and ideological mechanisms for managing the evolution of their own social complexity. This seems more probably what had been taking place since the Formative Period within the Western Valleys of the north of Chile. Thanks to this current framework, we reconsider the situation of Tarapacá in the southern portion of the Western Valleys subarea.

Tiwanaku in Tarapacá

To the south of Camarones, in the southern part of the Western Valleys, a different archaeological zone begins (Figure 10.1a,b). This landscape is composed of four areas that influence the character and type of the human settlements (Schiappacasse et al. 1989:202–204). The highest altiplanic Andean steppe, with grass, wetlands, basins, and interior salt flats, is bordered by an inclined plane that descends to the west, with about 23 ravines, between the Camiña and Loa Rivers, which interrupt their course as they pass through the endoreic alluvial basin known as the Pampa del Tamarugal. This flatland terminates in the west with a steep cliff that drops to narrow beaches forming the so-called coastal desert. On the coast itself there are freshwater flows at certain points (i.e., Iquique, Bajo Molle, Punta Gruesa, Patillos, and Cáñamo, among others) that were essential for human settlements.

Initially, the cemetery studied in Pisagua by Uhle was thought to affirm an eloquent manifestation of Tiwanaku in the littoral of Tarapacá, which he assigned to the "Tiahuanaco culture between A.D. 500 and 800" (Uhle 1922) based on evidence that, at that time, was new for the region. The interpretation seemed to be supported by physical features that differed from those of preexisting people, suggesting gradual demographic mixing that created the "Tiahuanaco Atacameño" Period (Núñez 1965, 1984).[3]

Even though evidence for Tiwanaku in Tarapacá is still very scant, it was soon proposed that during the Maytas Phase—contemporarily with the Coyo Phase in San Pedro de Atacama—altiplanic people had attempted to colonize some of the valleys, oases, and littoral, including the Loa River area. Presumably the objective was uniting a highland periphery with a more distant ultraperiphery across the high desert (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989:167). In support of this idea, Berenguer and Dauelsberg allude to evidence in several sites such as Tarapacá 1, Tarapacá 40, and Pica 8 in the valleys and low oases, as well as Yungay Bajo in the Pampa del Tamarugal, Pisagua, Bajo Molle, Los Verdes, Patillos 1, and Cáñamo 3 on the coast. They point out that the scarcity of Tiwanaku material may be due to a bias in archaeological research or, rather, to the characteristics of the phenomenon in that region.

During the 1970s and 1980s, scholars accepted the existence of a polity called Pica Tarapacá. From the valleys and oases of the Pampa del Tamarugal, it controlled coastal sites, such as those mentioned above, by establishing colonies (Moragas 1995; Núñez 1984:276; Sanhueza 1985). Llama caravans were the strategy used to integrate different ecological zones following a network of roads marked with geoglyphs across the pampa. The roadways would have been dotted with settlements and cemeteries such as Yungay Bajo (Núñez 1984:404; Sanhueza 1985). This proposal derives largely from the vast Pica 8 cemetery, where remains were identified that must have originated in the altiplano, the rainforest, the coast, the Arica Valleys, and the Loa River Valley (Núñez 1984), suggesting Tiwanaku relations. To explain the findings, Núñez refers to two mechanisms of interaction: (1) an undefined type of bi-ethnic barter and (2) an intrusive proto-verticality among the local populations.

The first mechanism, barter between different cultural groups, would involve select Tiwanaku elements immersed in local contexts but without the introduction of bioanthropological features of highland peoples.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Exchange would have taken place with the arrival of caravans without need for occupation by settlers or even well-established markets and certainly without implying greater political commitments. Because of this, Cabuza and Maytas specimens would be rare, and Loreto Viejo ceramic would be absent. A few but very fine weavings would stand out as a sumptuary expression of this exchange (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989), such as those found in the site Tarapacá 40, in the ravine of the same name (Núñez 1982).

In the case of the second mechanism, exchange would be explained by the verticality model, including colonizing enclaves, whose remains would appear primarily in local funerary contexts, forming sectors of special interments. Evidence for this comes from Pica 8, where 254 bodies were recovered with an important predominance of Pica Tarapacá contexts, chronologically placed between AD 1000 and 1250 (Núñez 1976). At the center of this site, Sector G is distinguished by 16 flexed and extended bodies presenting tabular oblique cranial deformation diagnostic of altiplano populations, with turbans evocative of the Tarapacá 40 formative contexts and associated with local Charcollo ceramics. One of the bodies had a tunic bearing Tiwanaku iconography that has been interpreted as an indication that "the group of colonists resided along with the local population, making offerings with Tiwanaku items that linked them directly to Altiplanic centers" (Núñez 1984:249).

This evidence implied Tiwanaku colonial settlement in Tarapacá that was contemporary with Late Regional Development times. In turn, this dating seemed validated by similar processes in Arica during the San Miguel Phase, corresponding to the first moment of the Late Intermediate Period. The Tiwanaku settlements would remain there until AD 1200 as part of a process shared across the Western Valleys and encompassing the desert littoral (Moragas 1995). Nevertheless, it is clear there is no evidence for such intrusive settlers down to the mouth of the Loa River, even though Latcham (1938) proposed their presence toward the interior of Ancachi, near Quillagua (see Figure 10.1a).

For their part, in coastal contexts of Tarapacá, supposedly assigned to Cabuza, Maytas, and even to Loreto Viejo, some four-cornered hats, tunics, and tapestry bands have been identified (all of them strictly *ariqueños*), along with objects of the psychotropic kit linked to corn cultivation, fishing, and copper artifacts, diagnostic of typical agro-maritime populations. With regards to these, in Cáñamo 3, a cemetery group distinguished from the rest has been identified with high rates of child mortality. It was argued that an advanced altiplanic party, traveling in balsa rafts—as represented by a miniature model excavated there—was poorly adapted to desert conditions of the coast, accounting for the high rate of child mortality (Núñez 1979b; Núñez and Moragas 1977). Even though excavation contexts contain mainly fishing equipment, the site was classified as Tiwanaku based on the discovery of a textile decorated with the "split eye" motif and of instruments of the psychotropic kit, dated in AD 760 (Núñez 1976). Four-cornered hats, thought to be emblematic of high-ranking settlers, decrease in the Tarapacá coastal sites, at least relative to numbers in Arica. All these data have led to a reevaluation that Tiwanaku does not appear to have controlled this territory in accord with the classic verticality model but rather through some variant in which littoral enclaves from Arica and other more southern valleys were established using boats for transportation (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989:169). Consequently, the limited Tiwanaku evidence for Tarapacá seems best dated around AD 1000, suggesting that just as the Late Intermediate Period was taking shape, the high Andean state held sway over these territories, either directly or indirectly.

After several years of systematic work in Tarapacá, our present objective is to explore current interpretative proposals and advance understandings of local prehistory. We would like to discuss the previous proposals, taking into account not only economic but also social and political relations, adding to the discussion a consideration of the historic background related to the emergence of the Pica Tarapacá society that appeared at exactly this moment. We have proposed that the societies of the Late Intermediate Period or Pica Tarapacá Complex were formed by historically different groups, including coastal, low valley, and pampa communities, inhabitants of the high ravines or *serranos* and altiplanics. They formed economically and socially independent but closely related and complementary units, who defined identities and distinctive practices in domestic and public contexts (Uribe 2006). Within this framework, cultural heterogeneity would have its background in each of the local developmental trajectories, interweaving previous experiences with those of cultural frontiers in the Western Valleys, the altiplano, and Atacama. Economic interactions seem to have played an important role in hybridization, but domestic or family management is implied, surely sanctioned in local public spaces (Uribe and Adán 2005). Therefore, more than being a response

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

to the management of great lords in charge of social dynamics, who are not apparent in the material record, collective decisions determined privilege, manifestations of power, and expressions of hierarchy (Uribe 2006).

Cultural dynamics such as those of the locals and foreigners might have their origin in the social diversity and complexity that characterized this territory and its populations in pre-Hispanic times. This would explain the presence or absence of Tiwanaku in the local sphere and would open new alternatives for understanding the Middle Horizon of the south-central Andes.

Reevaluation of Tiwanaku Materials of Tarapacá

A variety of cemeteries in Tarapacá have provided evidence identified as Tiwanaku, but this consists mainly of objects belonging to the psychotropic kit as well as textiles. In Tarapacá 40 and Pica 8 in the interior valleys, Yungay Bajo at Pampa del Tamarugal, and Bajo Molle, Patillos 1, Los Verdes, and Pisagua on the coast, textiles as well as elements of the psychotropic kit support the notion that Tiwanaku identity had a fundamental role in regional cultural development. For example, assertions about textiles affirm an important number of Tiwanaku textiles, textiles linked to Tiwanaku, four-cornered hats, and polychrome textiles with expansive motifs. A sample of other assertions regarding objects belonging to psychotropic kits includes implements with Tiwanaku iconography and snuff trays for inhaling narcotics similar to Tiwanaku style. However, it seems apparent that this generic approach has favored the traditional model by hiding the real implications of the evidence, as well as its importance.

Tiwanaku style has been identified by the resemblance of motifs and/or figures to those on stone sculptures from the Titicaca Basin. Snuff trays of the Tiwanaku style are made mainly out of wood and decorated with seven themes—including the "sacrificer"—and 33 motifs (Torres 1985) by incision, low relief, or carved in the round. For its part, the Tiwanaku textile style is principally characterized by tunics, blankets, bags, *inkuñas*, and headbands, woven with the following techniques: (a) weft-faced fabric using an interlocked tapestry technique to produce modularly organized figures that have referents in Tiwanaku stone sculpture; (b) decorated with loop-stitch embroidery in seams, openings, and selvedges, creating iconography related to Tiwanaku III and IV; and (c) warp-faced weavings with striped decoration (Oakland 1986). This last variant is present mainly in the Western Valleys, including most of the textiles of the Chen Chen cemetery in Moquegua (Site M1), coming from contexts dated mainly between AD 700 and 1000. The weavings are usually monochromatic and rectangular, with a continuous weft. Additionally, there are Cabuza and Maytas textiles described in previous works (Agüero 2000; Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004). In Tarapacá, in addition to the above, there are trapezoidal tunics with polychrome lateral bands and curved or straight warp selvedges. Sometimes they have side embroideries mainly in loop stitch, although satin-stitch embroideries occur as well. There are *chuspas* and belt bags decorated with complementary and floating warps, as well as striped domestic bags (small to large sacks) (Agüero 2007). Bearing in mind these materials, we will evaluate each as it relates to Tiwanaku presence in the Tarapacá region.

First of all, in Tarapacá 40B,[4] mortuary contexts present flexed bodies in bundles, covered with wool turbans and blankets, accompanied by ceramic miniatures, textiles and basketwork, vicuña fleece, *algarrobo (Prosopis sp.)* pods, corn, quinoa, beans, and dried octopus (Núñez 1970). From this section of the cemetery and related to an occupation of the Caserones hamlet dated between AD 400 and 600, three quadrangular tunics associated with men bear Classic Tiwanaku iconography. One is woven in tapestry and the other two in warp face technique. The first one (T3/SM) was found under a tunic typical of the regional Late Formative dated to AD 660 (Oakland 2000). It is 106 cm wide and 113 cm long, weft faced, and decorated in interlocked tapestry, reproducing the "meander" or "belt" of the Tiwanaku Sun Gate with bird head appendages at the ends (Agüero et al. 2004), in eight 4-cm-wide vertical stripes. Every stripe has 30 modules in each face, every one of which is defined by the undulation of the meander, marked by double warps and particular combinations of red, green, petrol blue, yellow ochre, and light blue. In turn, the areas without decoration are white. Also, it presents a red stepped design on the chest (Figure 10.2), which makes it different from a similar tunic published by Young-Sánchez (2004:52). The second tunic (T5/SS) is warp faced, 121 cm wide and 67 cm long, with green and blue bands all over (Figure 10.3 a, b). Along the armholes, an anthropomorphic profile personage was embroidered in loop stitch, similar to the figures of Tiwanaku's Sun Idol (Agüero et al. 2004), which is repeated four times on each side and on each face. The warp selvedges finish in the red weft-faced technique, similar to the tunics of the Late Formative, although thinner (Agüero and Cases 2004). It has a date of cal. AD 420 obtained by Oakland (2000). The data and illustrations published by Oakland

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

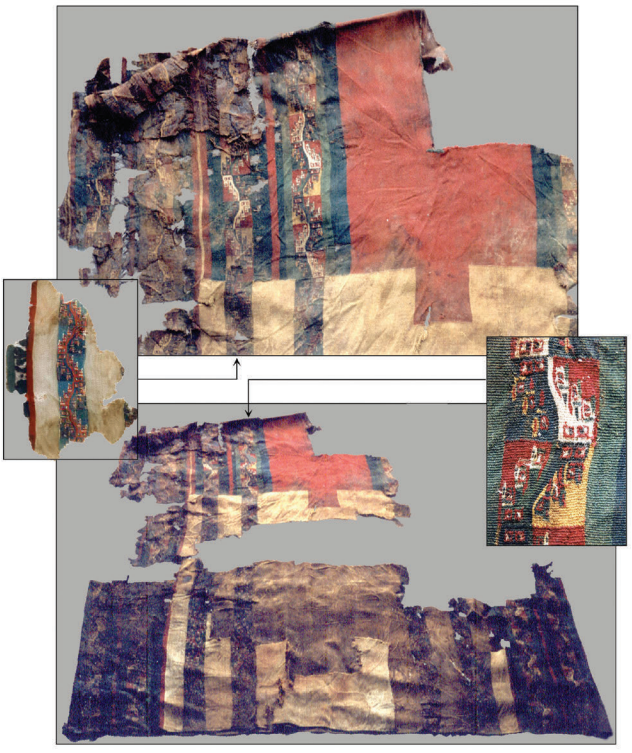


Figure 10.2. Tunic T3/SM from Tr-40B. Tiwanaku style.

affirm the existence of a third tunic (T3/SS) that we did not find, with a date of cal. AD 370, and which shows a loop-stitch embroidery at the bottom of the neck slot that depicts the front-face figure of Tiwanaku's Sun Gate (Figure 10.3b), along with profile birds around the armholes.

These three garments represent a very small percentage (1.66 percent) of a partial sample of 180 textiles registered from this site, which are grouped into two main sets: (a) offerings of miniature pieces such as tunics and blankets and (b) funerary trousseaus that include textiles with multiple wefts or with one continuous weft, with warp faced as well as warp and weft faced, and even twined blankets. Hybrid techniques, such as tunics with the lower section weft faced, appear (Agüero et al. 2005). In conclusion, Tarapacá 40 seems to contain mostly local and formative mortuary contexts.

The Tiwanaku textile from Pica 8, which has been repeatedly referred to (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Núñez 1984), is a 103-cm x 103-cm square weft-faced tunic that has been quite highly repaired (T7/SG). The decoration was made with interlocked tapestry organized in four vertical stripes, two wide stripes near the center and two narrow stripes along the edges. On the wide stripes is an "anthropomorphic profile personage with feline attributes" (Agüero et al. 2004). It is displayed in four modules in each stripe on both sides of the tunic, alternating so it faces in opposing directions, and colored light blue, blue, pink, reddish brown, dark brown, and brown (Figures 10.4 and 10.5). Undecorated spaces are beige. This anthropomorphic figure is especially interesting because according to the stylistic seriation we have proposed (Agüero et al. 2004), it combines early features (e.g., intertwined fangs and belt) with other features appearing only later, such as the standing position of the icons on the Sun Idol, the hooked nose, and a

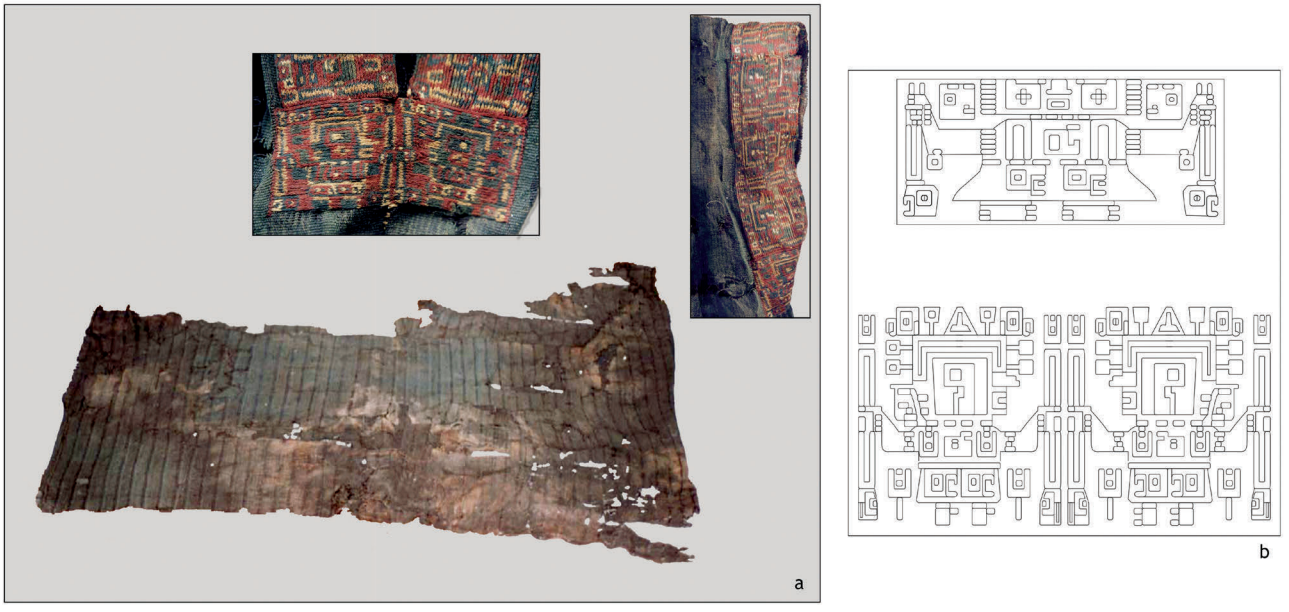


Figure 10.3. (a) Tunic T5/SS from Tr-40B. Tiwanaku style; (b) Embroideries at the bottom of the neck slot of tunic T3/SS (top) and tunic T5/SS (bottom). Drawings based on those of Oakland (2000).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 10.4. Tunic from Grave 7, Section G of Pica 8. Tiwanaku Provincial style.

quite rectilinear style that we have not observed in the classic textile representations (Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004). The context, dated between cal. AD 968 and 1270 (Núñez 1976) contains Pica Charcollo ceramics and a tunic typical of the Late Intermediate Period of the region, all of which suggests that it was woven in the Western Valleys imitating Tiwanaku textile models. That is what Minkes (2008) proposed for a trapezoidal tunic with iconography similar to this Tiwanaku-style piece, which was associated with Chiribaya pottery found at the mouth of the Osmore Valley (see also Conklin 1983).

In our inventory of Pica 8, other less known garments display Tiwanaku iconography. One of them corresponds to a rectangular warp-faced tunic (No. 0800), without context, that has side seams embroidered in loop stitch creating anthropomorphic faces in profile followed by a rectangular body. This represents a good example of a Western Valleys version of Tiwanaku weaving (Figure 10.6). Another piece is also a rectangular warp-faced beige tunic (No. 13.1.457, T52/SI) with satin-stitch embroidery side seams, creating a 6-cm-wide stripe that repeats a module with a diagonal stepped, and quadripartite square on each side (Figure 10.7a). Oakland defines this design as part of the Tiwanaku textile style; however, the embroidery technique is not Tiwanaku, suggesting that it is of local manufacture, probably from the highlands of Tarapacá or the Rio Loa area, judging by its association with ceramics from those regions (e.g., Taltape and Ayquina styles from the altiplano and Atacama, Late Intermediate Period) and by the embroidery technique (Agüero 2007). There is also a small weft-faced bag (No. 1116, T42/SI; Figure 10.7b) with circular warp, decorated with undulating vertical lines and rhombuses with centers enclosed within vertical bands, created with interlocking and eccentric tapestry. It is similar to Bag No. 3416 from Mojocoya (Cochabamba, Bolivia), classified as Tiwanaku Provincial by Oakland (1986). Since the circular warp technique relates it to the Tiwanaku

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

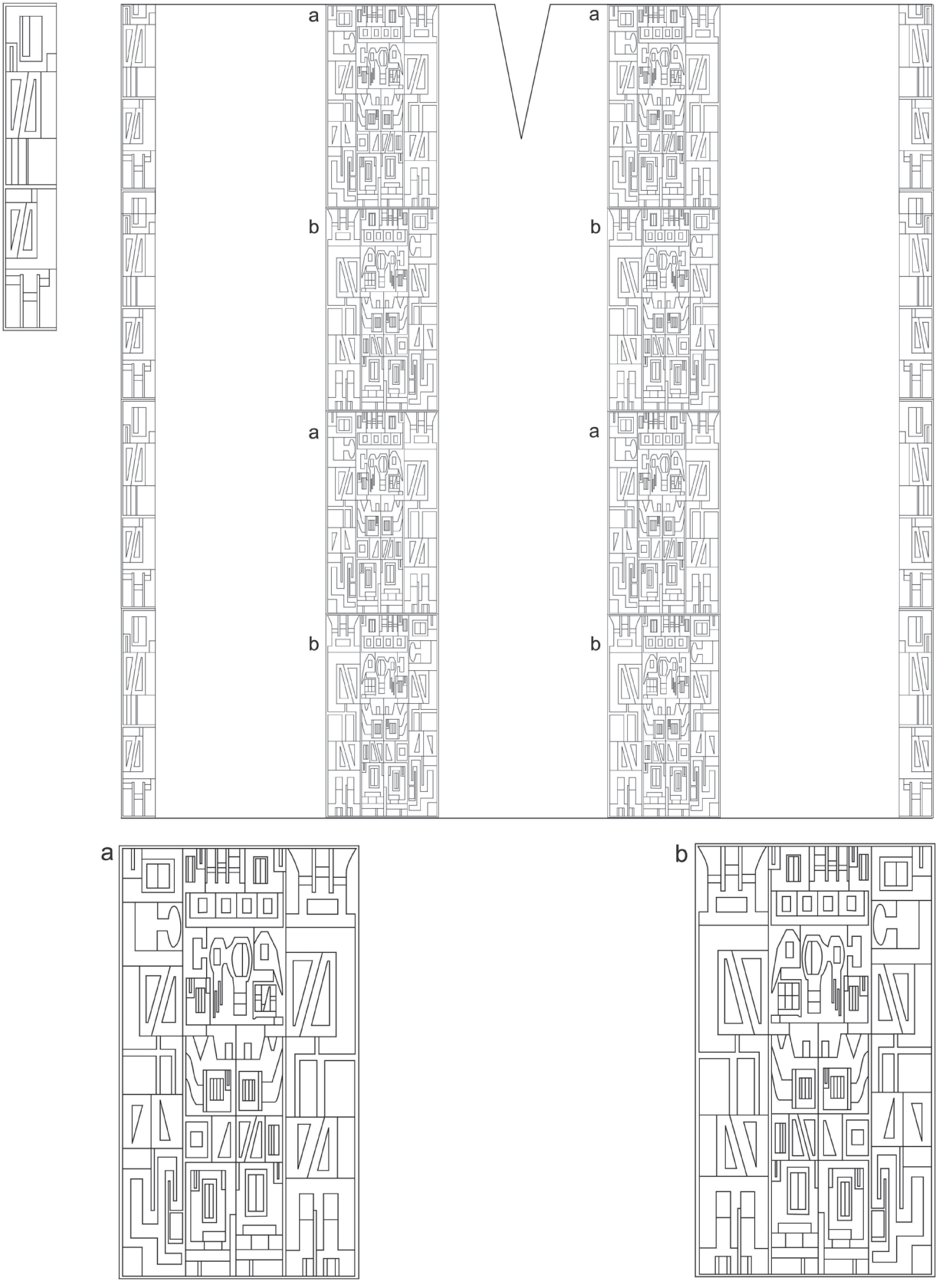


Figure 10.5. Drawing of the tunic from Grave 7, Section G of Pica 8. Detail of the module motifs.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

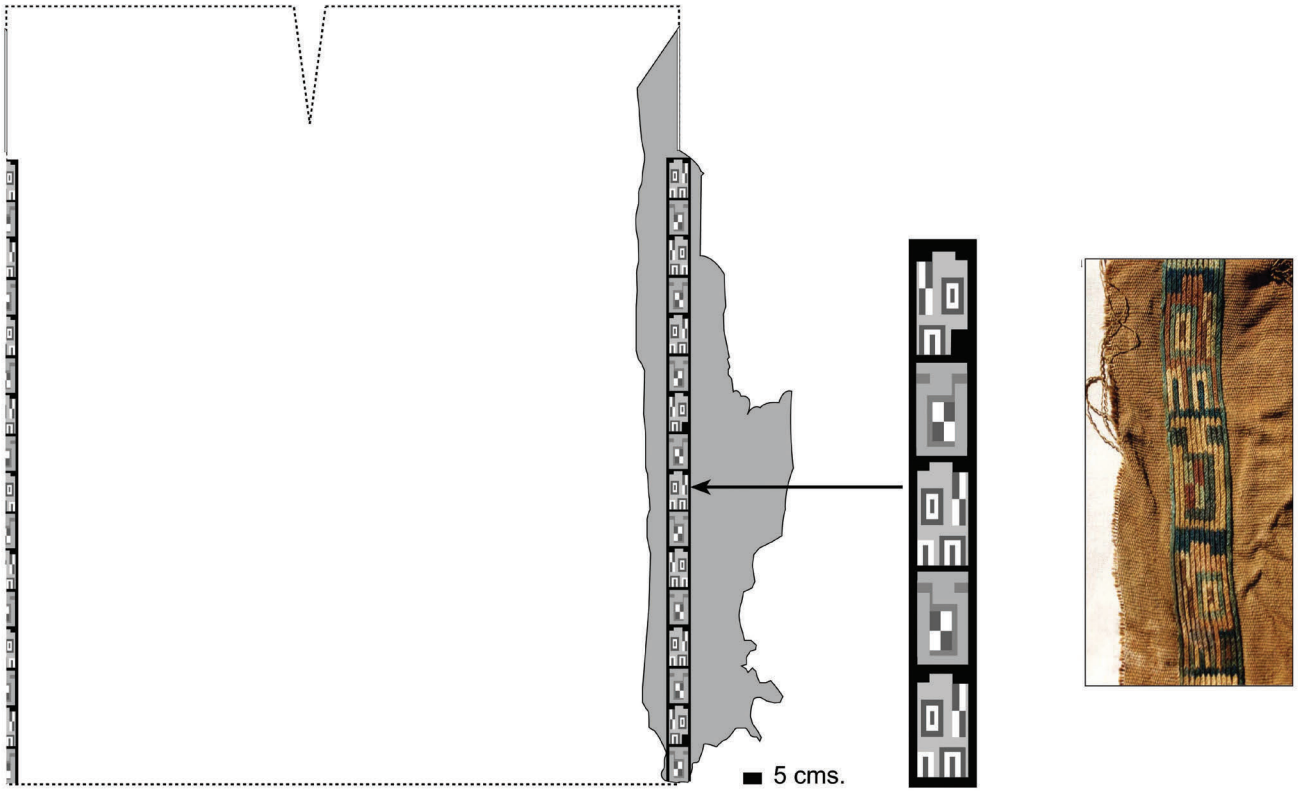


Figure 10.6. Tunic No. 0800 from Pica 8. Tiwanaku Provincial style.

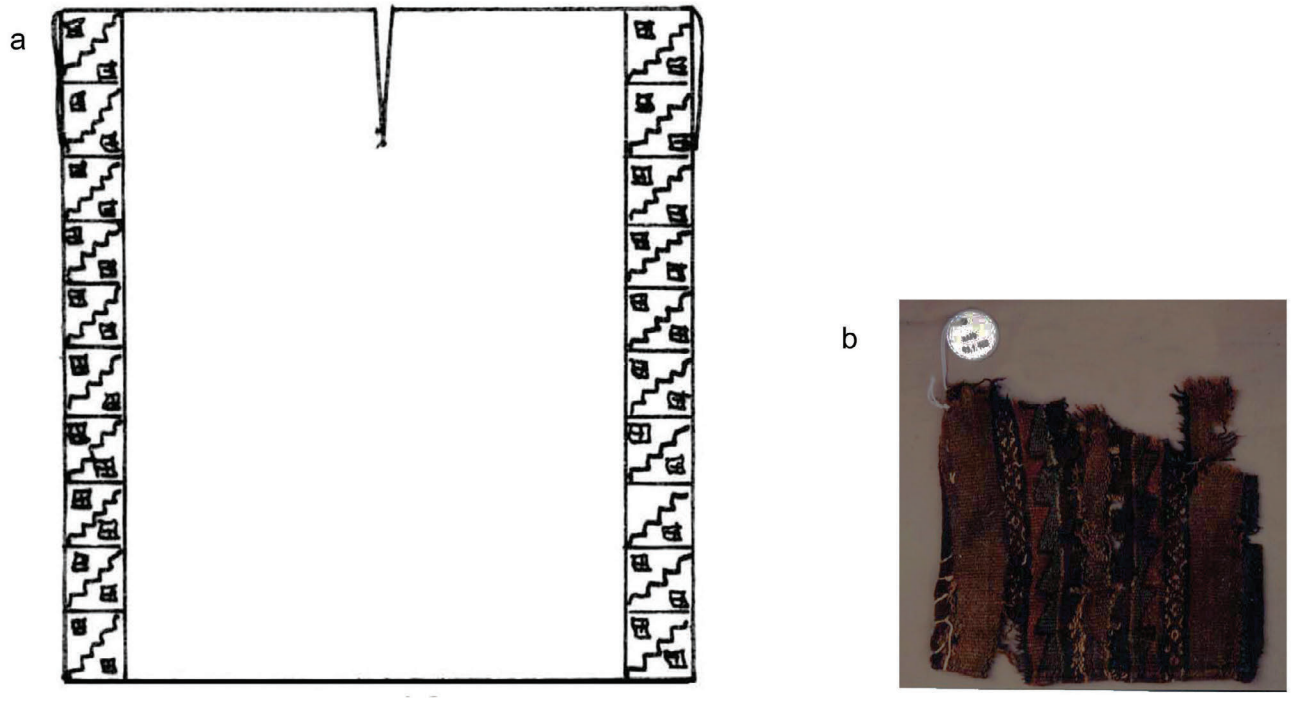


Figure 10.7. Textiles from Pica 8: (a) Tunic 13.1.457, Tiwanaku Provincial style; (b) Bag No. 1116,T42/SI from Pica 8. Tiwanaku Provincial, Cochabamba Valleys style.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

style, it was probably made in the Cochabamba Valleys and is best assigned to that Provincial-style variant.

That is to say, of the 210 textiles registered at Pica 8, including tunics, blankets, loincloths, bags, belt bags, *inkuñas*, and a bichrome four-cornered hat, almost all correspond to styles of the Western Valleys of Arica and Tarapacá. They are characteristic of the Late Intermediate Period and the end of the Middle Period in Azapa (Agüero 2000, 2007). Only four garments can be classified as Tiwanaku Provincial style, a total of 1.9 percent. They probably come from the highlands of Tarapacá, the Cochabamba Valleys, and the Osmore Valley. In addition to this, and together with the complete absence of Tiwanaku pottery,[5] Núñez (1969) stresses that objects belonging to the psychotropic kit are minimal, which is confirmed by Catalán (2006), who registered only one variety of spatula, either in bone or wood, which shares features with those from the Atacama territory.

On the coast, related to the water supply at Bajo Molle, several cemeteries have been registered (Bajo Molle, Bajo Molle 1, and Molle La Portada). All are, according to their contexts, assignable to the Late Intermediate Period and regarded as representing a single style (Moragas 1995). The bodies were laid back, with their legs flexed and covered with red pigment from the knee to the ankle, as well as covered with *totora* mats, seaweed, and white feathers of ocean birds. Ceramics are scarce, consisting of Pica Tarapacá styles (e.g., Charcollo and Chiza) and some of the San Miguel style from Arica. Also appearing are little boxes, spindles and spindle whorls, combs, harpoon heads, oars, couplers, projectile points and shafts, tops or *trompitos*, weights, *desconchadores*, and fragments of sea lion skin rafts. Furthermore, Moragas (1995) indicates that there are snuff trays and tubes, one of them decorated with a condor carving. By the time of her study, Catalán (2006) could not find this snuff tray (for which there are no drawings or pictures either), so she counted only four tubes and one cylindrical-conical bone mouthpiece, similar to wooden ones from Atacama.

Regarding the textiles, Moragas (1995:71) adds that the cemetery presents "Tiwanaku features that Ulloa has described for the Cabuza Phase, along with other evidence from Regional Development times" (translation W.H. Isbell). Among them is a four-cornered hat of natural colors and geometric designs (Figure 10.8), which displays a certain affinity with the polychrome hats of Arica that are associated with local ceramics of Azapa as well as with Tiwanaku V to VI styles. These are placed chronologically

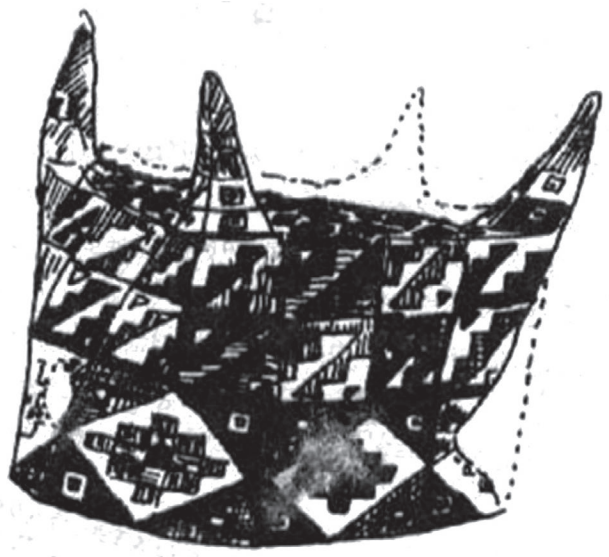


Figure 10.8. Four-cornered hat from Bajo Molle. Tiwanaku Provincial style. Drawing taken from Moragas (1995).

between AD 800 and 1000 and appear on the Peruvian coast, as well as in the Rio Loa Valley (Sinclaire 1998). These hats, which in bichrome varieties extend into the Late Intermediate Period, were manufactured with the cow hitch technique (*doble enlace anudado*), which is the same as the hats covering formative turbans from the Tarapacá 40 (Oakland 2000) and Patillos cemeteries. All this leads us to question the Tiwanaku origin of these pieces, as well as their representations in other media. An example is a wooden figure with a cap of the four-corner type found in the Pica Tarapacá contexts of Yungay Bajo (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Sanhueza 1985).

Another textile from Bajo Molle, which at the time was classified as Tiwanaku, is a tie-dyed tunic, associated with a date of AD 1258 (Moragas 1995:72) However; the mortuary context contains elements assignable only to the Late Intermediate Period. Indeed there is no convincing reason to assign the tie-dyed technique to Tiwanaku as it has antecedents in archaic and formative coastal contexts of the north of Chile (Cases and Agüero 2004).

In sum, we can affirm that the total of 33 textile garments analyzed from Bajo Molle fall into styles of the Western Valleys of the Late Intermediate Period (Agüero 2007), whereas at least one of five artifacts of the psychotropic kit is related to the oases of San Pedro de Atacama. However, the nature of this carved snuff tray is unclear.

Further south, in the Los Verdes cemetery, Pica Tarapacá contexts and some "Tiwanakoid" materials, together with tabular oblique cranial deformation, led to the suggestion that contacts with the interior must

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

have taken place at the beginning of the Pica Tarapacá Complex (Núñez 1984; Sanhueza 1985). This also seems to be indicated by textile motifs occurring on belt bags, *inkuñas*, *chuspas*, domestic bags, "net bags," tunics, hairbands, and cords that correspond to styles of the Western Valleys, but Tiwanaku influence is certainly inconclusive. In fact, Núñez (1984:276) also identifies local coastal elements such as red paint on a mummy bundle and offerings, pelican skins, interments of isolated skulls, sea lion skin shoulder trays, and breast plates. He also mentions Pica and Chiza and San Miguel pottery along with *keros* bearing llama designs as well as equipment for the consumption of hallucinogens with Tiwanaku iconography (Moragas 1995:73), which could not be found at the time of restudy.

The mortuary site of Patillos 1, located 70 km south of Iquique, would have also been inhabited by a population related to the Pica Tarapacá Complex, to judge by their mummy bundles wrapped in tunics, flexed bodies, harpoon heads, bows, projectile points, copper fishhooks, atlatl hooks, corn, polychrome textiles, and Pica Tarapacá ceramics (Núñez 1965, 1969), which greatly resemble pottery from Bajo Molle. Moragas (1995) describes this same pottery in the similar proportions for Bajo Molle. Among the textiles, she highlights tunics of natural colors decorated on the selvedges, polychrome bags and belts with hooks and rhombuses, bags in "velvet" technique with hooks and triangles, and *inkuñas*. However, the author also points out differences between Bajo Molle and Patillos in that the latter has more metalwork (gold, malachite, and copper). She also mentions carrying trays, leather bags, cucurbits, fishing weights, a sea lion skin helmet, couplers, combs, flat baskets, little boxes, cane cases, bone spatulas, snuff trays, and inhalation tubes. The discovery of an *algarrobo* wood snuff tray (*Prosopis* sp.), with a handle carved in the round representing the "sacrificer," along with a bag with geometrical motifs, led Núñez (1969) to place the site between AD 700 and 1450 and to point out that inhaling of snuffs must have spread along the coast in the first centuries of the Pica Tarapacá Complex. Although these objects were not found during restudy, good drawings show a standing character carrying a headdress decorated with a neckshield that had malachite inlay (Figure 10.9b); it is dressed with a decorated belt, an ax in the right hand, and a severed head in the left hand held in front of the chest below the chin (Núñez 1969:84–86). The snuff tray is part of a local context described in detail by Núñez and is very similar to one from Quitor 5 (No. 2196-98) at San Pedro de Atacama (Torres 1985:Figure 15). The small bag, according to the drawing (Figure 10.9b), seems to have been made with a piece of Tiwanaku tapestry (Núñez 1969:87). Unfortunately, Catalán (2006) could not find this snuff tray either, but she indicates that objects from psychotropic kits from this site include tubes, spatulas, and cylindrical-conical mouthpieces, similar to those of Atacama.

For our part, we registered 48 garments from Patillos 1, all fragmentary, two of which represent poorly preserved four-cornered hats. One was reused as a bag, and the other is so highly repaired that its original shape cannot be determined. These garments were probably created during the regional Formative and kept in circulation until later times, although surely stripped of their original meaning. Consequently, Patillos 1, just like Bajo Molle and Los Verdes, would represent an early moment of the Late Intermediate Period corresponding to a local development of Pica Tarapacá with interaction networks bounded by Arica and Atacama, within a framework markedly coastal in character (Agüero 2007). Therefore, Tiwanaku-looking objects could be related to the borders, not local presence of or even direct contact with Tiwanaku culture.

Regarding Cáñamo 3, a tube and one flat-shaped spatula with no structural difference between blade and handle (Catalán 2006) were recorded, but none of the possible "textile work associated with Tiwanaku," which unfortunately does not appear in this collection (Moragas 1995; Núñez 1979b; Núñez and Varela 1967–1968:24).

Finally, for the Pisagua sites (north of Iquique), we have noticed certain confusion regarding the provenance of the Tiwanaku evidence. Four sites have been assigned to the Middle Period in this locality, with four relevant contexts: (a) a stratum of the "Punta Pichalo Cave," with litter and burial grounds, excavated by Max Uhle (1922), who placed it chronologically between AD 800 and 1300; (b) Cemetery C, also excavated by Uhle (1922); (c) a cemetery in Pisagua studied by Junius Bird (1943), which is cited as Cemetery 3 (Conklin 1983); and (d) the "Black Refuse," corresponding to Bird's (1943) Stage 4.

It has been said that evidence obtained by Uhle in Pisagua corresponds to "trophy-heads, polychrome four-cornered hats and characteristically Tiwanaku textile work" (Núñez 1968:170). Significantly, snuff trays are present, with flat, fork-shaped handles, as well as feline-shaped handles carved in the round (Catalán 2006; Uhle 1915). However, according to Catalán's analysis, they do not present Tiwanaku features. From Punta Pichalo, a textile with an "ornito-morphic profile character" is

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

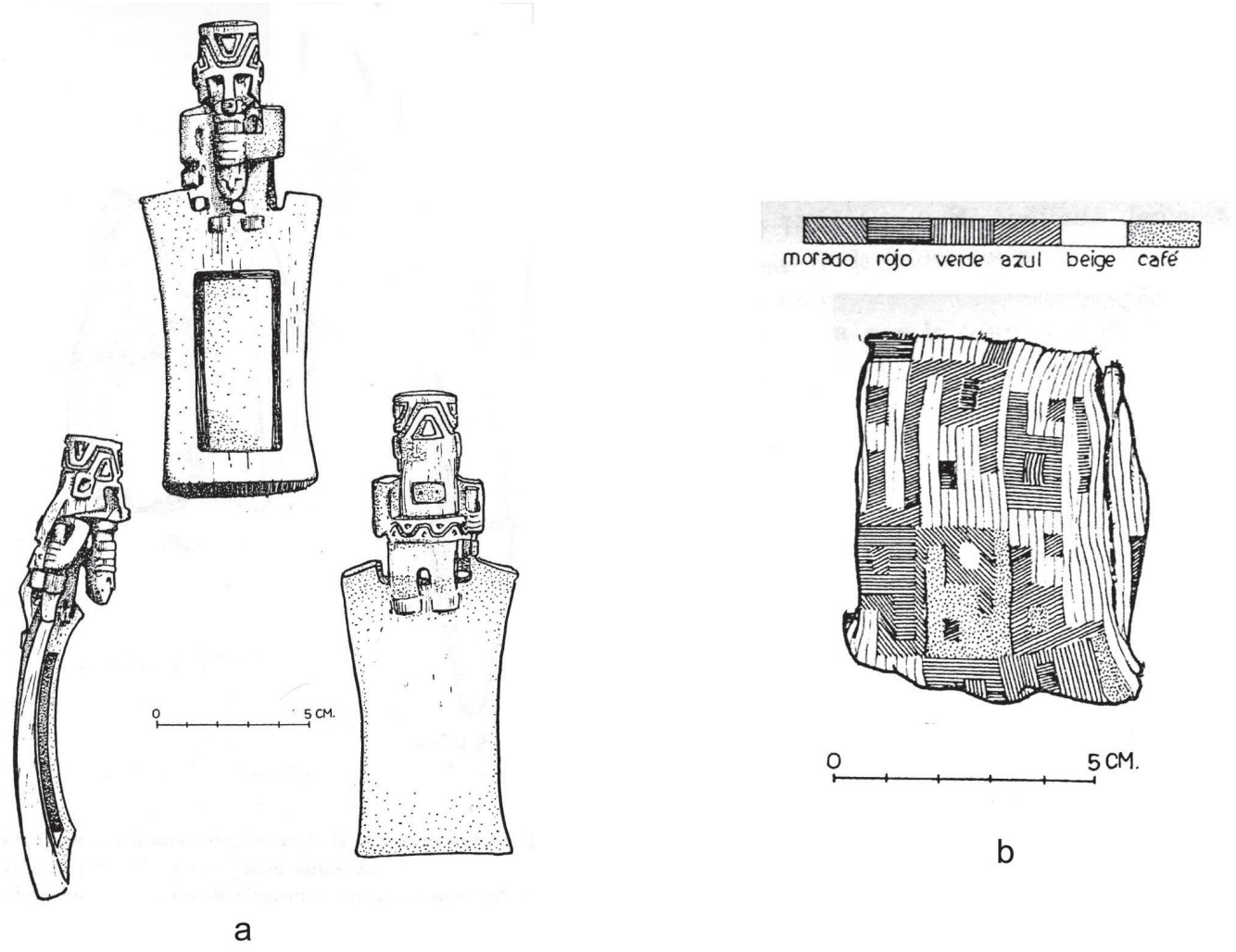


Figure 10.9. (a) Snuff tray with "sacrificer" and (b) bag from Patillos 1, both Tiwanaku style. Drawings taken from Núñez (1969).

mentioned (Conklin 1983:Figure 24)[6] that was published by Posnansky (1957:Plate XCVIII). Apparently, this must be part of a tunic obtained in Pisagua by Uhle, along with a polychrome four-cornered hat, published long afterward by Schaedel in 1957 (Núñez 1965). According to Núñez, the motif would be repeated in three 7-cm-wide vertical bands (Figure 10.10a). Oakland (1986) describes two weft-faced bags from Punta Pichalo (but as part of the textiles from Arica) that measure 13 cm x 14 cm on average, with circular warp and decorated with interlocked tapestry depicting four modules of hooks and stepped blocks on each face (Figure 10.10c,d). One bag has two modules with feather representations and two with the profile of a human head in their center, with a long nose and split eye (Figure 10.10c). Unfortunately, we lack information indicating whether these objects came from the cave, Cemetery C, or even Uhle's "Protonazca," which has contexts similar to those of Tarapacá 40 (Quevedo and Agüero 1995).

We are also ignorant about which of the two cemeteries excavated by Bird (1943) corresponds with "Cemetery 3," source of a 5.5-cm-wide interlocked tapestry headband (T4, Grave Lot 22/5833) that is decorated with a "profile feline" repeated linearly eight times (Figure 10.10b). The context includes wooden snuff trays, bone instruments, fine basketry, and remains of a human head with a tapestry headband decorated with zigzag motifs (Conklin 1983) of a type that has been registered along the entire Tarapacá coast during Formative times (Rivera 2004).

We studied the collection from this cemetery, called "Tiahuanaco" by Uhle (1922), determining through our analysis that most of the textile garments correspond to Western Valleys styles, whereas only four (3.70 percent) could in some way be related to an actual Tiwanaku style

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

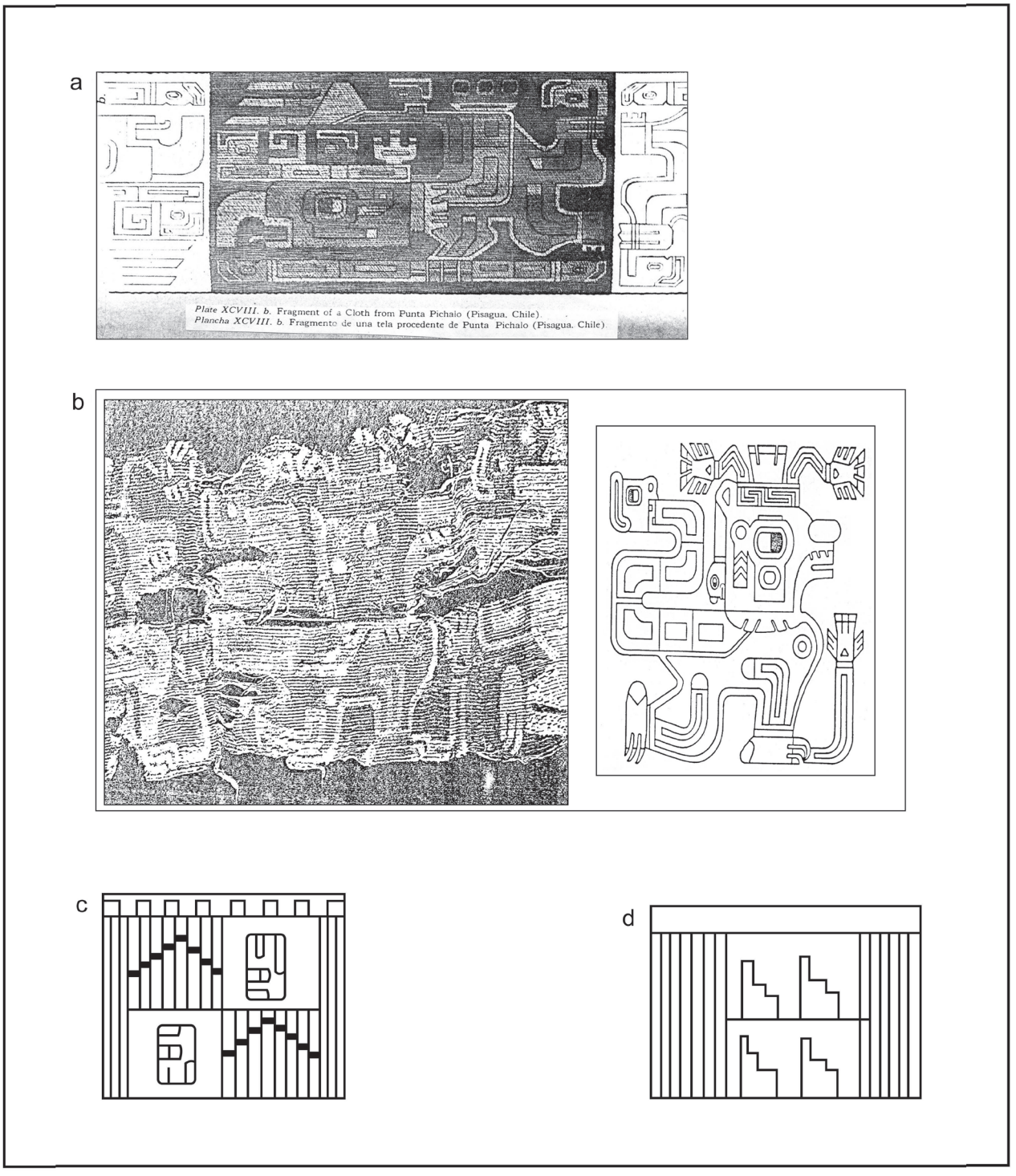


Figure 10.10. Tiwanaku-style textiles from Pisagua: (a) bird (drawing taken from Posnansky [1957:Plate XCVIII]); (b) feline (drawing taken from Conklin [1983:39, Figure 24]); (c) Bag T10 from Punta Pichalo; (d) Bag T9 from Punta Pichalo. Drawings c and d based on Oakland (1986).

(Agüero 2007, 2009). First is a warp-faced trapezoidal tunic (No. 2453), with side loop-stitch embroideries that create a "meander" and squares (Figure 10.11a). Second is a Tunic No. 3006, which is similar to Tunic No. 0800 from Pica 8, but with multiple wefts and stepped side embroideries of profile faces (Figure 10.11b). This weaving also evokes examples from Chen Chen, or M1, in the Moquegua Valley (Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Third is a small square warp-faced bag (No. 2489), with loop-stitch embroideries in the upper part that create a line of rectangles, each with a center (Figure 10.11c), and the *Inkuña* No. 2466 with brown and beige stripes, similar to those from the Azapa 71 site but without embroidery (Figure 10.11d). Although it is true that all display decorative techniques and motifs associated with the Tiwanaku textile style, they also present structural features (such as the technical characteristics of the woven media) that suggest that they were produced in the Western Valleys. Thus, they might best be related to Tiwanaku Provincial of Moquegua.

The rest of the textiles from Uhle's excavation totals 108 garments, including tunics, blankets, loincloths, bags, belts, one *inkuña*, and one "frontal adornment," as well as hats, helmets, slings, and "net bags," corresponding to fabrics like the ones in Pica 8 and the Cabuza Phase. Two other weavings of cotton probably come from the Peruvian coast (Agüero 2007, 200-98). Thus, it is possible to assign these materials to the final stages of the Middle Period in Azapa and the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period in Tarapacá. The small number of pieces that can be assigned to the former reveals strong bonds with local expressions during this time. The quality of the garments—in contrast with the coast of Iquique—suggests a close relation with the Pica oasis, which signals great importance for the mouth of the Camiña River in the mobility and economics of the period. As pointed out by Schiappacasse and colleagues (1989), the ravine of the Camiña River probably represented a zone of cultural and temporal transition between the Arica Culture and the Pica Tarapacá Complex.

Discussion

Considering the foregoing discussion, we can now safely state that only nine objects found in Tarapacá definitively belong to the Tiwanaku style. Of these, three are tunics from Tarapacá 40. Others include a snuff tray and a bag from Patillos 1. Also belonging to the Tiwanaku style are a tunic, two bags, and one headband from Pisagua (Table 10.1).

These objects with Classic Tiwanaku iconography are embedded in local contexts, at least in the cases where they were collected archaeologically, indicating a local Late Formative Period placed chronologically between cal. AD 370 and 760, according to the calibrated dates cited by Oakland (2000) and Núñez (1969). Considering our analysis, they would be related to the Omo Phase of Moquegua, where two garments are known with figurative iconography related to Tiwanaku IV (Conklin 1983; Goldstein 1989). All these pieces are so standardized that they suggest manufacture in a single production center, probably Tiwanaku itself, where megalithic sculptural models were visible. We propose that their occasional presence in local contexts is due to constant formative mobility, which characterized Tarapacá since the Archaic Period, promoting contact, circulation, and transfer of goods and ideas without the need for foreign population movements or an external system of caravans. Taking into account the absence of enough exotic evidence and the lack of a homogeneous identity in the Formative (Agüero et al. 2005), social changes experienced were not the result of the direct altiplano movement or influences of the Arica's Alto Ramirez Phase (Rivera 2004; Rivera et al. 1995–1996).

In addition, another nine objects come from contexts that belong to the first half of the Late Intermediate Period, from the sites Pica 8, Bajo Molle, and Cemetery C from Pisagua, which can be linked to the textile variants developed in secondary centers of the Moquegua and Cochabamba Valleys. These are assigned to a Tiwanaku Provincial style (Oakland 1986), that is, those pieces whose media have been made with local technology or reinterpret Tiwanaku textile programs (Table 10.2). This supports our conviction that a particular process connected the Formative of Tarapacá with the neighboring valley borderlands during the Middle Horizon but not with influences from a center of diffusion such as Tiwanaku itself.

In several publications, we have pointed out that Tiwanaku did not produce textiles with figurative designs in the Western Valleys. What developed at the local level instead was textile production aimed at everyday use (Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004). It is very likely that all these garments were woven in the low valleys for purposes that differed from those that carry Tiwanaku state iconography. We believe that these textiles reveal another dimension of the Tiwanaku style, more domestic and less elitist, which also include pieces in dovetailed tapestry. Furthermore, as demonstrated by the date for the tunic from Pica 8, these textiles should belong to a later period, related to phases Tiwanaku V and VI of Chen Chen and Tumilaca, already imbued with textile understandings of the lowlands, especially of the Western Valleys, as correctly observed by Minkes (2008) in the Osmore Valley. In this way, the populations of Tarapacá would not have had direct contact with the people of Tiwanaku. Rather, they would have

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

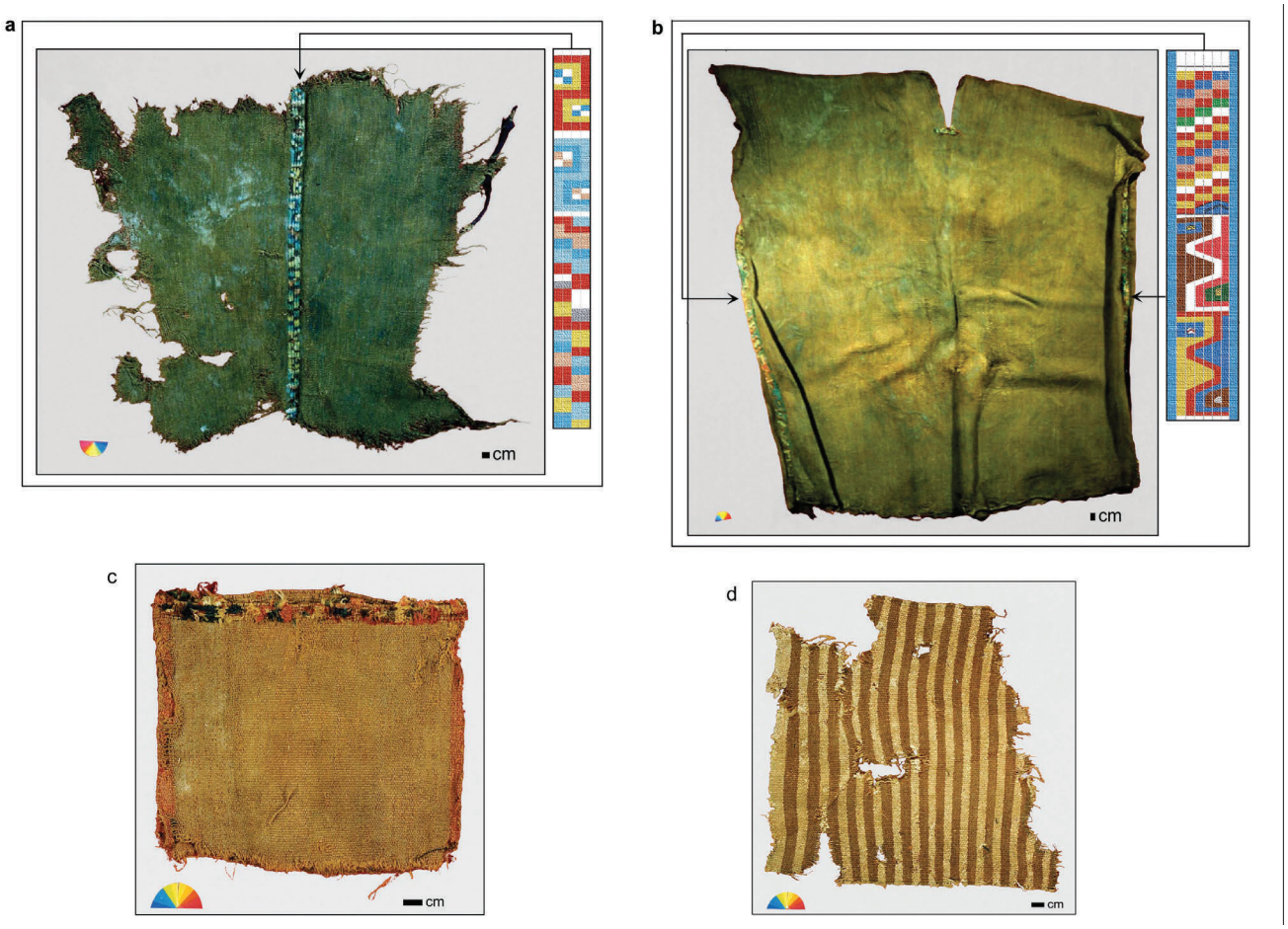


Figure 10.11. Tiwanaku Provincial-style textiles from Cementerio C of Pisagua: (a) Tunic No. 2453; (b) Tunic No. 3006; (c) Bag No. 2489; and (d) *Inkuña* No. 2466.

experienced influence though intermediary groups from other regions, such as those in Azapa, but without the kind of more intensive interaction that appears to have taken place in the valley. Textile styles in Tarapacá were never permeated by Tiwanaku; indeed, Tiwanaku textiles are always easily distinguishable from local garments in Tarapacá. Catalán (2006) observes the same situation through the study of the objects that belonged to the psychotropic kit and concludes that in light of such limited representation of altiplanic material culture, contact with Tiwanaku must have taken place indirectly and through neighboring populations. No direct alliances with groups from the altiplano are implied by textiles or psychotropic objects. The same can be affirmed for ceramics, which do not show any altiplanic influence during the Formative or in the first half of the Late Intermediate Period (Uribe et al. 2007). Our recent studies in the Tarapacá ravine reveal that barely 0.40 percent of the pottery can be assigned to the Middle Period, corresponding to no more than five fragments of Cabuza, Chichas, and perhaps Tiwanaku origin. This seems a clear reinforcement for relations with Tiwanaku via secondary links and rather later in time as well (Uribe 2008).

In short, Berenguer and Dauelsberg (1989:168) were correct when they affirmed that "on the desert littoral there is a good number of Tiwanaku textiles, most of them linked to Cabuza and Maytas contexts" (translation W.H. Isbell). However, the large majority of the textiles to which they refer would have been produced in the Western Valleys. In this respect, careful study of the technology of artifacts, their iconographic representations, and their stylistic expressions, carried out with the archaeological collections of Tarapacá during recent years, provides important new understandings of contextual and chronological behavior in the past. We also advocate an understanding of local processes in terms of themselves, where the connection with the Middle Horizon would be marginal and dependent on regional dynamics of Late Formative times, which currently are inadequately studied.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 10.1. List of Tiwanaku-style objects found in the Tarapacá region.*

Site	Register	Institution	Reference	Object	Material
1. Tarapacá 40	T3/SM	UAP	Oakland 2000	Tunic	Textile
2. Tarapacá 40	T5/SS	UAP	Oakland 2000	Tunic	Textile
3. Tarapacá 40	T3/SS	UAP	Oakland 2000	Tunic	Textile
4. Patillos 1	1817	?	Núñez 1969	Snuff tray	Wood
5. Patillos 1	1821	?	Núñez 1969	Bag	Textile
6. Pisagua	T-3	MNHN?	Posnansky 1957 Conklin 1983:9	Tunic	Textile
7. Pisagua, Punta Pichalo	T9	MASMA?	Oakland 1986	Bag	Textile
8. Pisagua, Punta Pichalo	T10	MASMA?	Oakland 1986	Bag	Textile
9. Pisagua, Cemetery 3	T4 22/5833	Museum of American Indian	Bird 1943:269 Conklin 1983:10	Headband	Textile

MNHN = Museo Nacional de Historia Natural; MASMA = Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa; UAP = Universidad Arturo Prat.
*We only provide the references for the objects that have been reviewed in the bibliography.

Conclusion

The results of the present study reveal only a small number of Tiwanaku objects in our study region. Furthermore, it has undertaken stylistic, cultural, and chronological redefinition of the objects as well as the archaeological sites of Tarapacá relevant to the Tiwanaku issue. Expanding on these new insights, we engage the critical discussion of models proposed to explain the presence and character of Tiwanaku in northern Chile, proposing a different kind of interaction that was not necessarily altiplanic. In fact, we believe that the circulation of the relevant goods answered mainly to local dynamics rather than to the interests of the Lake Titicaca political center. Processes of culture change followed regional paths of integration and not an altiplano political agenda. In this manner, the long Formative Period, which in Tarapacá spans from the end of the first millennium BC until the onset of the Late Intermediate Period, was not as affected by the coexistence of altiplano and valley populations in Tarapacá as it was by the movement of objects, particularly those of Tiwanaku and Provincial Tiwanaku styles, responding to populational contact with intermediaries of diverse local varieties outside the nucleus. This may be seen among those settled in the Western Valleys of Azapa and Moquegua, assigned to phases Omo (IV), Chen Chen (V), and Tumilaca (VI), precisely when the regional development of this territory, known as the Pica Tarapacá Cultural Complex, was starting to develop toward AD 900.

In contrast to traditional explanations of diverse regional developments in the late south-central Andes, Tiwanaku stylistic presence was not the result of mechanisms such as vertical control and long-distance caravanning, which assume a central role for the civilizing effect of the altiplano, or of economic complementarity, respectively. Rather, leaving the centralist conception of the altiplano aside, we propose—in agreement with part of the claims of Berenguer (1988) and Rivera (2004)—that the Tiwanaku issue must be understood within a system of beliefs and political formations that find their explanation in the local interests that were confronted, with their own social contradictions, and not in the interest of an expansive state. In this regard, the role of the altiplano might have been similar to that of a mirror in which local contradictions were only reflected and given meaning and expression. But local situations were resolved through performance on their own ceremonial stage (Inomata and Coben 2006). Unlike San Pedro de Atacama and Arica, Tiwanaku in Tarapacá was one of many players, but not the central argument.

In closing, we reiterate what we have proposed on the basis of our own investigations throughout the region, especially exploration of social complexity in Tarapacá. We must understand its origin and dynamics through local processes from within, not as direct and singular effects instigated by high Andean civilizing centers. More appropriately, our attention has been called to the great

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 10.2. Tiwanaku Provincial-style objects found in the Tarapacá region.

Site	Register	Institution	Reference	Object	Material
1. Pica 8	T7/SG	MCHAP		Tunic	Textile
2. Pica 8	0800	UA		Tunic	Textile
3. Pica 8	13.1.457	UA		Tunic	Textile
4. Pica 8	1116	UA		Bag	Textile
5. Bajo Molle	s/nº	MRI	Moragas 1995	Four-cornered hat	Textile
6. Pisagua, Cemetery C	2453	MNHN		Tunic	Textile
7. Pisagua, Cemetery C	3006	MNHN		Tunic	Textile
8. Pisagua, Cemetery C	2489	MNHN		Bag	Textile
9. Pisagua, Cemetery C	2466	MNHN		Inkuña	Textile

MCHAP = Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino; UA = Universidad de Antofagasta; MRI = Museo Regional de Iquique; MNHN = Museo Nacional de Historia Natural.

diversity of histories and materialities that make up the south-central Andes.

Acknowledgments

We recognize the following FONDECYT funded research projects: Project No. 1130279 (2013–2016), Project No. 1080458 (2008–2011), Project No. 1030923 (2003–2007), and Project No. 1970073 (1997–1999). The data used in the present work were obtained from these projects.

Notes

1 For a recent chronological discussion about the Middle Period in Arica, see Korpisaari et al. (2014).

2 For a study of four-cornered hats, see Sinclaire (1998).

3 This interpretation is based on an erroneous reading of Uhle's texts. In Punta Pichalo Cave, over the early deposits, Uhle identified other later deposits. He referred to both in the following way: "Big cave near Punta Pichalo, 20 m.asl. Tiwanaku and Atacameño Culture AD 800-1300" (translation W.H. Isbell). Contextualizing this, Uhle believed that the Tiwanaku Period was formed by two components: (1) a formative component (Protonazca and Chavín), responsible for the architecture, the styles of their main industries, the Aymara language, and profile figures and (2) the Atacameño component, which would pass on stepped figures. For this reason, Tiwanaku would have been originally restricted to the Titicaca Basin and the Tiwanaku Valley, expanding in its "Epigonal" stage to more distant regions such as Cochabamba. The Atacameños, on the other hand, would have expanded to Peru and Bolivia before Tiwanaku. Therefore, the representatives of the "Protonazca" Period would have been a branch of the Atacameños, due to the similarities between their cultural material and that of Calama (Uhle 1922:71, translation W.H. Isbell).

4 When we analyzed them, the Tarapacá 40 materials were stored in the Astoreca Palace of the Universidad Arturo Prat (UAP), Iquique. Some decontextualized garments were recorded in the Universidad de Antofagasta and the Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa. The Pica 8 collection is located in the Anthropological Research Institute of the Universidad de Antofagasta (UA). Some garments coming from this site have also been found in the Museo Regional de Iquique (MRI), the Museo de Calama, the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino (MCHAP), and the Universidad de Chile (UCH). The collections from the coast of Iquique are kept in the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural (MNHN), but their contexts are not documented. The materials from the Pisagua Cemetery C are stored in the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural (MNHN), Santiago.

5 It is only possible to identify a couple of Cabuza and Maytas Chiribaya pieces (Zlatar 1983), which undoubtedly have their origin in Arica.

6 According to Conklin (1983), it should be in the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural in Santiago, but there is no register of this piece.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

References

Agüero, Carolina

2000 Las tradiciones de tierras altas y de Valles Occidentales en la textilería arqueológica del valle de Azapa. *Chungara, Revista de Antropología Chilena* 32(2):217–226.

2007 El rol del vestuario en el surgimiento, desarrollo y consolidación del Complejo Pica Tarapacá del Periodo Intermedio Tardío. Tesis de Magíster, Universidad Católica del Norte, San Pedro de Atacama.

2009 La colección 'Tiahuanaco" de Uhle y su relación con el Complejo Pica Tarapacá del norte de Chile. In *IV Jornadas Internacionales sobre Textiles Precolombinos*, edited by Victoria Solanilla, pp. 439–457. Grup d'Estudis Precolombins, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona.

Agüero, Carolina, and Bárbara Cases

2004 Quillagua y los textiles formativos del Norte Grande de Chile. *Chungara, Revista de Antropología Chilena* Special Issue:599–617.

Agüero, Carolina, Mauricio Uribe, and José Berenguer

2004 La iconografía Tiwanaku: El caso de la escultura lítica. *Textos Antropológicos* 14:47–82.

Agüero, Carolina, Patricia Ayala, Mauricio Uribe, Carlos Carrasco, and Bárbara Cases

2005 El Periodo Formativo desde Quillagua, Loa Inferior. In *Esferas de interacción prehistóricas y fronteras nacionales modernas: Los Andes Sur Centrales*, edited by Heather Lechtman, pp. 73–125. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

Albarracín-Jordán, Juan

1996 *Tiwanaku: Arqueología regional y dinámica segmentaria*. Plural Editores, La Paz.

Berenguer, José

1998 La iconografía del poder en Tiwanaku y su rol en la integración de zonas de frontera. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 7:19–37.

2000 *Tiwanaku. Señores del Lago Sagrado*. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.

Berenguer, José, and Percy Dauelsberg

1989 El Norte Grande en la órbita de Tiwanaku (400–1200 d.C.). In *Culturas de Chile. Prehistoria. Desde sus orígenes a los albores de la Conquista*, edited by Jorge Hidalgo, Virgilio Schiappacasse, Hans Niemeyer, Carlos Aldunate, and Iván Solimano, pp. 129–180. Editorial Andrés Bello, Santiago.

Bird, Junius

1943 *Excavations in Northern Chile*. Anthropological Papers of American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Cases, Bárbara, and Carolina Agüero

2004 Textiles teñidos por amarra del Norte Grande de Chile. *Estudios Atacameños* 27:117–138.

Cassman, Vicky

1997 A Reconsideration of Prehistoric Ethnicity and Status in Northern Chile: The Textile Evidence. PhD dissertation, Arizona State University, Tempe.

Catalán, Dánisa

2006 El rito funerario en la prehistoria tardía del norte de Chile: Una aproximación a expresiones ideológico-simbólicas tarapaqueñas a partir de los tejidos y objetos muebles. Memoria de Título, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Chile, Santiago.

Chacama, Juan

2004 El Horizonte Medio en los Valles Occidentales del norte de Chile (ca. 500–1200 d.C.). *Chungara, Revista de Antropología Chilena* Special Issue:227–233.

Conklin, William

1983 Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition. *Ñawpa Pacha* 21:1–45.

Dauelsberg, Percy

1972–1973 Carta respuesta a Luis Guillermo Lumbreras sobre la problemática arqueológica de Arica. *Chungara* 1–2:32–37.

1982 Prehistoria de Arica. *Diálogo Andino* 1:33–82.

Espoueys, Oscar, Mauricio Uribe, Alvaro Román, and Angel Deza

1995 Nuevos fechados por termoluminiscencia para la cerámica del Periodo Medio del valle de Azapa. *Hombre y Desierto* 9(2):31–34.

Focacci, Guillermo

1980 Síntesis de la arqueología del extremo norte de Chile. *Chungara* 6:3–23.

1981 Descripción de un Cementerio Incaico en el Valle de Azapa. *Chungara* 7:212–216.

1982 Excavaciones en el cementerio Playa Miller 9. In *Documento de Trabajo 2*, edited by Iván Muñoz and Guillermo Focacci, pp. 126–214. Universidad de Tarapacá, Arica.

1983 El Tiwanaku Clásico en el valle de Azapa. In *Documento de Trabajo 3*, edited by Iván Muñoz and Guillermo Focacci, pp. 94–113. Universidad de Tarapacá, Arica.

1985 Sociedades aldeanas del Periodo Medio y su relación con el Imperio Tiwanaku. In *Culturas de Arica*, edited by Calogero Santoro and Liliana Ulloa, pp. 41–53. Ministerio de Educación, Serie Patrimonio Cultural Chileno, Santiago.

1993 Excavaciones arqueológicas en el cementerio Az-6. Valle de Azapa. *Chungara* 24–25:69–123.

Goldstein, Paul

1989 Omo, a Tiwanaku Provincial Center in Moquegua, Peru. PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1995–1996 Tiwanaku Settlement Patterns of the Azapa Valley, Chile: New Data, and the Legacy of Percy Dauelsberg. *Diálogo Andino* 14/15:57–73.

Goldstein, Paul, and Bruce Owen

2001 Tiwanaku en Moquegua: Las colonias altiplánicas. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:139–168.

Inomata, Takeshi, and Lawrence Coben

2006 *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Kolata, Alan

1982 Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization. *Field Museum of Natural History Bulletin* 53(8):13–28.

Knudson, Kelly

2004 Tiwanaku Residential Mobility in the South Central Andes: Identifying Archaeological Human Migration through Strontium Isotope Analysis. PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Korpisaari, Antii, Markku Oinonen, and Juan Chacama

2014 A Reevaluation of the Absolute Chronology of Cabuza and Related Ceramic Styles of the Azapa Valley, Northern Chile. *Latin American Antiquity* 25(4):409–426.

Latcham, Ricardo

1938 *Arqueología de la Región Atacameña*. Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, Santiago.

Lumbreras, Luis G.

1974 Los reinos post Tiwanaku en el área altiplánica. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 40:55–85.

1981 *Arqueología de la América andina*. Editorial Milla Batres, Lima.

Minkes, Wynne

2005 *Wrap the Dead: The Funerary Textile Tradition from the Osmore Valley, South Peru, and Its Social-Political Implications*. Archaeological Studies Leiden University, Leiden.

2008 Warp the Loom—Wrap the Dead: Trapezoidal Shaped Textiles from the Chiribaya Culture, South Peru, A.D. 900–1375. Paper presented at the 11th Textile Society of America Biennial Symposium. Honolulu, Hawai'i.

Moragas, Cora

1995 Desarrollo de las comunidades prehispánicas del litoral de Iquique-desembocadura río Loa. *Actas del XIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Chilena*, edited by Hans Niemeyer, vol. 1, pp. 65–80. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, Universidad de Antofagasta, Antofagasta.

Munizaga, Carlos

1957 Secuencias culturales de la zona de Arica. In *Arqueología Chilena*, edited by Richard Schaedel, pp. 79–122. Universidad de Chile, Santiago.

Muñoz, Iván

1983 El poblamiento aldeano en el valle de Azapa y su vinculación con Tiwanaku. In *Documento de Trabajo 3*, edited by Iván Muñoz and Guillermo Focacci, pp. 43–93. Universidad de Tarapacá, Arica.

2002 En torno a la formación del proceso aldeano en los valles desérticos del norte de Chile: El caso del valle de Azapa. Doctoral thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F.

Murra, John V.

1972 El 'control vertical' de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas. In *Visita a la Provincia de León de Huanuco (1562)*, edited by John V. Murra, pp. 429–476. Universidad Hermilio Valdizán, Huanuco.

Núñez, Lautaro

1965 Desarrollo cultural prehispánico en el norte de Chile. *Estudios Arqueológicos* 1:9–36.

1968 Subárea Loa-costa chilena desde Copiapó a Pisagua. *Actas del XXXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* 2:145–182.

1969 Informe arqueológico sobre una muestra de posible narcótico del sitio Patillos 1. *Etnografisca Museet Goteborg, ARSTRYCK* 1968–1969:83–95.

1970 Algunos problemas del estudio del Complejo arqueológico Faldas del Morro, norte de Chile. *Abband. Berich. des Staa. Mus. Volker. Dresden Bond* 31:79–109.

1972–1973 Carta respuesta a Luis Guillermo Lumbreras sobre la problemática arqueológica de Arica. *Chungara* 1–2:27–32.

1976 Registro nacional de fechas radiocarbónicas del norte de Chile. *Estudios Atacameños* 4:74–123.

1979a Emergencia y desintegración de la sociedad tarapaqueña: Riqueza y pobreza en una quebrada del norte chileno. *Atenea* 439:163–213.

1979b *Balsas prehistóricas del litoral chileno: Grupos, funciones y secuencia*. Universidad del Norte, Antofagasta.

1982 Temprana emergencia de sedentarismo en el desierto chileno: Proyecto Caserones. *Chungara* 9:80–122.

1984 Tráfico de complementariedad de recursos entre las tierras altas y el Pacífico en el Área Centro Sur Andina. Doctoral thesis, University of Tokyo, Tokyo.

Núñez, Lautaro, and Tom Dillehay

1995 [1979] *Movilidad giratoria, armonía social y desarrollo en los Andes Meridionales: Patrones de tráfico e interacción económica (ensayo)*. Universidad del Norte, Antofagasta.

Núñez, Lautaro, and Cora Moragas

1977 Ocupación con cerámica temprana en la secuencia del distrito de Cáñamo (costa desértica del norte de Chile). *Estudios Atacameños* 5:21–49.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Núñez, Lautaro and Juan Varela
1967–1968 *Sobre los recursos de agua y el doblamiento prehispánico de la Costa del Norte Grande de Chile*. Estudios arqueológicos, Vols. 3–4. Universidad de Chile, Antofagasta.

Oakland, Amy
1986 Tiwanaku Textile Style from the South Central Andes, Bolivia and North Chile. PhD dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.
2000 Andean Textiles from Village and Cemetery: Caserones in the Tarapacá Valley, North Chile. In *Beyond Cloth and Cordage*, edited by Penelope Drooker and Laurie Webster, pp. 229–251. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Owen, Bruce
1993 A Model of Multiethnicity: State Collapse, Competition, and Social Complexity from Tiwanaku to Chiribaya in the Osmore Valley, Perú. PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Posnansky, Arthur
1957 *Tihuanacu, la cuna del hombre americano*. Augustin Publishers, New York.

Quevedo, Silvia, and Carolina Agüero
1995 Caracterización de la población 'Protonazca' de Pisagua: Colección Max Uhle. *Informes/Fondo de Apoyo a la Investigación 1994* 3:53–57. DIBAM y Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, Santiago.

Rivera, Mario
2004 Tiwanaku en la periferia: Nuevos elementos para un modelo tarapaqueño en el norte de Chile. In *Tiwanaku. Aproximaciones a sus contextos históricos y sociales*, edited by Mario Rivera and Alan Kolata, pp. 11–30. Universidad Bolivariana, Santiago.
2008 The Archaeology of Northern Chile. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William Isbell, pp. 963–977. Springer, New York.

Rivera, Mario, Daniel Shea, Alvaro Carevic, and Gray Graffam
1995–1996 En torno a los orígenes de las sociedades complejas andinas: Excavación en Ramaditas, una aldea formativa del Desierto de Atacama. *Diálogo Andino* 14–15:205–239.

Rotthammer, Francisco, Mauricio Moraga, Mario Rivera, Calogero Santoro, Vivien Standen, Federico García, and Pilar Carvallo
2003 Análisis de ADNmt de restos esqueletales del sitio arqueológico de Tiwanaku y su relación con el origen de sus constructores. *Chungara* 35(2):269–274.

Sanhueza, Julio
1985 Poblaciones tardías en playa Los Verdes, costa sur de Iquique. *Chungara* 14:45–60.

Schiappacasse, Virgilio, Victoria Castro, and Hans Niemeyer
1989 Los Desarrollos Regionales en el Norte Grande (1000–1400 d.C.). In *Culturas de Chile. Prehistoria. Desde sus orígenes a los albores de la Conquista*, edited by Jorge Hidalgo, Virgilio Schiappacasse, Hans Niemeyer, Carlos Aldunate, and Iván Solimano, pp. 181–226. Editorial Andrés Bello, Santiago.

Sinclaire, Carole
1998 Los gorros de 4 puntas de la Colección Manuel Blanco Encalada: Tipología y secuencia para el valle de Azapa, Arica. *Boletín del Comité Nacional de Conservación Textil* 3:169–184.

Sutter, Richard
2000 Prehistoric Genetic and Culture Change: A Bioarchaeological Search for the Pre-Inka Altiplano Colonies in the Coastal Valleys of Moquegua, Perú, and Azapa, Chile. *Latin American Antiquity* 11:43–70.

Torres, Constantino M.
1985 Estilo e iconografía Tiwanaku en las tabletas para inhalar substancias psicoactivas. *Diálogo Andino* 4:223–245.

Uhle, Max
1915 Los tubos y las tabletas de rapé en Chile. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, año V* XIV(20):114–136.
1922 *Fundamentos étnicos y arqueología de Arica y Tacna*. Universidad Central, Quito.

Ulloa, Liliana
1981 Evolución de la industria textil prehispánica en la zona de Arica. *Chungara* 8:97–108.

Uribe, Mauricio
1999 La cerámica de Arica 40 años después de Dauelsberg. *Chungara* 31(2):189–228.
2004a Alfarería, arqueología y metodología. Aportes y proyecciones de los estudios cerámicos del Norte Grande de Chile. Tesis de Magíster, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Chile, Santiago.
2004b Acerca de la cerámica Tiwanaku y una vasija del valle de Azapa. *Estudios Atacameños* 27:77–101.
2006 Acerca de complejidad, desigualdad social y el Complejo Cultural Pica Tarapacá en los Andes Centro Sur (1000–1450 d.C.). *Estudios Atacameños* 31:91–114.
2008 Cerámica y complejidad social en la quebrada de Tarapacá: Avances sobre el Periodo Formativo y Horizonte Medio (norte de Chile). Paper presented at the 73rd Annual Meeting of the Society of American Archaeology (SAA). Vancouver.

Uribe, Mauricio, and Leonor Adán
2005 Evolución sociocultural a través de la prehistoria tardía de Pica Tarapacá (900–1540 d.C.). In *Puentes hacia el pasado. Reflexiones teóricas en arqueología*, edited by

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Donald Jackson, Diego Salazar, and Andrés Troncoso, pp. 147–168. Serie Monográfica de la Sociedad Chilena de Arqueología, Santiago.

Uribe, Mauricio, and Carolina Agüero
2001 Alfarería, textiles y la integración del Norte Grande de Chile a Tiwanaku. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:397–426.
2004 Iconografía, alfarería y textilería Tiwanaku: Elementos para una revisión del Periodo Medio en el Norte Grande de Chile. *Chungara*, *Revista de Antropología Chilena* Special Issue:1055–1068.

Uribe, Mauricio, Lorena Sanhueza, and Francisco Bahamondes
2007 La cerámica prehispánica tardía de Tarapacá, sus valles interiores y costa desértica, norte de Chile (ca. 900–1450 d.C.): Una propuesta tipológica y cronológica. *Chungara Revista de Antropología Chilena* 39(2):143–170.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret (editor)
2004 *Tiwanaku. Ancestors of the Inca*. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Zlatar, Vjera
1983 Replanteamiento sobre el problema de Caleta Huelén-42. *Chungara* 10:21–28.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 11: Introduction

Visionary Plants and SAIS Iconography in San Pedro de Atacama and Tiahuanaco

William H. Isbell

The Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) concept is meant to allow Andeanists to explore alternatives to the long dominant assumption that any art from the southern Andes resembling Tiahuanaco must have originated in and spread from the great altiplano center. But once simple diffusion is discarded, major questions loom regarding what is similar and what is different among SAIS styles. What did shared SAIS images mean to observers from distant cultures of the southern Andean past, and what can formal similarities and differences reveal about ancient cultural processes in the south?

One of more fascinating SAIS styles that has been described in detail is that of San Pedro de Atacama, northern Chile. In Chapter 11, Constantino Torres seeks to answer questions about relationships between Tiahuanaco and San Pedro de Atacama by carefully comparing extremely different objects from the two locations, focusing on art themes, elements, and structures.

Torres's approach is empirical, except for the use of a core-periphery model to propose a different stylistic process, or rate of change, in urban Tiahuanaco compared with the San Pedro de Atacama periphery. First, Torres wants to show readers that SAIS iconography, so long called by the name Tiahuanaco/Tiwanaku, was profoundly associated with the ingestion of hallucinogenic drugs. At the same time, he seeks to determine which plants probably provided the ancient psychotropic substances. Second, he organizes and describes iconography from San Pedro de Atacama carved snuffing paraphernalia and from "Classic" Tiahuanaco stone sculpture to demonstrate that both employed a remarkably similar inventory of designs. Third, he observes that the way designs were combined on objects varies between the two locations, as well as among objects from the same site collections. This, he argues, implies that despite shared design elements, meanings differed, depending on contexts created on individual specimens of the art. Tiwanaku stone sculpture and San Pedro de Atacama snuffing equipment do not present a single cosmology or unified set of meanings as might be expected if both belonged to the same culture or even if significantly intense direct contact had taken place between the two.

From San Pedro de Atacama, toward the southern range of SAIS interaction in northern Chile, comes a host of portable art composed of hallucinogenic snuffing paraphernalia. All were discovered with incredibly well-preserved burials, usually as complete kits, consisting of a tablet, a tube, a spoon, and a pouch for powder, often wrapped in a woven carrying cloth or bag. San Pedro burials come from numerous cemeteries, each representing a relatively limited time period, but in combination they include centuries of occupants from the tiny oasis. Torres provides information and statistics on cemeteries, kits, and objects, showing that only a minority of San Pedro snuffing paraphernalia was decorated with SAIS motifs (about 8 to 10 percent). Furthermore, kits may

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

include one object with SAIS icons while others are decorated with different styles or not decorated at all. SAIS snuff paraphernalia dates as early as AD 100 to 200 and continued in use until approximately AD 1000, as indicated by thermoluminescence, seriation, and cross-dating. Consequently, it appears that San Pedro SAIS-style snuffing equipment predates and overlaps with the era to which Tiahuanaco's SAIS-style sculptures have been assigned. (A new set of radiocarbon dates throws important light on this chronology. See Torres-Rouff and Hubbe, Chapter 13, this volume.)

Was the snuffing of hallucinogenic powder as important in Tiahuanaco as in San Pedro de Atacama? Indeed, snuffing paraphernalia is scarce in the Tiahuanaco heartland, but perhaps because wooden objects rarely preserve in the wet, highland climate. Nevertheless, Torres discusses the examples known from Tiahuanaco and surrounding territory, including several snuff tablets of stone, before turning to megalithic statues. This includes a unique and spectacular tablet, of unknown provenience, currently housed at the Denver Art Museum, which provides important iconographic variation most consistent with an early variant of SAIS art.

Torres's research of many years has been instrumental in demonstrating that Tiahuanaco's "Classic" statues are replete with symbols of hallucinogenic plants, particularly of the Anadenanthera genus (Torres 1987, 2002; Torres and Repke 2006). Contributions from Wassén (1965, 1972), Jose Berenguer Rodriguez (1987, 2000), Patricia Knobloch (2000), and Rebecca Stone (2011) also provided information and insights into hallucinogenic imagery in Tiwanaku-Wari art. But there are still many questions. Do the objects in the hands of the Bennett and the Ponce monoliths represent a snuff tablet and a kero, or perhaps a snuff tablet and a snuff kit bag containing its paraphernalia, as Torres suggests? Excellent descriptions, illustrations, and interpretations are provided in this chapter.

Torres concludes by emphasizing differences in SAIS elements and variability in the organization of more complex designs. He goes on to suggest that imagery may not have changed systematically across the SAIS sphere, particularly between Tiahuanaco and San Pedro de Atacama. Archaic imagery emphasizing a long-nosed, profile Sacrificer figure with mouth projection, axe, and trophy head appears frequently in San Pedro snuff tray art. On the other hand, a profile figure with a normal human or zoomorphic face, no mouth projection, and a wing instead of axe and trophy head is much more common at Tiahuanaco. These differences may not be markers of actual time, as many of us have believed, but developments taking different directions and at different rates in the Tiahuanaco center as opposed to the San Pedro periphery. Finally, it is important to point out that the chronology Torres employs is heavily dependent on thermoluminescent dates, which cannot be related very precisely with the calibrated radiocarbon chronology currently being developed for the central and southern Andean regions. Torres-Rouff and Hubbe (Chapter 13, this volume) present a new suite of calibrated atomic mass spectrometer dates for San Pedro de Atacama tombs, but the implications of these dates will have to be more thoroughly explored before their meanings become clear—beyond the fact that they generally support Torres's chronological conclusions.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Berenguer Rodriguez, José

1987 Consumo Nasal de Alucinógenos en Tiwanaku: Una Aproximacion Iconografica. *Boletin del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 2:33–53.

2000 *Tiwanaku: Lords of the Sacred Lake*. Banco Santiago in Association with the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago. Impresion Morgan Impresiores.

Knobloch, Patricia J.

2000 Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata: An Interpretation of Anadenanthera Colubrina Iconography. *Latin America Antiquity* 11(4):387–402.

Stone, Rebecca

2011 *The Jaguar within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Torres, Constantino Manuel

1987 *The Iconography of South American Snuff Trays and Related Paraphernalia*. Etnologiska Studier 37, Goteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Goteborg.

2002 Iconografía Tiwanaku en la Parafernalia Inhalatoria de los Andes Centro-Sur. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:427–454.

Torres, Constantino Manuel, and David B. Repke

2006 *Anadenanthera: Visionary Plant of Ancient South America*. Haworth Herbal Press, Binghamton.

Wassén, S. Henry

1965 *The Use of Some Specific Kinds of South American Indian Snuff and Related Paraphernalia (with Appendix by Georg J. Seitz)*. Ethnologiska Studier 28, Etnografiska Museum, Goteborg.

1972 *A Medicine-Man's Implements and Plants in a Tiahuanacoid Tomb in Highland Bolivia*. Ethnologiska Studier 32, Etnografiska Museum, Goteborg.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 11

Visionary Plants and SAIS Iconography in San Pedro de Atacama and Tiahuanaco

Constantino Manuel Torres

A comparative analysis of the iconography represented in snuffing paraphernalia and in monumental stone sculpture at Tiahuanaco reveals significant differences as well as similarities. Determination of the presence or absence of specific iconographic elements provides information related to chronology, temporal distribution, and variability of the greater Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS). Indeed, affinities and differences in iconography depicted on snuff trays and tubes, as well as images on monumental stone sculpture, provide a framework for determining the structure of the SAIS, at least for part of its temporal and spatial distribution. This work presents the results of this comparative analysis. First, I discuss snuff tray iconography, present its geographic distribution, and determine key iconographic elements. Second, I describe the iconography of Tiahuanaco stone sculpture, placing particular emphasis on composition and icon variability. Third, I conclude with a comparative review of major iconographic traits.

The Southern Andean Iconographic Series Imagery of Snuffing Paraphernalia

A representative snuffing kit can be abstracted based on its appearance among the mortuary attire of centuries of interments from northern Chile. The typical kit consisted of a rectangular tray, a tube, a small spoon or spatula, and a leather pouch containing snuff powder (Figure 11.1). This basic set of instruments is widespread throughout the Andes and predates the rise of Tiwanaku. Snuff trays and tubes incised and carved with SAIS motifs are restricted to the south-central Andes, with a major concentration in the area of San Pedro de Atacama, Chile (Figures 11.2–11.3; Núñez 1963; Torres 1987; Wassén 1965). Ninety-one snuff trays are carved with SAIS imagery and make up approximately 8 to 10 percent of the larger snuff tray sample (Table 11.1).

SAIS Snuff Trays and Snuffing Tubes from San Pedro de Atacama

In San Pedro de Atacama, snuffing paraphernalia has been found in 41 archaeological sites, and SAIS snuff trays and tubes have been found in 8 of those sites (Figure 11.3). Most of the early archaeological work in San Pedro de Atacama was conducted by Gustave Le Paige (1964, 1965), a Jesuit priest who resided in the area from 1955 until his death in 1980. Le Paige, although not an archaeologist, kept detailed inventories of the objects he found. These are now archived in the library of the Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, San Pedro de Atacama. According to his notes, Le Paige excavated 515 snuffing kits; of these, approximately 480 are in the collection of the Gustave Le Paige Archaeological Museum in San Pedro de Atacama. To these must be added 34 snuffing kits excavated at the site of Solcor 3 by Agustín Llagostera and his team (Llagostera et al. 1988) and a few occasional finds, including a snuff tray and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

tube from the later phase of Quitor 6 (AD 940–1240; Costa 1988:107, Figure 8b). All snuffing equipment was found in funerary contexts.

Sixty-four snuff kits possessing SAIS snuff trays and/or tubes were distributed across eight cemeteries: Coyo Oriente, Quitor 2, Quitor 5, Quitor 6, Quitor 8, Sequitor Alambrado, Solcor 3, and Toconao Oriente (Table 11.1 and Figure 11.3). Most of these snuff trays and tubes from San Pedro de Atacama were associated with the ceramic types known as San Pedro Negro Pulido and San Pedro Casi Pulido. These ceramic types contribute to the definition of Phase III (ca. AD 100–400) and Phase IV (ca. AD 400–700) of the ceramic sequence proposed for San Pedro de Atacama by Berenguer (Berenguer et al. 1988) and Tarragó (1968).

Coyo Oriente has the largest number of snuff trays with SAIS iconography. Le Paige (1964, 1965, 1972) excavated approximately 401 burials at this site, yielding a total of 73 snuff trays, 16 carved with SAIS motifs (14 illustrated here, Figures 11.4 and 11.5). At Quitor 5, Le Paige excavated approximately 371 burials containing a total of 67 snuffing kits. Nine of these kits included trays with SAIS iconography (eight illustrated here, Figure 11.6). A neighboring cemetery, Quitor 6, also included 10 snuff trays carved with SAIS motifs (Figure 11.7) among 123 snuff trays from 350 burials.

Eight SAIS snuff trays were found among the 34 excavated from 155 burials at the site of Solcor 3 (Figure 11.8) in excavations conducted by Agustín Llagostera and María Antonietta Costa (Llagostera et al. 1988). A snuff tray with a camelid representation from the site of Solcor 3, Tomb 5 (Figure 11.8b), was associated with a ceramic vessel dated by thermoluminescence to ca. AD 920 ± 120 (UCTL-48; Phase V, ca. AD 700–1000; Berenguer et al. 1988:344); this is the latest date associated with SAIS snuffing paraphernalia. This date is consistent with the burial context, which included several coarse, thick-walled, ceramic vessels, classified as Gris Grueso Pulido (Llagostera et al. 1988:92).

Snuff trays from Quitor 8 (Figure 11.9e) and Toconao Oriente (Figure 11.9h) are the earliest examples of SAIS representation in this area; a thermoluminescence date of ca. AD 190 ± 140 (UCTL-224) obtained from Tomb 4229-30 at Toconao Oriente is the earliest date associated with snuffing implements bearing SAIS icons. This date is consistent with the funerary context, which includes three San Pedro Rojo Pulido ceramic vessels, a pottery type that is diagnostic of Phase II (ca. 300 BC to AD 100; Berenguer et al. 1988:344) of the San Pedro de Atacama cultural sequence. Seven SAIS snuff trays (Figure 11.10) have a San Pedro de Atacama provenance but cannot be attributed to specific sites in the region.

Figure 11.1. Snuffing kit, Tomb 107, Solcor 3, San Pedro de Atacama Chile. a. kit wrapped for transport; b. snuff tray with stone inlays, wood; c. snuffing tube, wood with gold alloy wrapping; d. spoon, wood; e. snuff powder pouch, leather. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Museo R. P. Le Paige, Universidad Católica del Norte, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The few tubes with SAIS iconography are primarily restricted to the San Pedro de Atacama archaeological area, and examples are found only rarely. Nineteen snuffing tubes with SAIS imagery are part of the collection of the R. P. Le Paige Archaeological Museum, San Pedro de Atacama. All are wooden, with a figure carved midway between the two ends, and sometimes an animal head appears at the distal end of the tube (Figures 11.11 and 11.12). A standing human being with arms straight and flat against the body is carved in the middle of 15 of these snuffing tubes; some of these figures carry axes and trophy heads (Figures 11.11c,d and 11.12e), while others are empty handed (Figure 11.12a–c). In addition to these 15 tubes, there are four other distinct specimens. One is carved with a human being wearing a mask and holding an axe and trophy head (Figure 11.11e); two others have a carved feline at the center (Figure 11.11a,b); another is unique in its decorative composition with repeating recurved bands terminating in a feline head at one end and a head with L-shaped mouth (possibly indicating a fish) at the other that alternate with bands of disembodied faces (Figure 11.12d).

Figure 11.2. Map of the southern Andes locating sites where snuffing paraphernalia with SAIS iconography has been found. Drawing by Constantino M. Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 11.1. Inventory of snuff trays with SAIS iconography.

Snuff Trays with Tiwanaku Iconography	n
San Pedro de Atacama, Chile	
Coyo Oriente	16
Quitor 2	2
Quitor 5	9
Quitor 6	10
Quitor 8	3
Solcor 3	8
Sequitor Alambrado	5
Toconao Oriente	1
Unknown provenience	10
Tiahuanaco, Bolivia	8
Niño Korin, Bolivia	6
Pallqa, Amaguaya, Bolivia	1
Southern Lake Titicaca Basin	1
Lacatambo, Bolivia	1
Chilatilla Bajo, Bolivia	1
La Real, Valle de Majes, Peru	1
Molino-Chilacachi, Peru	1
Chiu-Chiu, Chile	1
Caleta Camarones, Chile	1
Procedencia Desconocida	5
Total	**91**

Of these 19 snuffing tubes, only 7 were associated with SAIS snuff trays (Figure 11.4d,e and Figure 11.8b,d,f), implying that ancient inhabitants of San Pedro de Atacama were not concerned with stylistic and iconographic coherence within the kit, at least as we today define the styles and icons. Indeed, in most cases, SAIS snuff trays are associated with tubes bearing no identifiable SAIS imagery. An example is a snuff tray with SAIS iconography found at Solcor 3, decorated with a profile figure holding an axe and trophy head, associated with a snuffing tube tipped with gold and wrapped in gold copper alloy (Figure 11.13a). The tube is incised with opposed feline heads, a theme also appearing on snuff tubes postdating the period of SAIS influence (Figure 11.13b).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

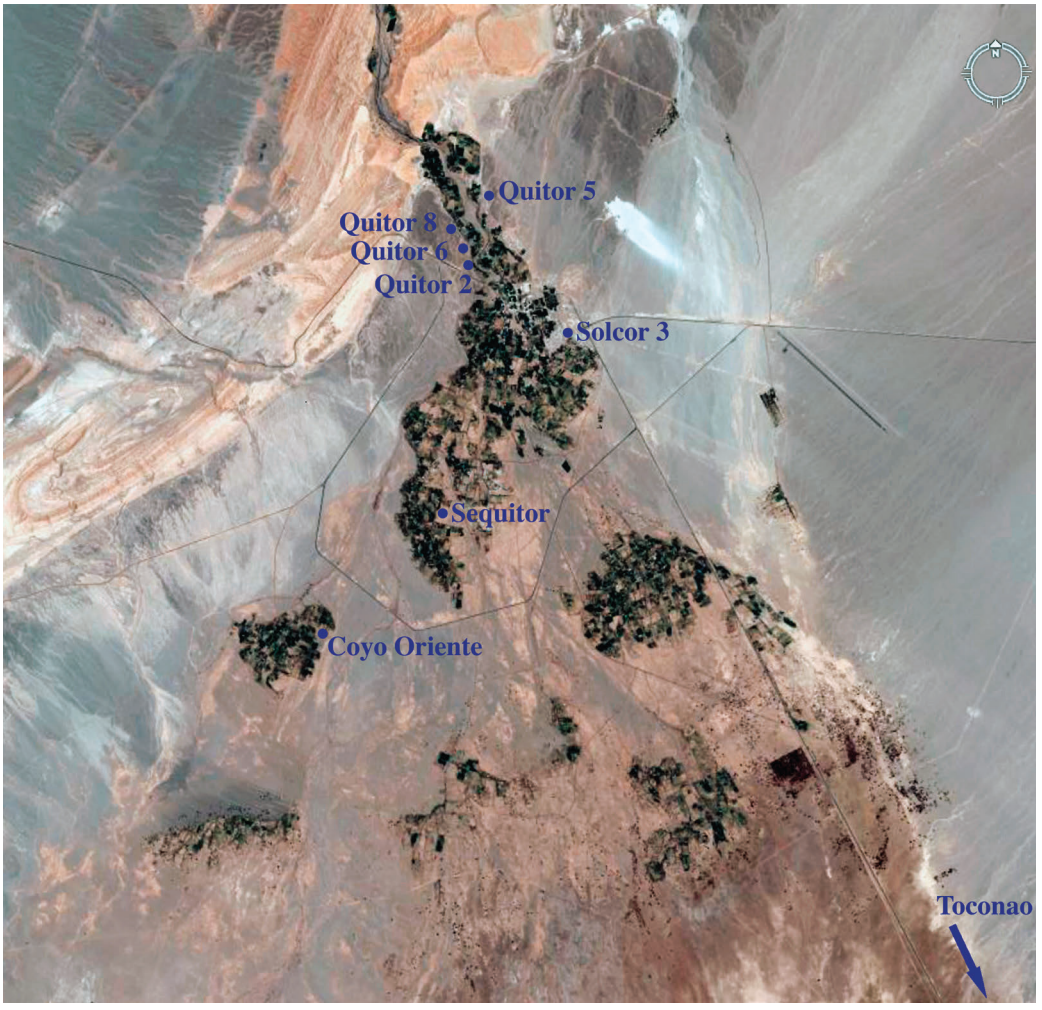


Figure 11.3. Map of the San Pedro de Atacama area locating sites with SAIS snuffing paraphernalia.

It is important to emphasize that there are no burials in San Pedro de Atacama with exclusively, or even a predominance, of SAIS objects. Most artifacts with SAIS designs (snuff trays and tubes, ceramics, textiles, and engraved bones) are found in graves that are also furnished with local as well as other foreign objects (e.g., northwest Argentina, southern Bolivia).

Only two snuffing tubes from Tiahuanaco have been reported in the literature. One of these (Figure 11.12f) was obtained by Uhle in June 1895 together with other ancient artifacts from the surface of the ruins (Figure 11.14e–g; Uhle 1898). This tube is made of camelid bone and has been cut off at each end to take advantage of the natural bifurcation of the bone. Y-shaped snuffing tubes are common among the Caribbean Taíno, as well as among indigenous Amazonian cultures (Torres and Repke 2006:Plates 13, 54b, 55), but not commonly seen in the central Andes. The second snuffing tube from Tiahuanaco is a simple Y-shaped inhaler without carved or incised decoration (Posnansky 1957:136, Figure XCIIIg).

SAIS Snuffing Equipment in the Central Andes

Outside the San Pedro de Atacama area, snuffing equipment with SAIS imagery is sparse in its distribution. Ten trays from the southern Lake Titicaca Basin have been reported (Figure 11.14; seven of stone, one of bone, two of wood). A bone snuff tray with certain Tiahuanaco provenience was found in the Putuni sector of that site (Figure 11.14a; see also Webster and Janusek 2003:358, Figure 14.16). Two others are in the collection of the Roemer Museum, Hildesheim, Germany (Figure 11.14b,c; see also Boetzkes et al. 1986:60–61, 143–144; Uhle 1912b:Figures 15, 16); a fourth one is in the Museo Etnográfico Juan B. Ambrosetti, Buenos Aires (Figure 11.14d; see also Posnansky 1957:120–121, Plate LXXIA.a). A complete

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

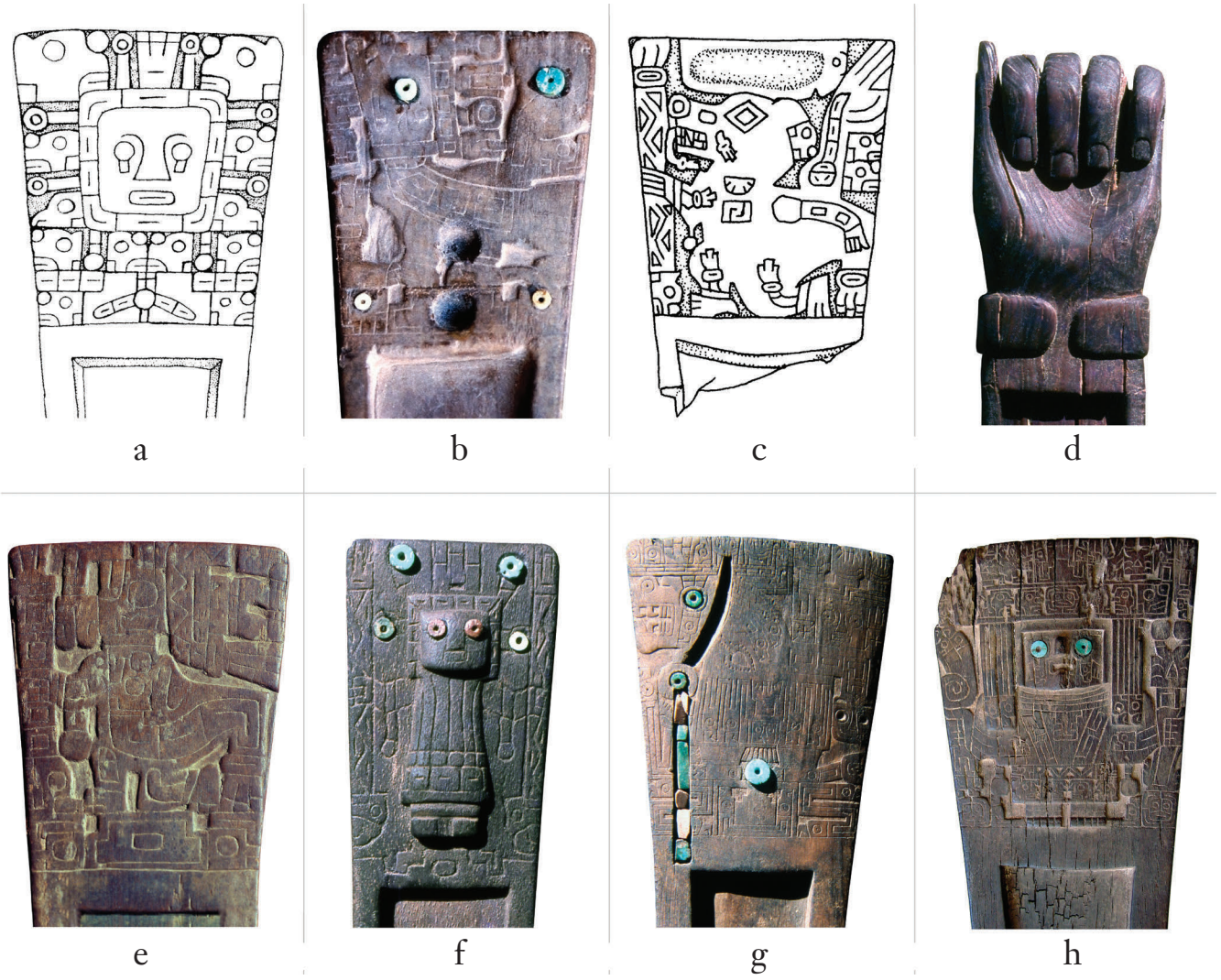


Figure 11.4. SAIS snuff trays from Coyo Oriente, San Pedro de Atacama. a. Tomb 3935; b. Tomb 3944; c. Tomb 3963; d. Tomb 3974; e.Tomb 4008; f. Tomb 4010; g. tomb 4049; h. Tomb 4093,. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas. Photo by Constantino M. Torres, drawings by Donna Torres.

tray (Figure 11.14e) and two fragments (Figure 11.14f,g) were collected by Uhle in 1895 and are currently in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia. A stone snuff tray carved with the representation of a disembodied head with tree-like projections was found at Tiahuanaco (Figure 11.14h). A snuffing kit found in the Pallqa rock shelter, near the locality of Amaguaya, in the department of La Paz, is notable as it is one of the few snuffing kits not found in a funerary context (Figure 11.14i; see also Loza 2007). The paucity of finds of wooden snuff trays and tubes in this area might be explained by poor preservation of organic materials at and around Tiahuanaco.

Finally, six snuff trays are known from the Niño Korin area, northeast of the Lake Titicaca Basin (Figure 11.15). Five of these (Figures 11.15a–e) have been published by Henry Wassén (1972:31, Figures 5, 8, 9, 11, 12) and one (Figure 11.15f) by Oblitas Poblete (1963). Snuffing paraphernalia of this type is rare in the southern Peruvian Andes; however, five snuff trays, of diverse provenience and unique in the areas where they were found, exhibit clear SAIS iconography (Figure 11.16).

Evidence for Visionary Plant Use at Tiahuanaco

To establish a direct connection between snuff trays and tubes and stone sculpture, it is wise to first evaluate the evidence for the use of visionary plants at Tiahuanaco. The most frequent evidence refers to

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 11.5. SAIS snuff trays from Coyo Oriente, San Pedro de Atacama (continued). a. Tomb 4111; b. Tomb 4141; c. tomb 5299; d. Tomb 5334-41; e. Tomb 5351; f. Tomb 5381. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

the use of inhalants and fermented drinks (Table 11.2). Scholars have made a variety of arguments for the presence of visionary plants in Tiwanaku culture, among them *Anadenanthera* spp., *Trichocereus* spp., *Erythroxylum coca*, and *Nicotiana* spp., all of which are discussed below.

The most probable botanical source for snuff powders in the south-central Andes, so obviously implied by snuff trays and tubes, is seeds from trees of the genus *Anadenanthera* (Figure 11.17), especially *Anadenanthera colubrina* var. *Cebil* (*vilca*, *cebil*). Its habitat includes northwest Argentina, parts of Bolivia, including the valleys around Cochabamba, and in the north, ascending the floodplain of Peru's Marañon River (Reis Altschul 1964; Torres and Repke 2006). Its seeds would have been easily accessible to Tiahuanaco.

No less important is the use of *chicha*. Several authors (Goldstein 2005:208–210; Janusek 2004:224; Moseley et al. 2005:17267, Figures 5, 6) have reported clear evidence of *chicha* production at Tiahuanaco, Lukurmata, and Moquegua. Apparently, these archaic *chichas* contained vegetable admixtures in addition to the fermented corn, *molle* (*Schinus molle*), or *algarrobo* (*Prosopis* spp.) base. Bernabé Cobo (1964:272 [1653]), writing ca. 1653, observed the addition of *vilca* seeds to *chicha*. Polo de Ondegardo (1916:3:29–30) stated ca. 1571,

> los que desean saber algún suceso de cosas pasadas o de las cosas que están por venir . . . invocan al demonio y emborrachanse y para este oficio particular

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 11.6. SAIS snuff trays from Quitor 5, San Pedro de Atacama. a. Tomb 1945; b. Tomb 1994; c. Tomb 2047; d. Tomb 2184; e. Tomb 2189; f. Tomb 2196; g. Tomb 2235; h. Tomb 3380. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

> usan de una yerba llamada vilca, echando el çumo della en la chicha [Those who wish to know an event of things past or of things that are to come . . . invoke the demon and inebriate themselves and for this practice in particular make use of an herb called *vilca*, pouring its juice in *chicha*].

Further knowledge of the components of archaeological *chicha* will contribute to the understanding of the origins and development of pharmacologically complex potions such as *ayahuasca* and *yagé* (Luna 1986), as well as *vino de cebil* (Califano 1976:16, 17, 18, 46).

Patricia Knobloch (2000) has identified an icon as a probable representation of *Anadenanthera* flowers, leaves, and seedpods (Figure 11.18). She based her identification on a relatively realistic image painted on a Conchopata vessel (Figure 11.18a). These icons are frequent in Tiwanaku iconography and are prominent on the Ponce monolith. Two stone snuff trays from Tiahuanaco are inscribed with undulating *Anadenanthera* icons (Figures 11.14g, h).

Trichocereus pachanoi (*Achuma*, *San Pedro*; Figure 11.19) has been proposed as another of the visionary plants employed by the Tiahuanaco residents (Kolata 1993:139). This proposal is based primarily on the cactus-like bundle carried by two camelids engraved on the Bennett stela (Figure 11.19, top right). The representation does suggest *Trichocereus pachanoi*, but

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 11.2. Indirect evidence for the use of psychoactive plants in the Tiahuanaco heartland.

Site	Type of Evidence	Type of Context	Citation
Lukurmata	Tubes, pyroengraved bones, spatulas, snuff trays	Household contexts Late Formative 2 (AD 300–500)	Janusek 2003:54 Janusek 2004:104 Bermann 1994:71, 134–135
Misitón 1 (Lukurmata)	Snuff tubes (Early Tiw IV) Snuff spoon (Late Tiw IV)	Housed groups who specialized in producing musical instruments Early Tiwanaku IV	Janusek 2004:177, 179
Mollo Kuntu Mound, Tiahuanaco	Pyroengraved bone	Human cranium offering Late Tiwanaku IV	Couture 2003:220–221, 223, Fig. 8.36
Akapana	Bone snuff spoon	Burial associated with residential sector atop the Akapana	Janusek 2004:207–208
Akapana East 1: The South Complex	Pyroengraved bone, three bone spatulas (one half-fist)	Residential complex "locus for the production of chicha" Early Tiwanaku V	Janusek 2003:284, 286, Fig. 10.25 Also in Janusek 2004:223–224, Fig 7.5A, B
Putuni, Tiahuanaco	Bone snuff tray	Burial Early Tiwanaku V (800s)	Webster and Janusek 2003:358, Fig. 14.16
Kk'araña (north of Putuni)	Snuff tubes	Residential area Late Formative 2	Janusek 2004:103
Tiahuanaco	Y-shaped snuffing tube (camelid bone)	Uhle Collection University of Penn Museum #36095	Uhle 1895:159, Pl 13
Quiripuju	Stone snuff tray	Uhle Collection University of Penn Museum #35636	Torres 2006:Pl 28a
Cumaná Island	Stone snuff tray fragment	Uhle Collection University of Penn Museum #35515	Torres 2006:Pl 28b
Tiahuanaco	Stone snuff tray fragment	Uhle Collection University of Penn Museum #36072	
Tiahuanaco (?)	Stone snuff tray	Roemer-Museum, Hildesheim, #V.5521	Uhle 1912:Fig. 15
Tiahuanaco (?)	Stone snuff tray (fragment, defaced)	Roemer-Museum, Hildesheim, #V.5520	Uhle 1912:Fig.16
Tiahuanaco (?)	Stone snuff tray	Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires, #10718	Wassén 1967:Fig. 30
Southern Lake Titicaca Basin (?)	Snuff tray, with gold and shell decoration	Denver Art Museum, #2000.211	Torres 2004:Fig. 9

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

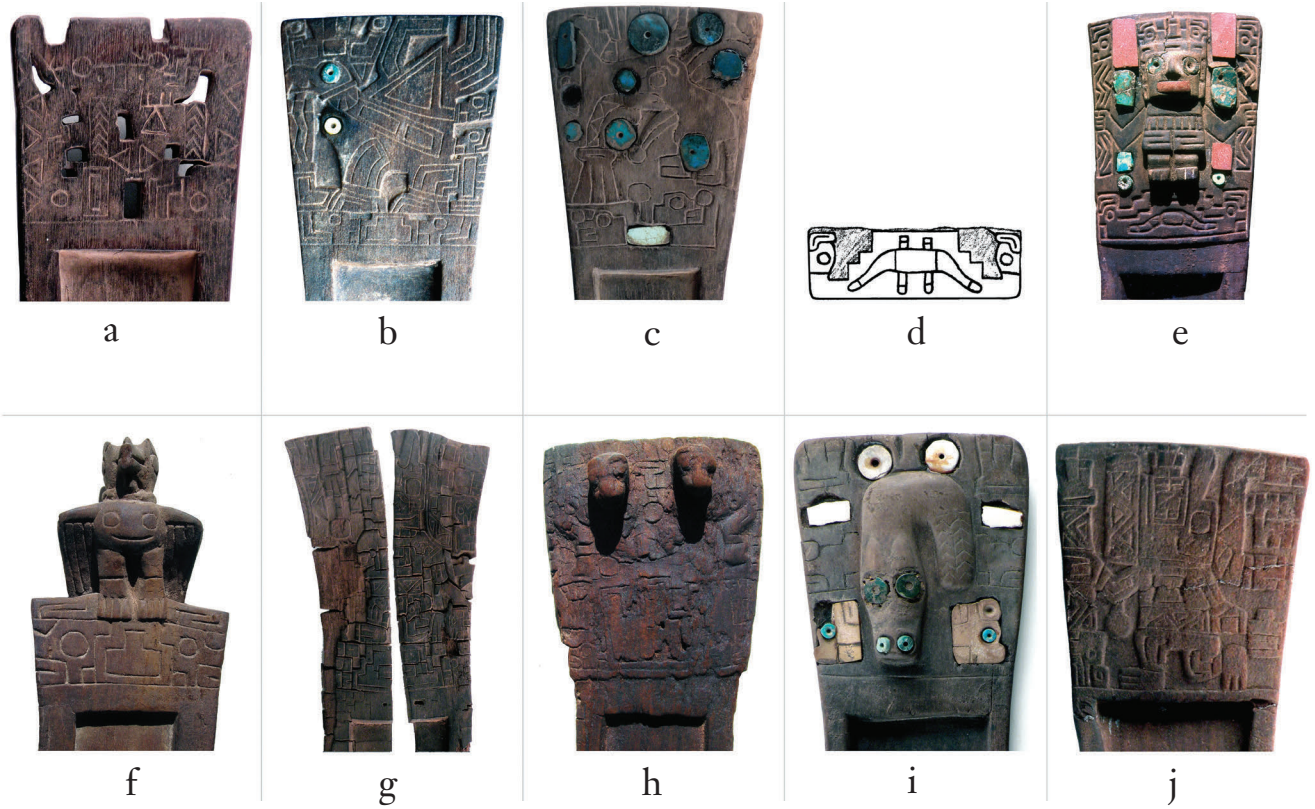


Figure 11.7. SAIS snuff trays from Quitor 6, San Pedro de Atacama. a. Tomb 2509; b. Tomb 2742; c. Tomb 2748; d. Tomb 3523 ; e. Tomb 3582; f. tomb 3585; g. Tomb 3613; h. Tomb 3647c; i. Tomb 3662; j. Tomb 5444. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

several factors contradict this inference. First, the cactus-like object differs from *T. pachanoi* in the position of the flowers and the growth habit of the arms. Second, it is likely that ritual use of *T. pachanoi* did not extend south of Cuzco prior to the sixteenth century (Polia 1996:279). More evidence is needed to demonstrate the use of *T. pachanoi* in Tiahuanaco; its use is possible but not probable, since this seems to be a tradition proper to the north-central Andes and adjacent coast (see Polia 1996; Sharon 2000). However, *T. pachanoi* is not the only *Trichocereus* species employed for its visionary qualities in the Andes. Several mescalinic cacti are known from the south-central Andes, although pre-Hispanic use has not been documented. One of these, *Trichocereus bridgesii*, is present in western Bolivia and is apparently an impressively potent species. It is also known to occasionally flower at the apex, as shown in the Bennett engraving. *T. bridgesii* is also the only species I am aware of where the occurrence of four ribbed stems is not unusual. Given the mythological importance of the four-ribbed San Pedro in Andean shamanic lore, this plant merits greater investigation (Ben Kamm, personal communication, March 1, 2008; see also Trout 2005).

Coca leaf is not, to my knowledge, represented in Tiwanaku art. Indeed, it is infrequently depicted in pre-Columbian art generally, even though rituals known ethnographically to involve coca use are variously represented in prehistoric contexts throughout the Andes. At Tiahuanaco, the most frequent visual indication of coca use is seen in various personages with a prominent cheek bulge depicted in lithic sculpture and ceramics (Berenguer 2000:49; Kolata 1993:Figure 7.7; Posnansky 1945:2:70, Figure 22a; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 4.25).

Consumption of coca leaves has great antiquity in the Andes, and it was surely employed at Tiahuanaco. Analysis of the hair and nails of two mummies from the Alto Ramirez culture of coastal southern Peru and northern Chile detected cocaine and its metabolite, benzoylecgonine. Samples of hair, muscle, and skin of these two mummies were dated using ^{14}C analysis and yielded a date of ca. 1100 BC, documenting one of the earliest cases for ingestion of coca leaves in the south-central Andes (Rivera et al. 2005)

Tobacco (*Nicotiana* sp.) representations have not been identified in Tiwanaku iconography, but its use is

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

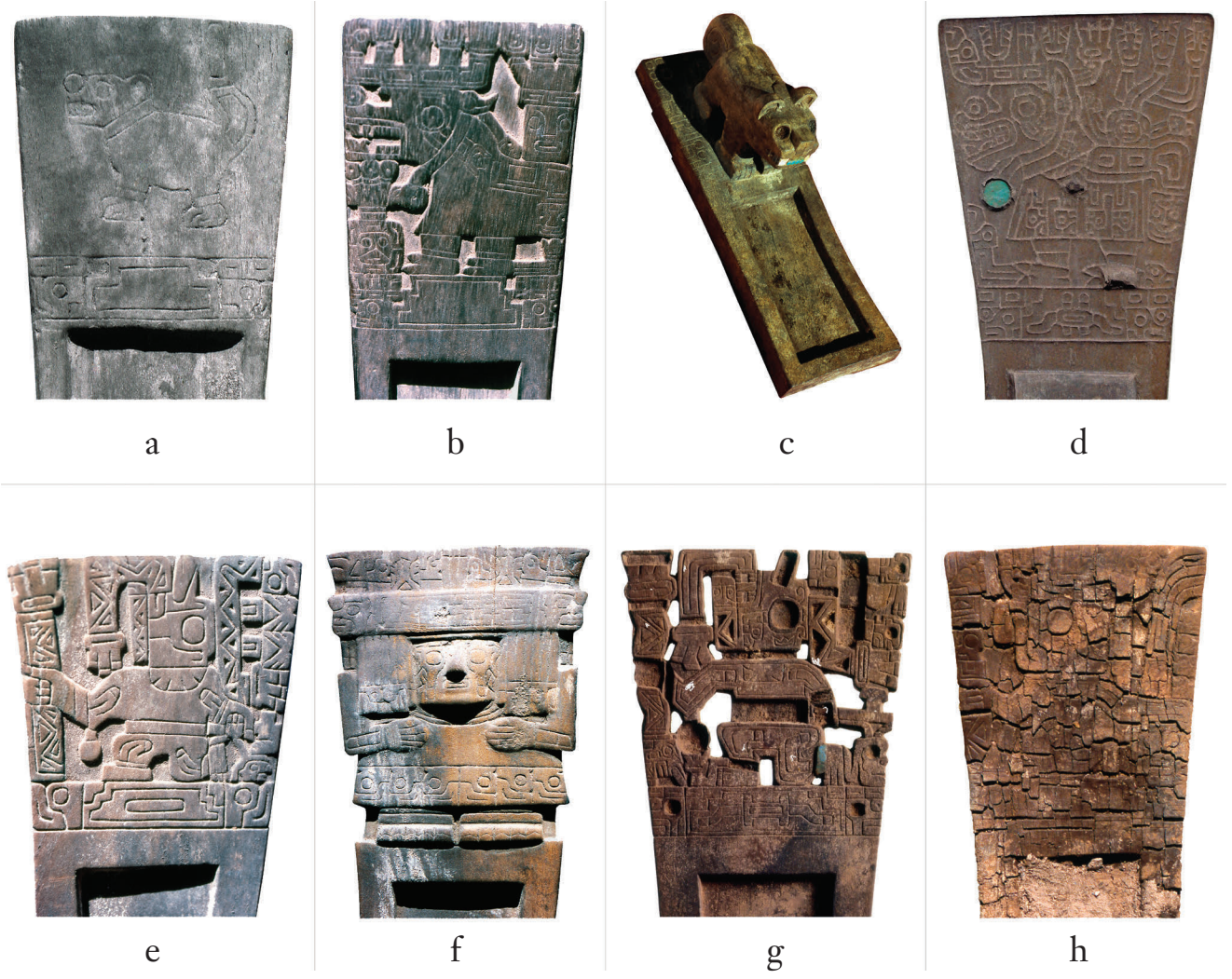


Figure 11.8. SAIS snuff trays from Solcor 3, San Pedro de Atacama. a. Tomb 4 ; b. Tomb 5; c. Tomb 6; d. Tomb 44; e. Tomb 69; f. Tomb 99; g. Tomb 107; h. Tomb 117. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

probable. Tobacco was found in Niño Korin in association with SAIS snuff trays (Figure 11.15) and a bundle of *Ilex guayusa* leaves dated ca. AD 375 (Bondeson 1972:181; Wassén 1972:29). Given the importance of tobacco in Andean ritual life, it seems fairly certain that it was also used in the south-central Andes.

Tiahuanaco Stone Sculpture

In the following section, the iconography of the Ponce and Bennett stelae (Figures 11.20–11.27) and the Gate of the Sun (Figure 11.28) is discussed, emphasizing the relationship to the iconography depicted on snuff trays. Monumental sculpture generally reflects established artistic and ideological conventions, so it should be especially useful for defining parameters of the iconographic configuration. And indeed, Tiahuanaco stone sculpture demonstrates clear affinities with snuffing paraphernalia. Great variability in individual sign usage and thematic emphasis, as well as survival of archaic iconographic elements in some areas, suggest an autonomous iconographic system, adaptable to regional demands.

Tiahuanaco Stone Sculpture, *Anadenanthera* Representations, and Snuffing Paraphernalia

Engravings on the Ponce (Figures 11.20 and 11.21) and the Bennett (Figures 11.24 and 11.25) monoliths show a direct relationship with many elements of the snuffing complex. José Berenguer (2001:67) convincingly argues that the object held in the right hand of both sculptures is a snuff tray (Figures 11.22 and 11.26). Several authors (Bennett 1934:434, Figure 24; Berenguer 2001:67;

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

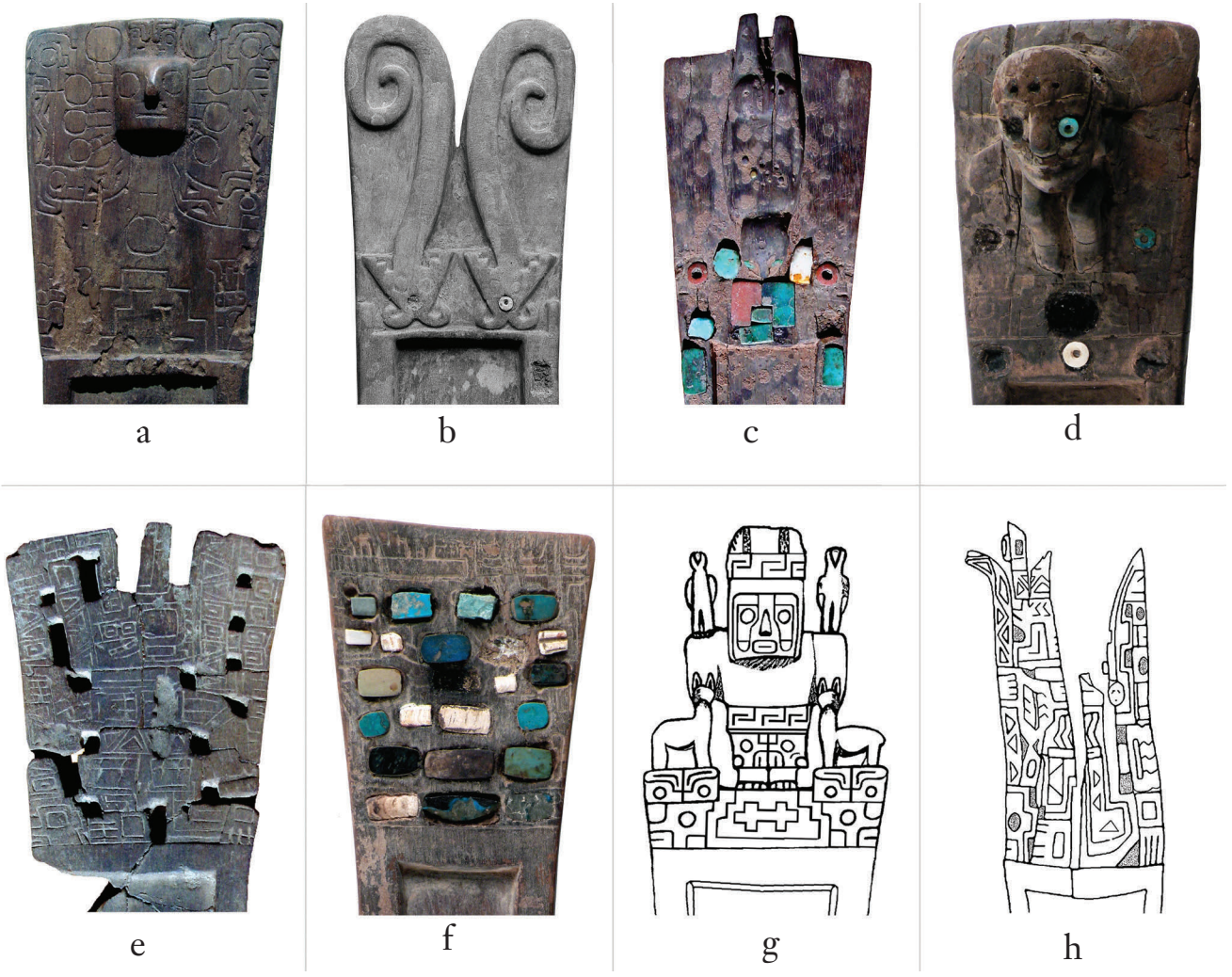


Figure 11.9. SAIS snuff trays from various sites, San Pedro de Atacama. a. Sequitor Alambrado, Tomb 1618; b. Sequitor Alambrado, Tomb 1647; c. Sequitor Alambrado, Tomb 1660; d. Sequitor Alambrado, Tomb 1702; e. Quitor 8, Tomb 3223; f. Quitor 2, Tomb 3702-04; g. Quitor 2, Tomb 3706; h. Toconao, Tomb 4229. Photo by Constantino M. Torres, drawings by Donna Torres.

Posnansky 1945:194) have suggested that the object held in the left hand of both sculptures is a *kero*. However, the two *keros* in the left hands of the Bennett and Ponce monoliths differ notably in the angle of the object held. In the Ponce, the object is basically rectangular in shape, while in the Bennett, its sides diverge, especially above the band, to more closely resemble a *kero* shape (cf. Figures 11.22 and 11.26). Textile bags used to carry the snuffing equipment (Figure 11.23) provide an alternative identification for the object held by the Ponce monolith (Figure 11.22) and could even be what was represented in the left hand of the Bennett monolith.

The Bennett and Ponce stelae share several traits with the personage carved on the 15 snuffing tubes from San Pedro de Atacama, discussed previously. In both sets of objects, the figures stand erect, wear a prominent headdress with nape covering, and face forward. They differ in arm position and degree of emphasis on sacrificer characteristics. On the two stone monuments, the arms are flexed, while on the snuffing tubes, the arms are extended down against the body. San Pedro de Atacama snuffing tubes (Figure 11.11c,d), as well as trays (Figure 11.6e,f and Figure 11.8e,g), display clear sacrificer characteristics in the depiction of figures holding axe and trophy head. The Bennett and the Ponce stelae lack apparent decapitation references.

Additional elements shared by these two monuments and the snuff trays include the *Anadenanthera* icon (see Figure 11.18) identified by Patricia Knobloch (2000), as well as hand gestures (Figures 11.22, 11.26, and 11.27). As mentioned above, Knobloch (2000:388, Figures 2, 4, 5, 9), in her work on power and ritual in Conchopata,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 11.10. SAIS snuff trays, unknown provenience, San Pedro de Atacama area. a-c. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas; d. Denver Art Museum, Colorado; e. Museo de Historia Natural, Santiago; f. American Museum of Natural History, New York; g. American Museum of Natural History; h. Musée du Quai Branly, Paris; i. Lombards Museum, Wikimedia Commons; j. Tomkins Collection

identified an icon suggestive of the leaves, pods, and seeds of *Anadenanthera*. This icon is occasionally represented on snuff trays from San Pedro de Atacama and Tiahuanaco (Figures 11.4h, 11.8f, and 11.14g, h). Its presence as part of the chest pendant on the Bennett stele (Figures 11.18b and 11.26; Knobloch 2000:396) is notable because of its central position and proximity to the proposed snuff tray. A similar representation is also prominently engraved on the arms of the Ponce monolith (Figure 11.18c); it is also engraved on the chest of the Putuni headless sculpture (Figure 11.18d; see also Couture and Sampeck 2003:Figure 9.38). *Anadenanthera* seed pods are characterized by a constriction between the seeds, a feature seen in each of these three representations.

If Knobloch's identification of the *Anadenanthera* signifier is correct, it can be proposed that the pendant describes an anthropomorphic *vilca* tree. A Jesuit mission to the province of Vilcas, department of Ayacucho, documented ca. 1592 the worship of a *vilca* tree decorated with human attributes (Polia 1999:208). Zuidema (1979) cites a description of an oracle near Cuzco by the Spanish chronicler Pedro Pizarro. This oracle was described as an elaborately painted shrine, within which was located the thick trunk of a *vilca* tree ornamented with gold and silver objects and delicate female garments.

The right hand of the figures in the Bennett and Ponce stelae is inverted and in a half-fist gesture, that is, four fingers flexed with thumb erect on the side (Figures 11.22 and 11.26). One snuff tray from San Pedro de Atacama and another from Niño Korin also depict this hand gesture (Figure 11.27a,b). This hand position is also seen in several personages carved in San Pedro de Atacama snuffing paraphernalia (e.g., Figure 11.27c). This prominent display of visionary imagery on public monumental sculpture and architecture, as well as on portable and intimate objects, is one factor that suggests an active role for visionary preparations derived from *Anadenanthera* in the development of SAIS-related ideologies.

Single Personages and Processional Arrangements in SAIS Iconography

The Ponce and Bennett monoliths (Figures 11.20 and 11.24) and the Gate of the Sun (Figure 11.28) are engraved with a wide variety of iconographic elements

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

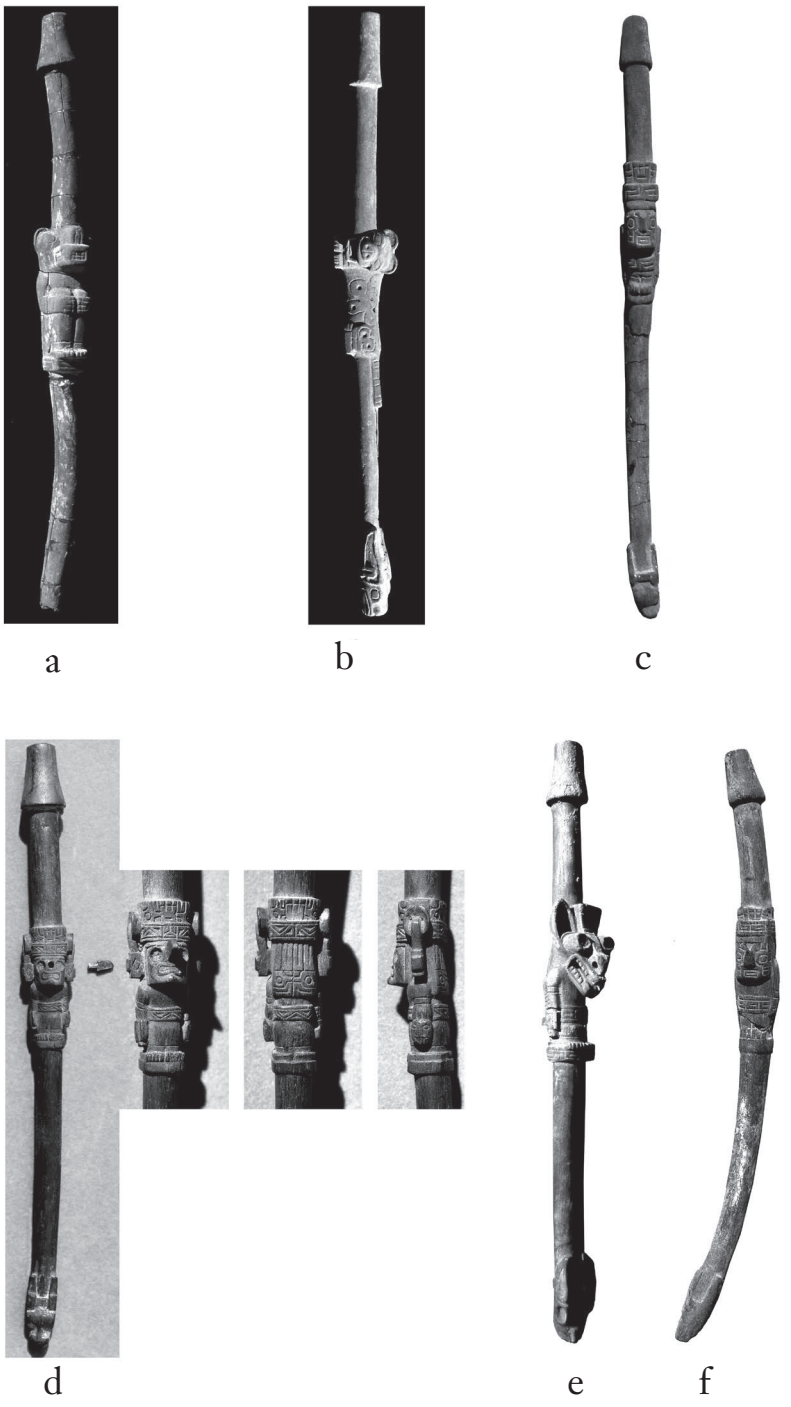


Figure 11.11. SAIS snuffing tubes, wood, Solcor 3, San Pedro de Atacama. a. Tomb 5; b. Tomb 44; c. Tomb 76; d. Tomb 79; e. Tomb 99; f. Tomb 103. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

and thematic units shared with the snuffing equipment. On monumental sculpture, these thematic units do not stand in isolation but are instead linked in processional arrangements of frontal and profile figures. In contrast, most snuff trays represent only one personage or thematic unit.

A snuff tray of unknown provenience exemplifies a rare instance of several figures in a composition similar to that seen in monumental stone sculpture (see Torres 2004 for a detailed discussion of this object). This tray (Figure 11.29; see also Figure 11.14j) possesses several characteristics that distinguish it from other instruments

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

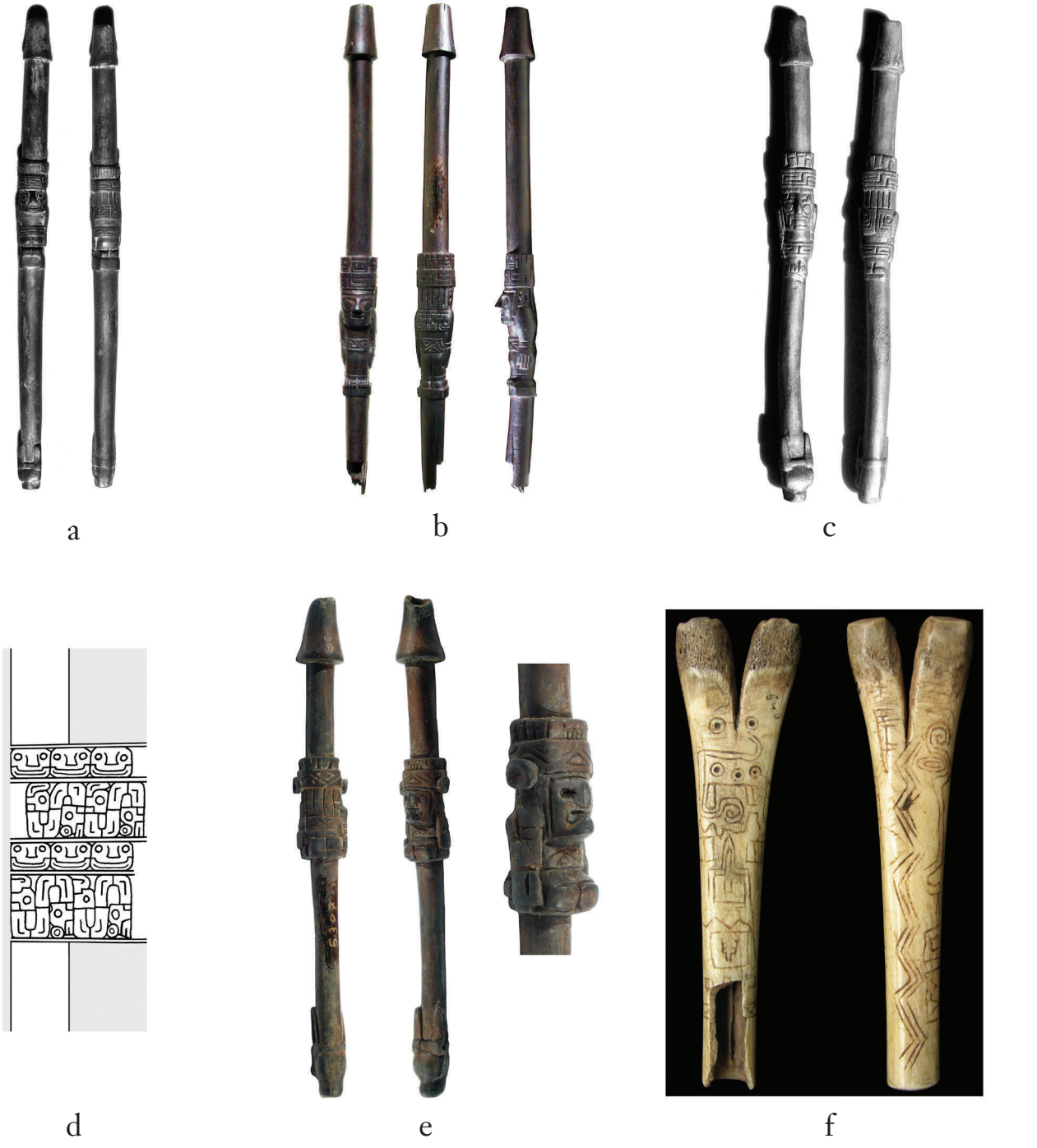


Figure 11.12. SAIS snuffing tubes. a. Tomb 2137, Quitor 5, wood; b. Tomb 3974, Coyo Oriente, wood; c. Tomb 3662, Quitor 6; d. fragment, Tomb 4008, Coyo Oriente, wood; Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueologicas; e. Tomb 5307, Coyo Oriente, Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas; f. Tiahuanaco, camelid bone, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Photo courtesy of Clark Erickson.

of the type. The presence of a zoomorphic figure carved in the round, with its head toward the receptacle, is a feature shared with the stone tray in the Museo Etnográfico Juan B. Ambrosetti, Buenos Aires (Figure 11.14d), and with several trays from San Pedro of Atacama (Figure 11.8c). It differs in the extensive use of gold leaf, as well as shell and stone inlays. Most notably, it also differs in the complex composition of the four distinct figures engraved around the frame of the tray's receptacle. The majority of trays, as previously mentioned, are decorated with a

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 11.13. (a) Snuff tray and tube, Tomb 107, Solcor 3. (b) Tomb 1392, Solcor Plaza. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas. (14a. Same tray and tube depicted in Fig. 1). Photo by Constantino M. Torres, drawing by Donna Torres.

representation of only one character. In this case, four different personages arrange themselves in mirror symmetry around the frame (Figure 11.29a–d). All figures are winged, although they exhibit anthropomorphic characteristics. They differ from each other in headdress configuration and objects held in the right hand. One of the figures exhibits feline characteristics, including a snout, feline body configuration, and ears (Figure 11.29d). The second character's head is defined by its L-shaped mouth and defies identification (Figure 11.29c). The third has clear avian qualities and probably represents a condor because of its prominent collar (Figure 11.29b). The fourth (Figure 11.29a) is similar to the first figure described but differs in the prominent muzzle that associates it with the central figure. Due to its canine features, it could be tentatively identified as a fox.

The personage carved in the round could be considered the center of the composition. Its muzzle shares fox-like qualities with the fourth figure carved along the receptacle frame (Figure 11.29a). Additionally, the central figure possesses clear anthropomorphic features. They appear in the hind and front legs and the way an object the figure once held before its chest is presented (Torres 2004:Figure 16a). The manner in which the gold leaf covers the head, showing the mouth carved in the wood below, suggests a masked human being transformed into an entity with diverse zoomorphic traits. Several iconographic features, such as the emphasis on the profile head with L-shaped mouth suggest a southern Titicaca Basin provenience for this object.

This mirrored symmetry of four figures arranged around the receptacle border creates four fields of performance. If the tray is divided along its vertical and horizontal axes, it reveals four opposed processions, one in each quarter of the receptacle frame (Figure 11.29). Two of these processions converge on the large three-dimensional

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

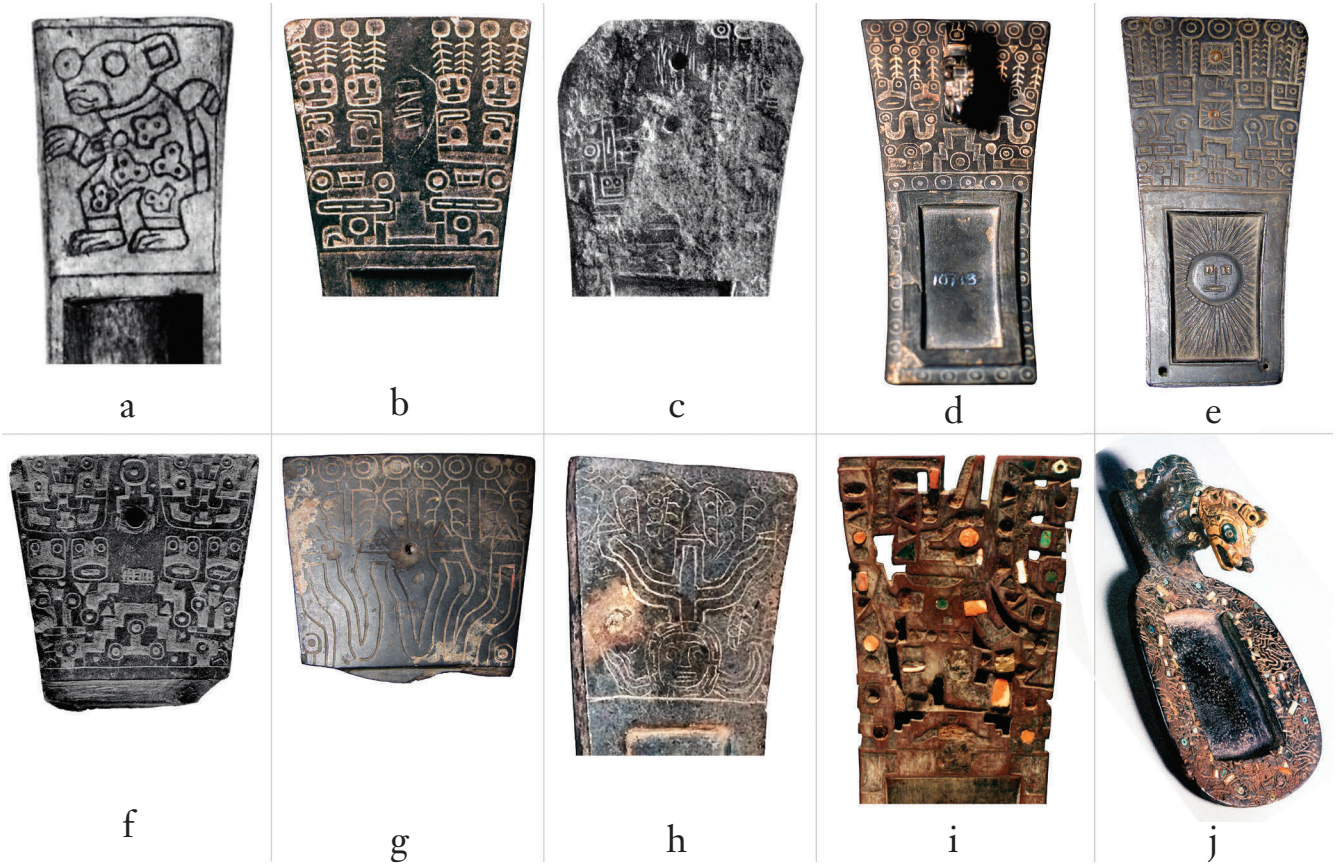


Figure 11.14. Snuff trays, southern Lake Titicaca Basin. a. Putuni, Tiahuanaco, camelid bone, Archaeological Museum, Tiahuanaco; b. stone snuff tray, Tiahuanaco(?), Roemer Museum, Hildesheim; c. stone snuff tray fragment, Tiahuanaco(?),Roemer Museum; d. stone snuff tray, Tiahuanaco(?), Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires (photo Luis Cornejo); e. stone snuff tray, Quiripuju, Bolivia,The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; f. stone snuff tray fragment, Cumaná Island, southern Lake Titicaca, Bolivia, The University Museum; g. stone snuff tray fragment, Tiahuanaco, Bolivia. The University Museum (e-g, photo courtesy Clark Erickson); h. stone snuff tray, Tiahuanaco, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University; i. wooden snuff tray with gold and Spondylus inlays, Museo Tiwanaku, La Paz: j. Wooden snuff tray with stone and shell inlays, Denver Art Museum. Photo courtesy of Margaret Young-Sánchez.

personage. The other two processions face in the reverse direction and meet at the opposite end of the tray frame. The arrangement of the figures around the receptacle frame and their relationship to the central personage associate this tray with lintels and monumental entrances. This identification of snuff tray with portal—providing access to special spaces—resonates with notions of the ecstatic condition as entrance into an alternative reality.

Organization and Structure in SAIS Iconography

Analysis of the iconographic evidence in monumental stone sculpture, snuff trays, and tubes reveals clear structural components and probable organizational modalities. Four layers of meaningful activity (Figure 11.30) can be tentatively proposed:

Individual primary signs. For the purpose of this work, the term "sign" is used in its most basic sense: something that represents or substitutes for an object or concept and activates an interpreter. A primary sign is a fundamental and irreducible component of a perceptual proposal. These basic components of the iconographic series do not seem to be hierarchical in nature; each sign interacts and combines with others, constantly changing places.

Clusters of signs within the composition (e.g., stepped platforms with lateral projections, headdresses, staffs). These clusters in turn construct the basic thematic formulations, allowing the creation of numerous structural changes in every theme.

Thematic units (e.g., staff bearing frontal figures, disembodied rayed heads, profile genuflect individuals, anthropomorphized packed camelids).

Thematic configurations are defined by compositions that combine different thematic units and comprise the most complex expression of the iconography. Thematic configurations are mostly restricted to monumental stone sculpture and architectural decoration. In most

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 11.15. Snuff trays from Niño Korin, Bolivia. a. wooden snuff tray; b. wooden snuff tray with avian representation; c. snuff tray with profile crowned bird; d. snuff tray with bird head engravings; e. snuff tray with half-fist representation, Varldskulturmuseet (Museum of World Culture), Gothenburg; f. wooden snuff tray with relief representation, Museo Tiwanaku, La Paz . Photo by Constantino M. Torres, drawings by Donna Torres.

cases, the snuff trays, tubes, textiles, and engraved bones represent only individual themes. The arrangement of these configurations within the bodies represented on stone sculpture suggests a hierarchical structure and also further demonstrates the idea of anatomy as the basic organizational device.

The body, human or animal, provides the basic organizational framework for the iconographic elements. Composition, sign associations, and position within the body determine functions of the primary signs. The ways in which the primary signs are articulated permit the creation of numerous structural variations. If the various formulations of a specific theme are compared, it is seen that the depicted personages differ greatly (Figures 11.31–11.36). The basic thematic pose is shared, but most other components, such as held objects and headdresses, are not. These changes become evident when variations of the same theme are compared, such as the frontal figure holding staffs engraved on five wooden snuff trays (Figure 11.31f–j), the central personage carved in low relief on the Gate of the Sun, the figure incised on the back of the Bennett and Ponce stelae, and other stone sculptures from the site of Tiahuanaco (Figure 11.31a–e). These representations all share the frontal pose with outstretched arms carrying scepters. Apart from this basic thematic formulation, these frontal personages differ greatly. The figures carved on stone have a rayed head, whereas the representations on four of the snuff trays (Figure 11.31f,h–j) instead exhibit an elaborate headdress. The scepters held by the figures differ in shape and also in component signs;

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

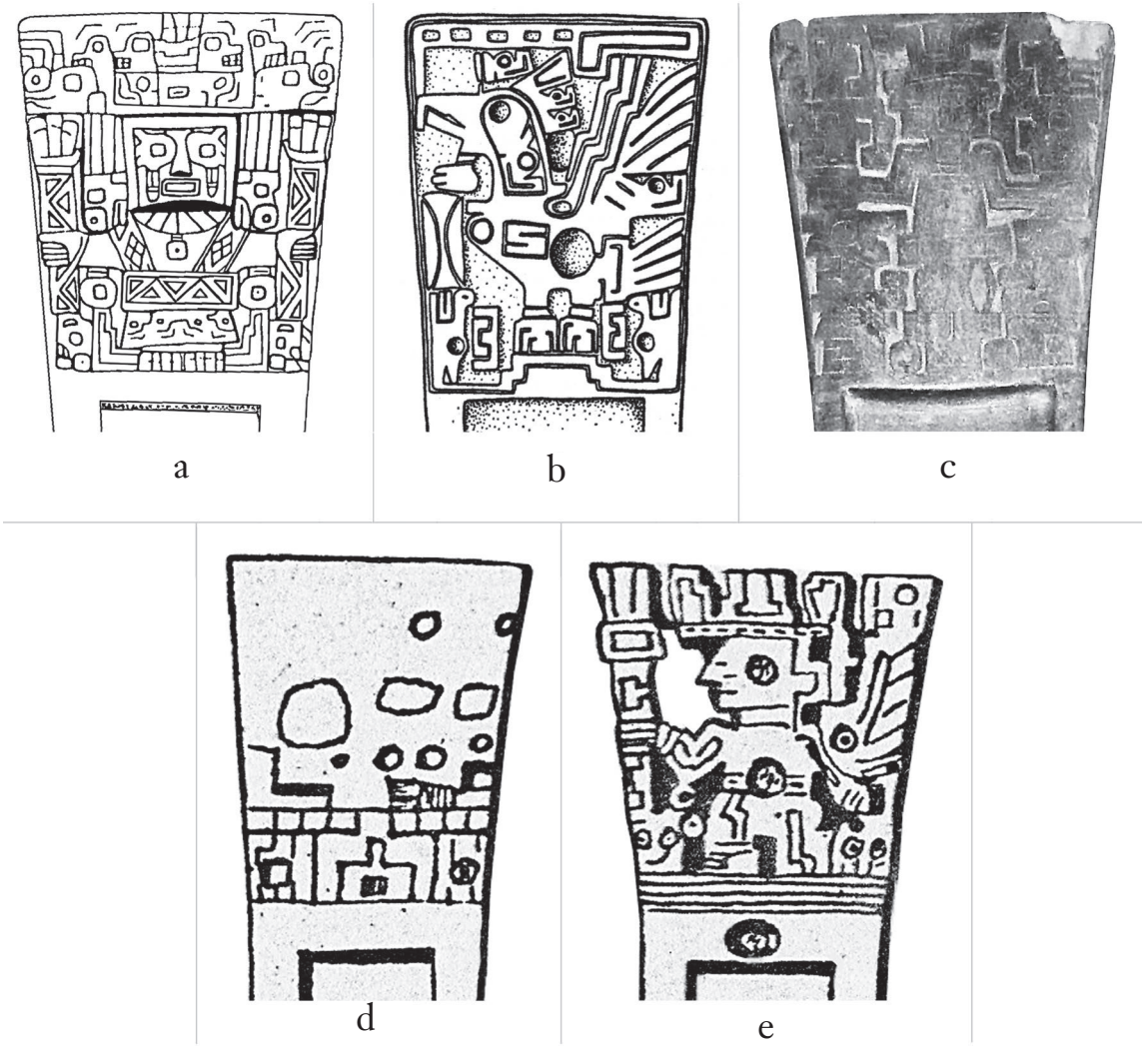


Figure 11.16. Snuff trays from southern Peru and far northern Chile. a. La Real, Valle de Majes, Museo de Aplao (Garcia y Bustamante 1990: Fig. 3); b. wooden snuff tray, Molino-Chilacachi, Dept. of Puno, 19.5 cm (de la Vega et al. 2005: Fig. 12.6); c. Chilatilla Bajo, Museo Arqueológico, Algarrobal (Alcalde Gonzalez 1995: Fig. 3); d. Chiu-Chiu, present location unknown; e. Caleta Camarones, present location unknown (d and e from Latcham 1938: Figs. la-c). Drawings by Donna Torres.

the configuration of eyes, tunics, and elbow pendants demonstrates great variability. These variations suggest that the primary signs derive meaning from affiliation with other signs, from their position within the body, and from the theme being expressed; the sign itself is modified by the thematic change.

To elaborate further on this idea, consider the profile genuflect figure holding a staff (Figure 11.33), frequently seen on snuff trays and in monumental stone sculpture. This thematic unit demonstrates great diversity and chronological variation. Only in some cases of symmetry, such as in the Gate of the Sun, is there less variability. The most notable aspect of the profile genuflect figure is the continuity of apparently archaic elements in the snuffing paraphernalia. Personages with pronounced noses, who are not winged, with objects in their mouths, holding axes and trophy heads, are frequent in snuff trays (Figure 11.33a–d,i,j). In contrast, the profile figures in the Bennett, the Ponce, and the Gate of the Sun are winged and lack the object protruding from the mouth and sacrificer characteristics (Figure 11.33k–o). The profile figures with prominent nose, not winged, and object in mouth are seen in earlier monuments (Agüero et al. 2003:77) from the Tiahuanaco site, such as the Kantatayita (Figure 11.37) and Linares lintels (Posnansky 1945:Figures 140, 140a). This constitutes one of the major differences between the iconography of snuffing paraphernalia and stone sculpture from Tiahuanaco. The presence of apparent archaic elements in snuff trays and tubes perhaps does not denote greater

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 11.17. *Anandenathera colubrina* var. Cebil, Salta province, Argentina. Photo, left, by Christian Rätsch.

antiquity in every case. After analyzing the context of several of these snuff trays (Figure 11.38) in San Pedro de Atacama, I conclude that this type of representation had a greater temporal duration in areas removed from the metropolitan center of Tiahuanaco. I propose that it is possible to detect differences in rapidity of change of the iconographic system between peripheral areas and the Lake Titicaca Basin. Metropolitan centers tend to have a greater rate of change than those communities located in peripheral areas (Kubler 1981:13).

It must also be noted, however, that at Tiahuanaco, seemingly archaic objects are associated with others apparently later in the iconographic sequence. A good example of this can be seen in the excavations conducted by Wendell Bennett (1934), specifically in Pit VII, and the excavation of the Bennett monolith and associated sculptures. Here, at the center of the sunken plaza, Bennett located the large monolith that now bears his name, alongside a smaller bearded figure carved in what seems to be an earlier style (Bennett 1934:Figure 32). In addition, the pit included a circular grinding stone (Bennett 1934:Figure 34) and several carved stones (Bennett 1934:Figure 33).

One significant conclusion gained from the excavation of Pit VII is that all the heterogeneous styles of stone work encountered are stratigraphically contemporaneous. Since the styles represented in this pit are widely divergent, the stratigraphic contemporaneity does not imply simultaneous manufacture Bennett (1934:428–429).

Another example of this agglomeration of diverse styles of no apparent contemporaneity is clearly seen in the tenoned heads of the sunken plaza. Numerous heads that differ in style, iconography, and type of stone are organized around the walls of the plaza (Posnansky 1945, 1:Plates VII–IX). These examples suggest that the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

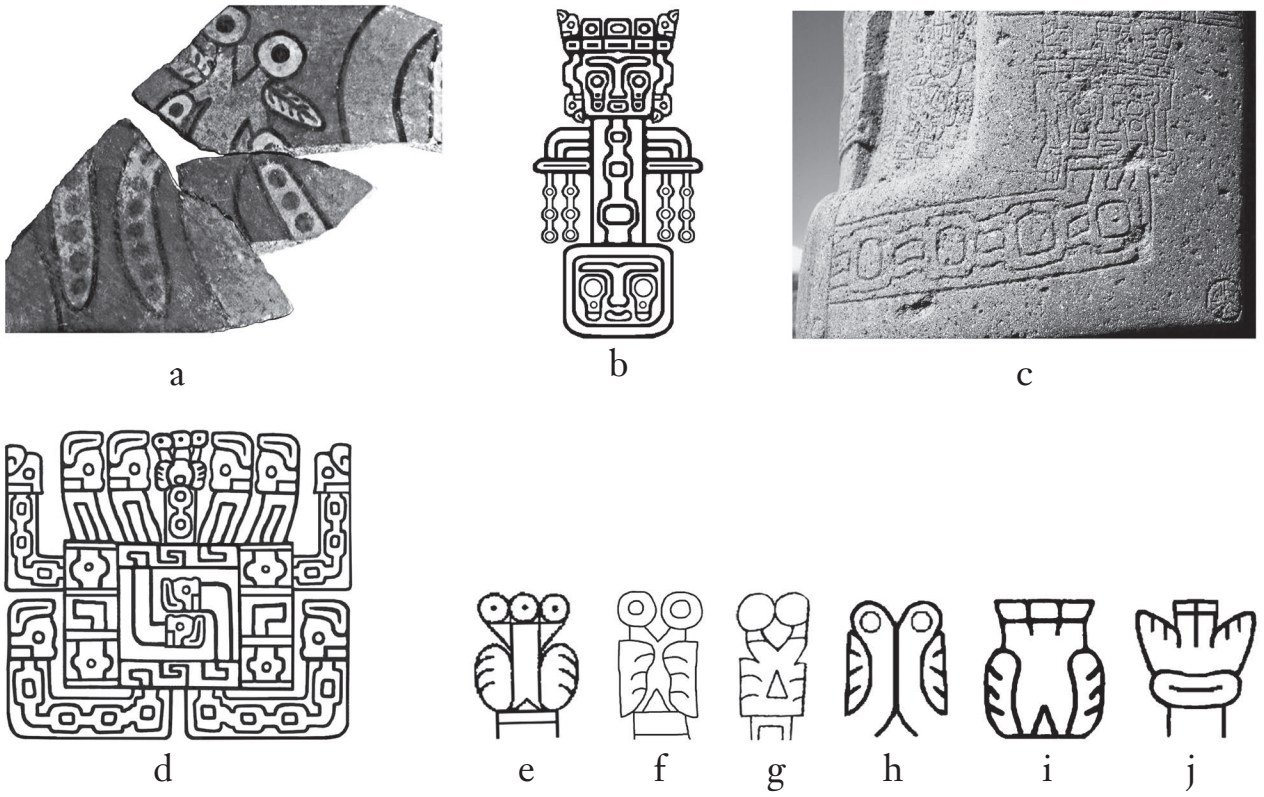


Figure 11.18. Probable representations of *Anadenanthera* flowers, leaves, and seeds. a. Conchopata pottery sherd (Knobloch 2000); b. Bennett stele, det., chest pendant c. Ponce stele, det., left arm; d. stone sculpture, det., chest pendant, Putuni, Tiahuanaco; e – j. various types of *Anadenanthera* icons. Photo by Constantino M. Torres, drawings by Donna Torres.

Figure 11.19. *Trichocereus pachanoi*, near Chavín de Huántar, Peru. Bottom right, *Trichocereus pachanoi* flower. Top right, camelid bearing cargo, detail from Bennett stele, Tiahuanaco. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

Tiwanaku placed some sort of significance on archaic and exotic objects. Likewise, snuffing kits in San Pedro de Atacama incorporated elements of diverse age among their components.

Snuff Tray Iconography and Tiahuanaco Stone Sculpture

Comparison of some of the basic signs that appear on snuff trays as well as the Ponce, Bennett, and Gate of the Sun sculptures yields results that contribute to our understanding of the development of the SAIS (Figure 11.39). Snuff trays, partly due to higher frequency and wider geographical and temporal distribution than the three monuments under discussion, exhibit a larger number of basic signs and thematic units that tend to have greater representational variability. The mode of human interaction with the iconographic configuration as expressed in the stone sculpture and in the snuffing equipment differs greatly. Portable objects, such as snuff trays or textiles, circulate through wide areas and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 11.20. Ponce stele, 3.05 m, found in central courtyard of the Kalasasaya, Tiahuanaco. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

are capable of transmitting ideological components. Megaliths, however, partly because of complexity, size, and lesser mobility, are more likely to express relatively fixed and established conventions. Human interaction with portable objects might confer a degree of intimacy, a quality not readily available for public monuments. In this way, a class of objects, such as snuff trays and tubes, contributes to the spread of ideas, but in the inevitable interaction between needs and things, these ideas are consequently modified and new concepts are represented.

In the following paragraphs, I discuss three signs in greater detail to illustrate the variability of the iconographic configuration. One of these (Figure 11.40a) is largely restricted to stone sculpture at Tiahuanaco; it is rarely represented in other media, and it is not present in snuffing paraphernalia. The structure of this sign is composed of a central circle enclosed by one or more brackets. Its multiple representations in Tiahuanaco suggest its importance; it is represented 22 times on the Bennett monolith and 24 times on the Ponce monolith. In the sculpture labeled "Kochamama" by Posnansky (1945, 2:Figures 99–102), its multiple representations practically cover the entire body of the figure.

The second sign (Figure 11.40b), a zigzag circumscribing small triangles, is of great importance on the snuff trays. Its absence is notable in the Bennett and Ponce monoliths, as well as on the Kochamama and the headless figure from the Putuni (Couture and Sampeck 2003:Figure 9.38). On the Gate of the Sun, it appears only once, as part the pectoral of the central figure (Figure 11.40b, right). However, it should be noted that this sign is found frequently on presumably earlier Tiahuanaco monuments (Agüero et al. 2003:77). On the Kantatayita (Figure 11.37) and Linares lintels (Posnansky 1945:Figures 140, 140a), its contribution to the thematic composition is similar to its role in several snuff trays from San Pedro de Atacama (Figure 11.38). Note the position of this sign, incised under the chin of the profile figures in

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

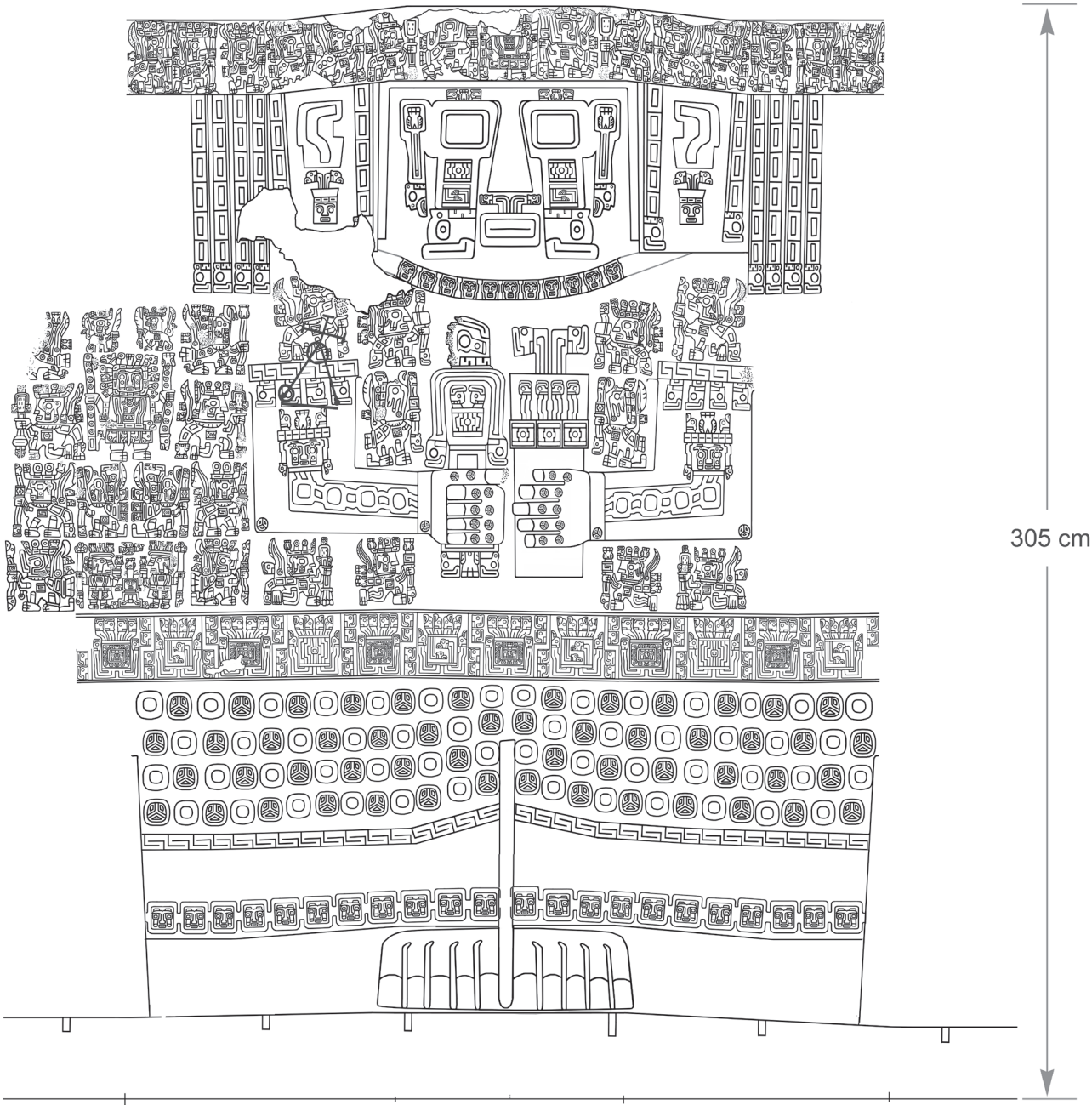


Figure 11.21. Rollout drawing, Ponce stele. Drawing by Constantino M. Torres.

the Linares and Kantatayita lintels and the three snuff trays from San Pedro de Atacama. The presence of this sign on Pucara stone sculpture and ceramics (Chávez 2004:91, Figure 3.24b) and presumable early sculpture from Tiahuanaco suggests that this sign is an early component of the iconographic system.

The third sign under discussion (Figure 11.40c) is common to snuff trays and monumental sculpture. A concentric motif with undulating lateral projections provides the basic structure of the sign. It varies in the number and composition of lateral projections and in the presence or absence of an animal head on their extremes. It is always contained within stepped signs and constitutes one of the few constant elements in the iconography.

These variations suggest that primary signs are modified in their significance according to type of association with other signs, position within the body, and the thematic context that they help define. The great variability of each thematic unit (e.g., Figures 11.31–11.36) implies local contributions to the iconographic configuration.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

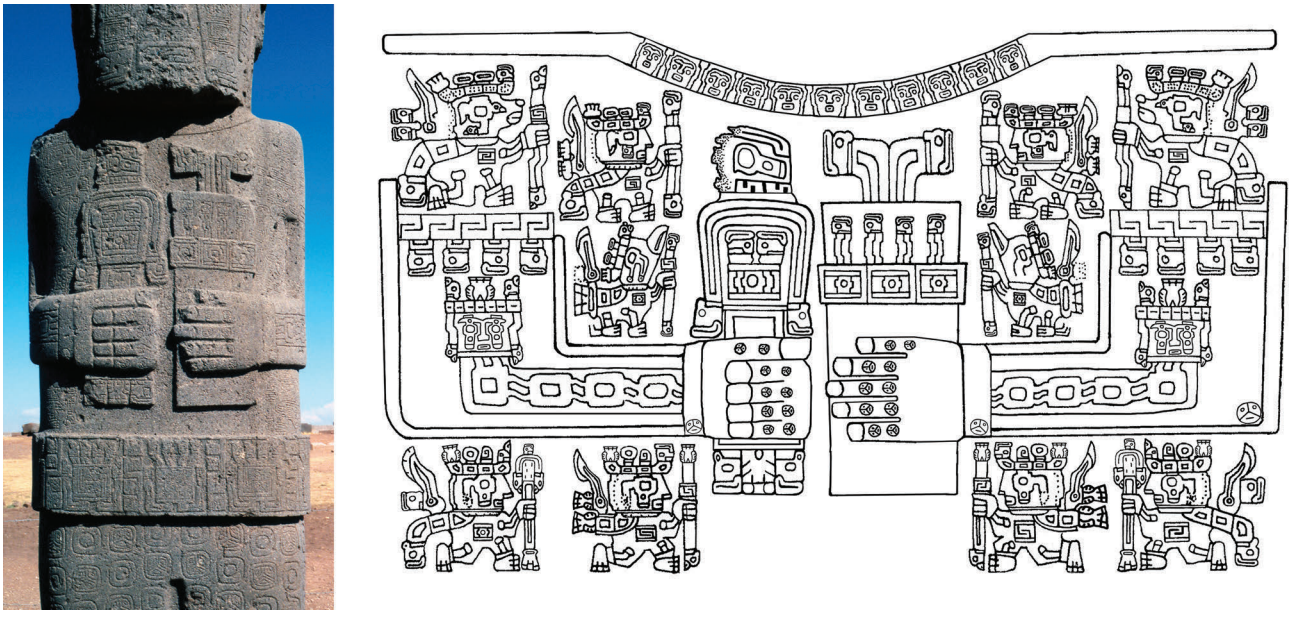


Figure 11.22. Detail, Ponce stele. Drawing by Constantino M. Torres.

Figure 11.23. Camelid fiber bag containing snuff tray, tube, spoon, and two leather pouches with snuff powder, ca. 780 ± 60, Tomb 112, Solcor 3, San Pedro de Atacama. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

Figure 11.24. Bennett stele, 5.50 m (total length with base 7.30 m). Found in semi-subterranean plaza, Tiahuanaco. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

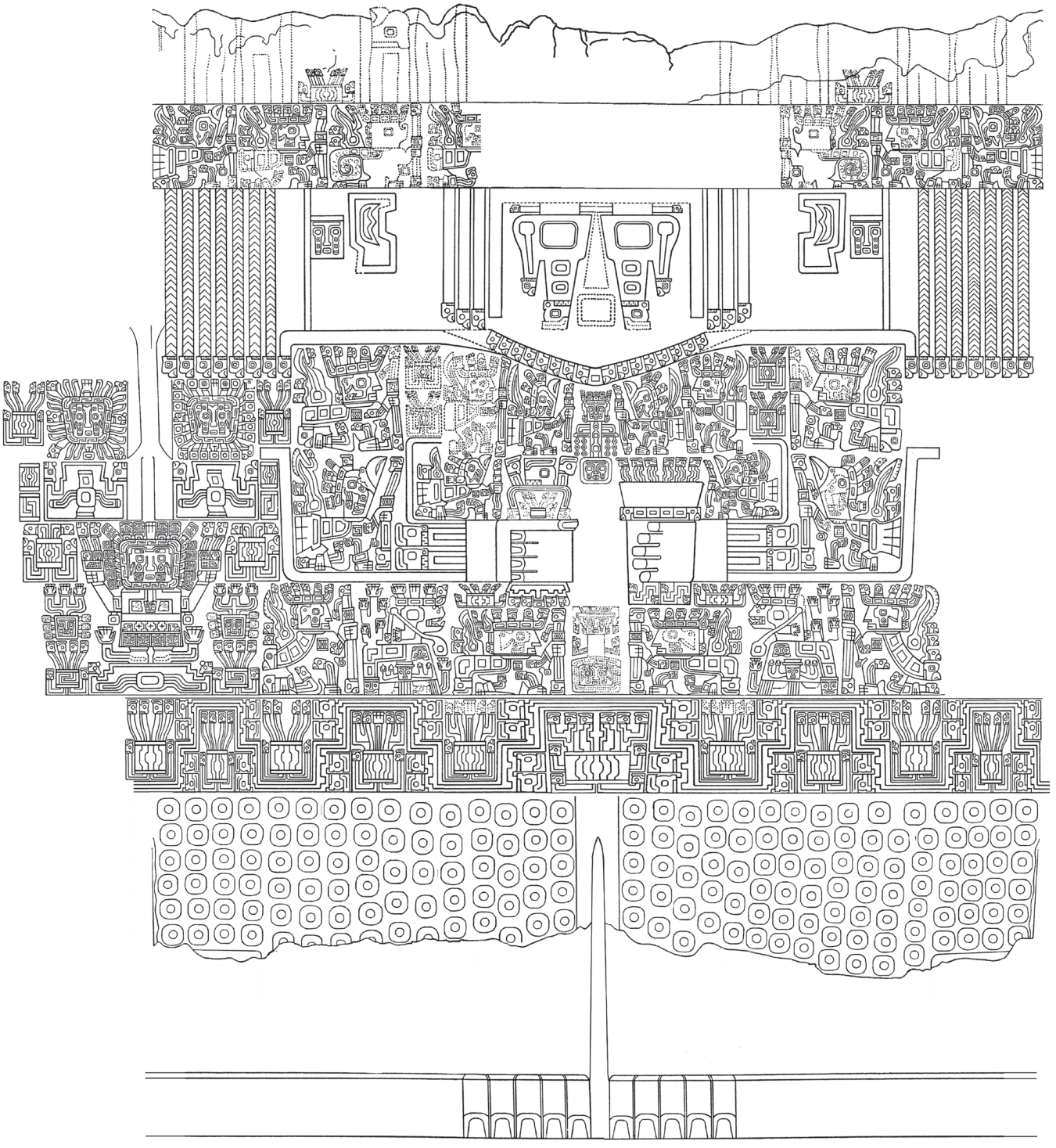


Figure 11.25. Rollout drawing, Bennett stele (after Posnansky 1945:Fig. 113a). Modified by Constantino M. Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

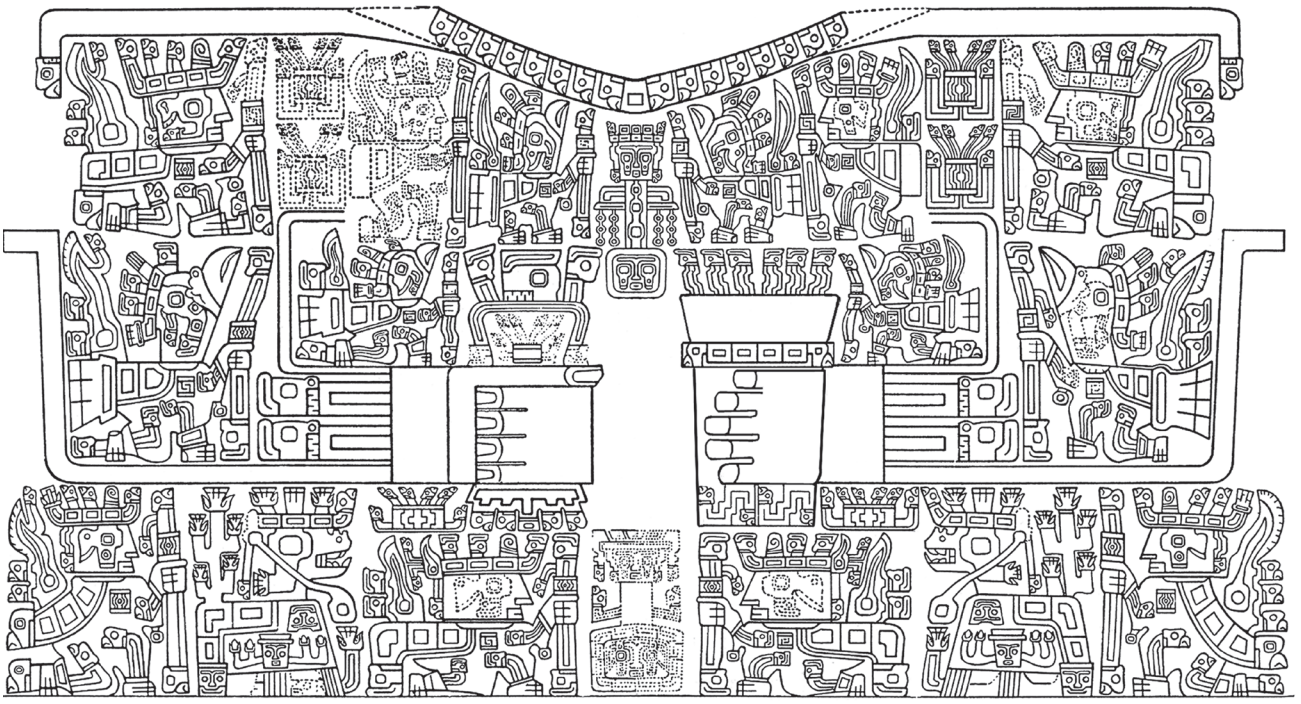


Figure 11.26. Detail, Bennett stele (after Posnansky 1945:Fig. 113a). Modified by Constantino M. Torres.

Figure 11.27. Snuff trays with half-fist representation. a. Tomb 3974, Coyo Oriente; b. Niño Korin, collection # 70.19.33, Varldskulturmuseet (Museum of World Culture), Gothenburg. c. unknown provenience, San Pedro de Atacama area. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 11.28. Gate of the Sun, northwest corner of the Kalasasaya, Tiahuanaco. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

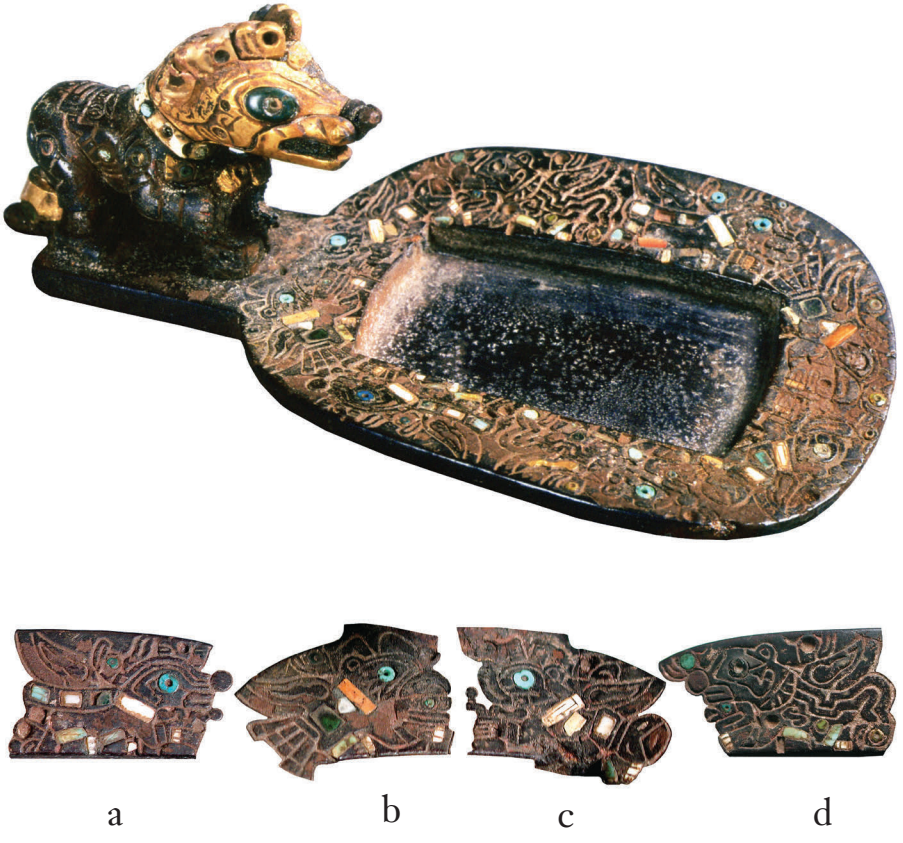


Figure 11.29. Wooden snuff tray with stone and shell inlays, 17.1 cm, collection 2000.211, Denver Art Museum, Colorado. Photo courtesy of Margaret Young-Sánchez.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

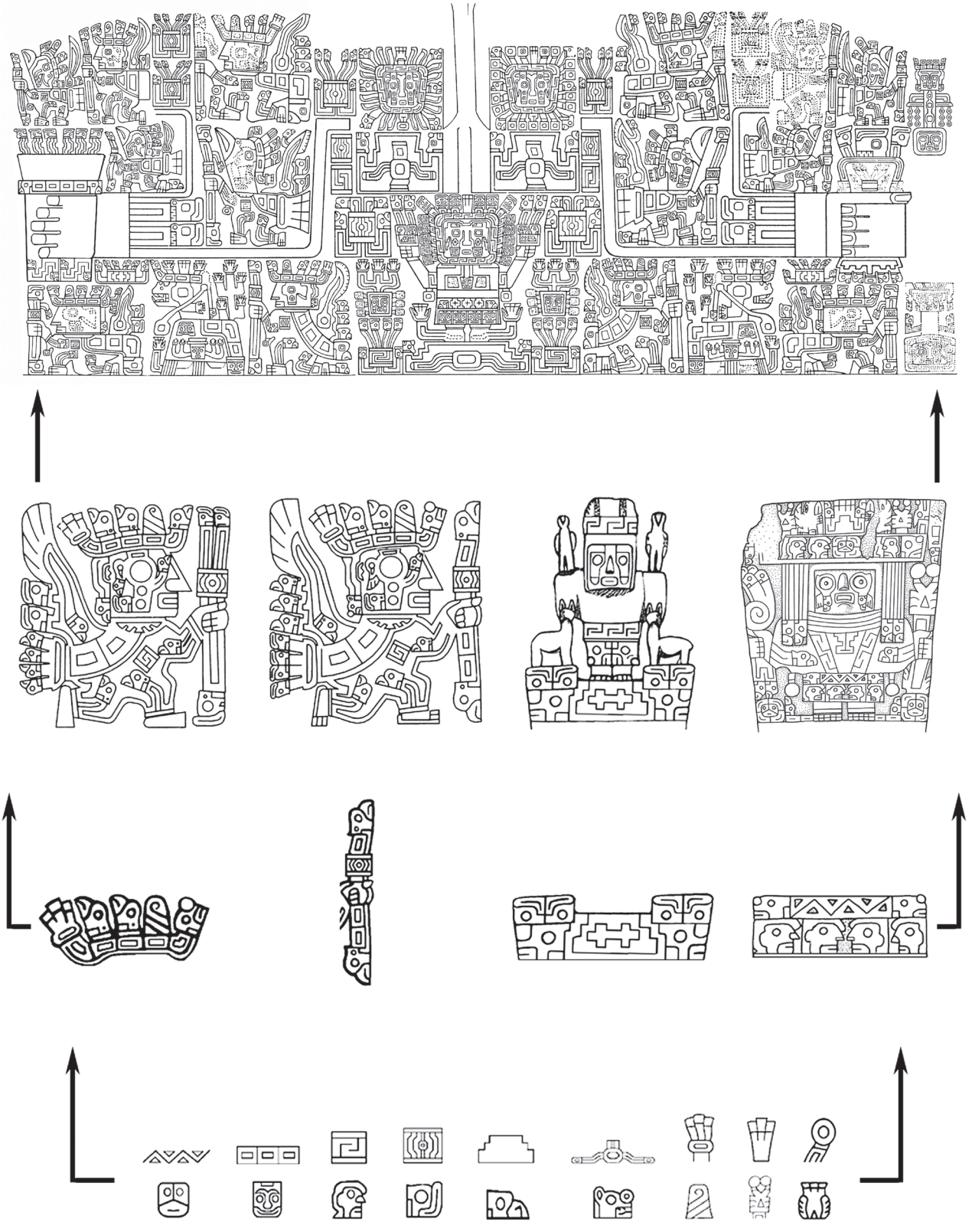


Figure 11.30. Basic framework of the Tiwanaku iconographic configuration (after Posnansky 1945). Drawings by Donna Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

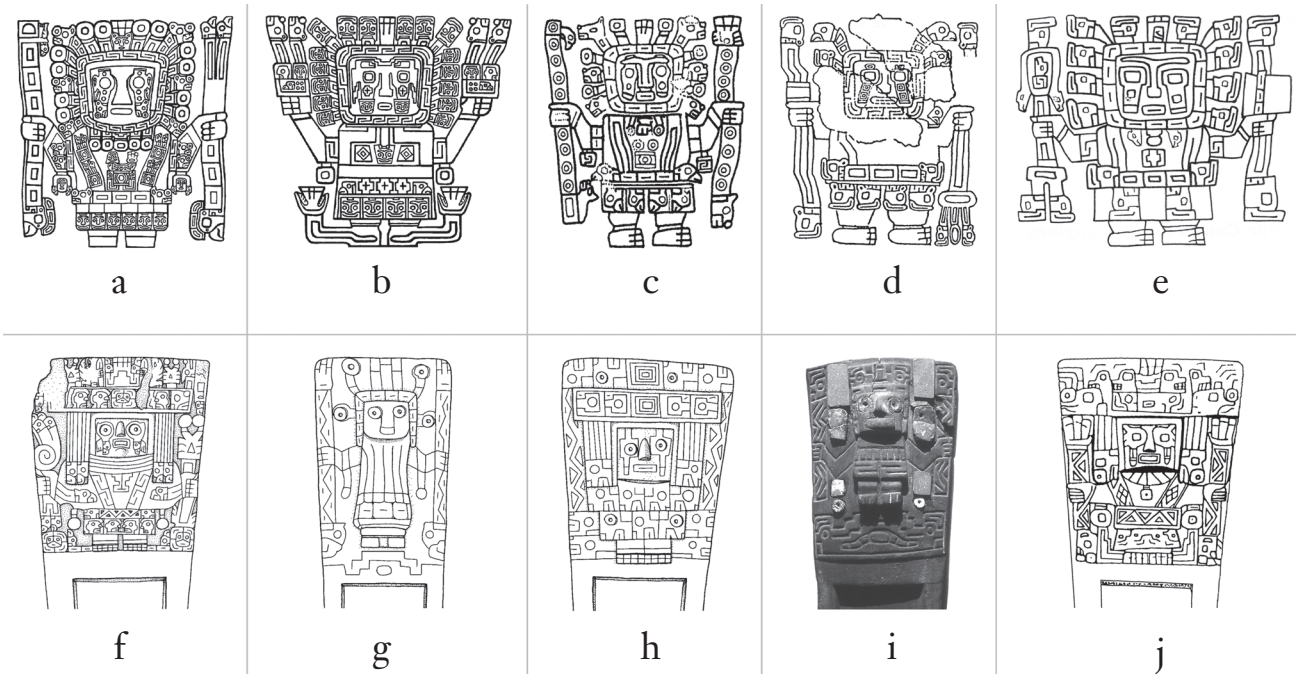


Figure 11.31. Frontal personage holding staffs. a. Gate of the Sun, Tiahuanaco; b. Bennett stele, Tiahuanaco; c. Ponce stele, Tiahuanaco; d. Kochamama, Tiahuanaco (a- d after Posnansky 1945); e. 'Recipiente Litico de Ofrendas,' Tiahuanaco ; f. Tomb 4093, Coyo Oriente; g. Tomb 4010, Coyo Oriente; h. Tomb 2183, Quitor 5; i. Tomb 3582, Quitor 6, San Pedro de Atacama; j. La Real, Valle de Majes, Peru (after Garcia and Bustamante 1990: Fig. 3). Drawings by Donna Torres (f–h, j).

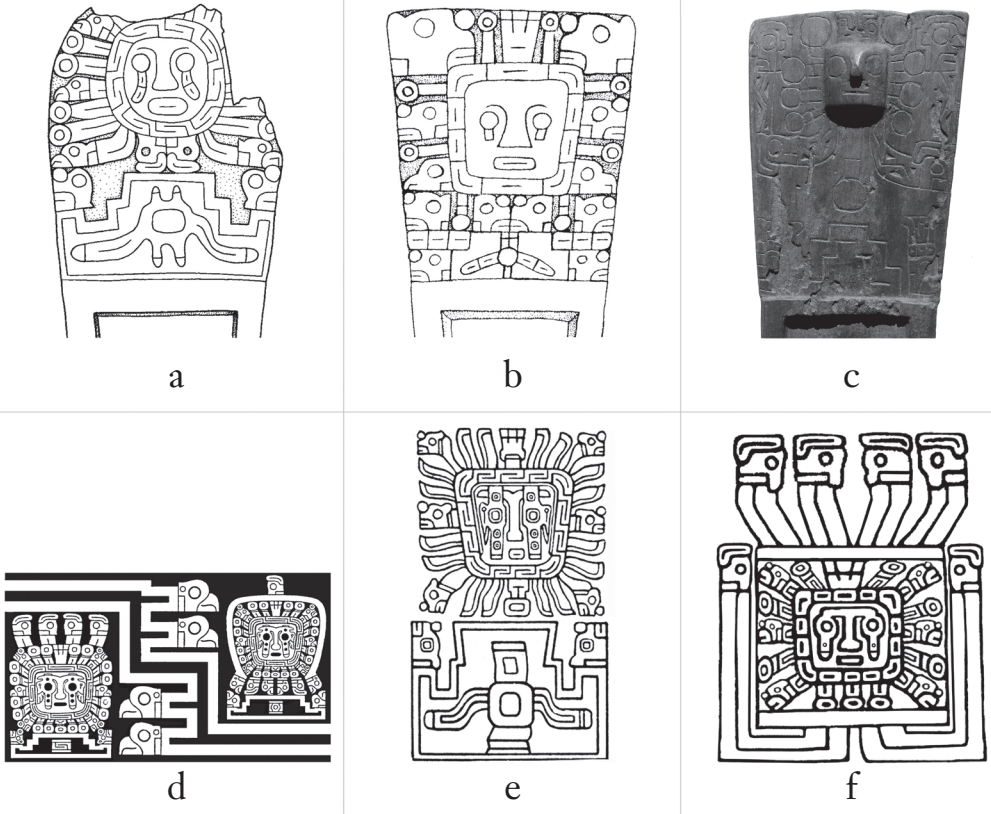


Figure 11.32. Disembodied rayed head. a. Tomb 1994, Quitor 5; b. Tomb 3935, Coyo Oriente; c. Tomb, 1618, Sequitor Alambrado; d. Gate of the Sun, lower fret detail, Tiahuanaco (after Posnansky 1945); e. Bennett stele, upper back detail, Tiahuanaco (after Posnansky 1945); f. Ponce stele, waistband detail, Tiahuanaco. Photo by Constantino M. Torres, drawings by Donna Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

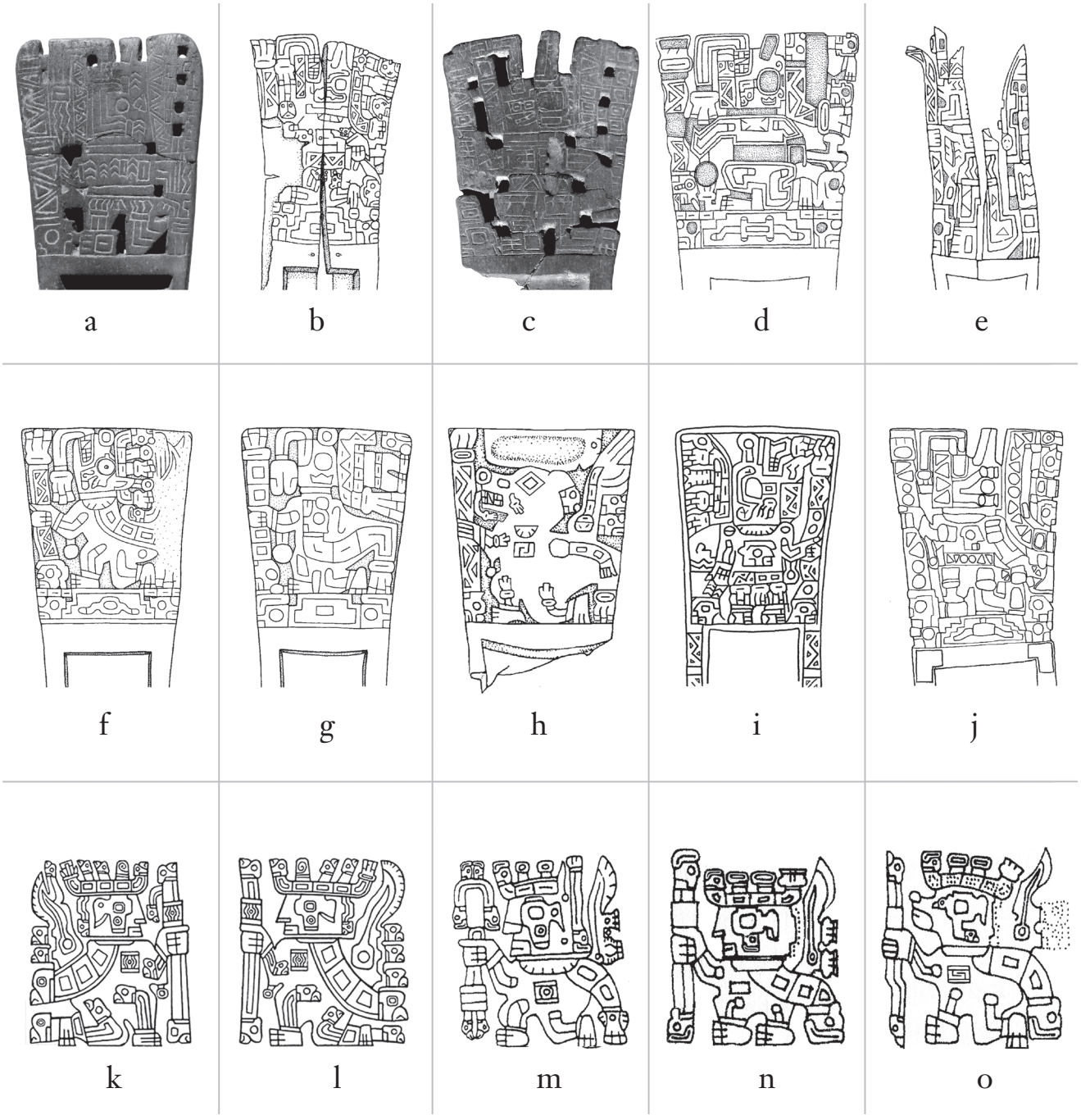


Figure 11.33. Profile personage holding staff. a. tomb 3380, Quitor 5; b. Tomb 3613, Quitor 6; c. Tomb 3223, Quitor 8; d. Tomb 107, Solcor 3; e. Tomb 4229-30, Toconao Oriente; f. Tomb 4141, Coyo Oriente; g. Tomb 4008, Coyo Oriente; h. Tomb 3963, Coyo Oriente, San Pedro de Atacama; i. Nino Korin, Bolivia; j. Pallqa, Amaguaya, Bolivia; k - l. Bennett stele, Tiahuanaco (after Posnansky 1945); m - o. Ponce stele, Tiahuanaco. Photo by Constantino M. Torres, drawings by Donna Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

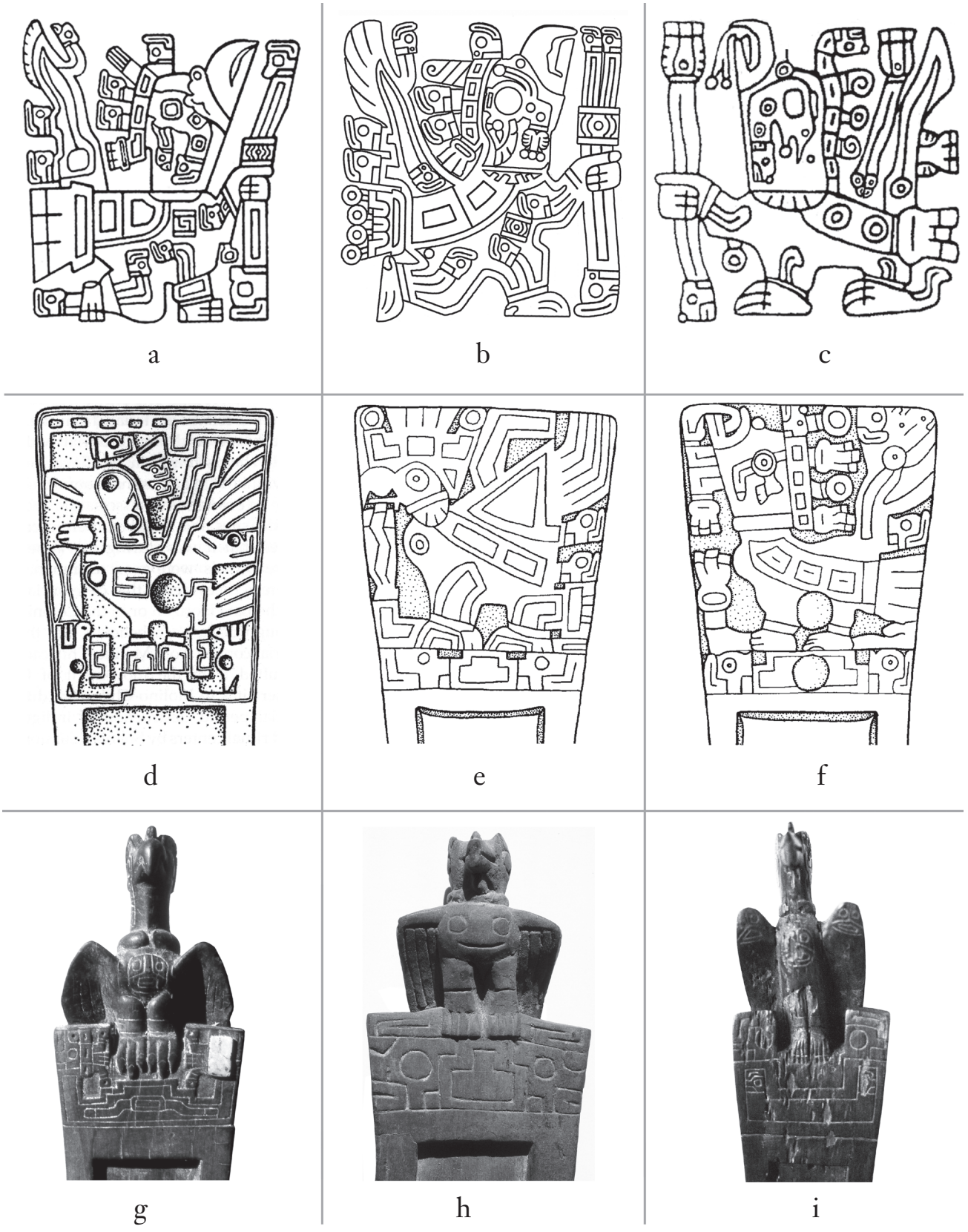


Figure 11.34. Bird-headed personage. a. Bennett stele, Tiahuanaco (after Posnansky 1945); b. Gate of the Sun, Tiahuanaco (after Posnansky 1945); c. Ponce stele, Tiahuanaco; d. Molino-Chilacachi, Dept. of Puno, Peru (de La Vega et al. 2005: Fig.12.6); e. Tomb 2742, Quitor 6; f. Tomb 3944, Coyo Oriente; g. Tomb 5334-41, Coyo Oriente; h. Tomb 3585, Quitor 6; i. unknown provenience, San Pedro de Atacama area. Photos by Constantino M. Torres, drawings by Donna Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

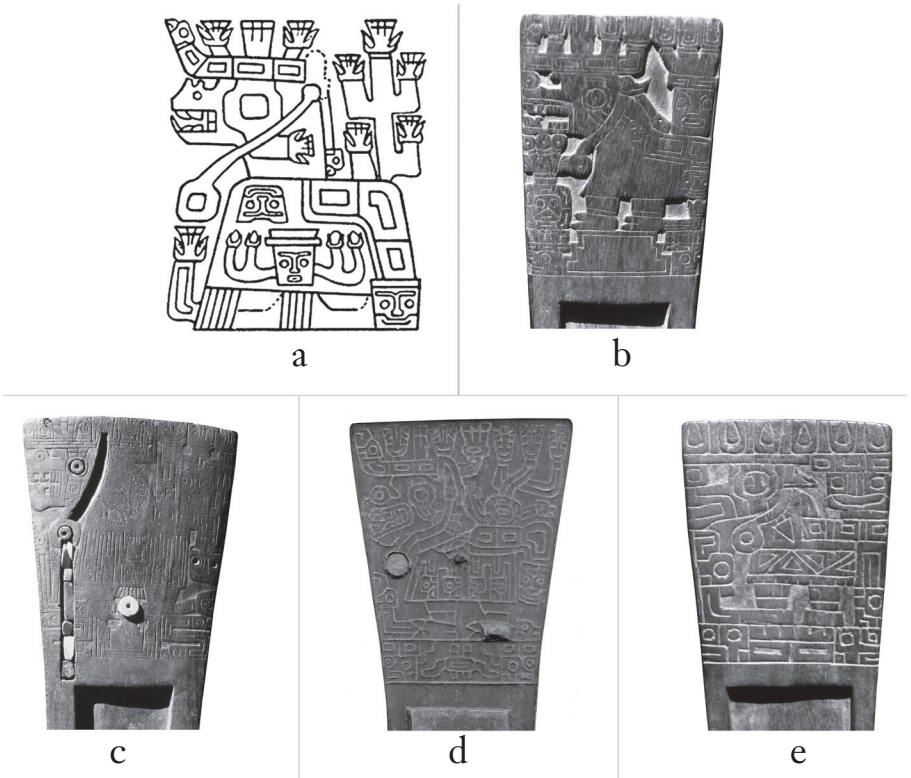


Figure 11.35. Camelid bearing cargo. a. Bennett stele, Tiahuanaco (after Posnansky 1945: Fig. 113a); b. tomb 5, Solcor 3; c. tomb 4049-50, Coyo Oriente; d. tomb 44, Solcor 3; e. tomb 2235, Quitor 5, San Pedro de Atacama. Photos by Constantino M. Torres.

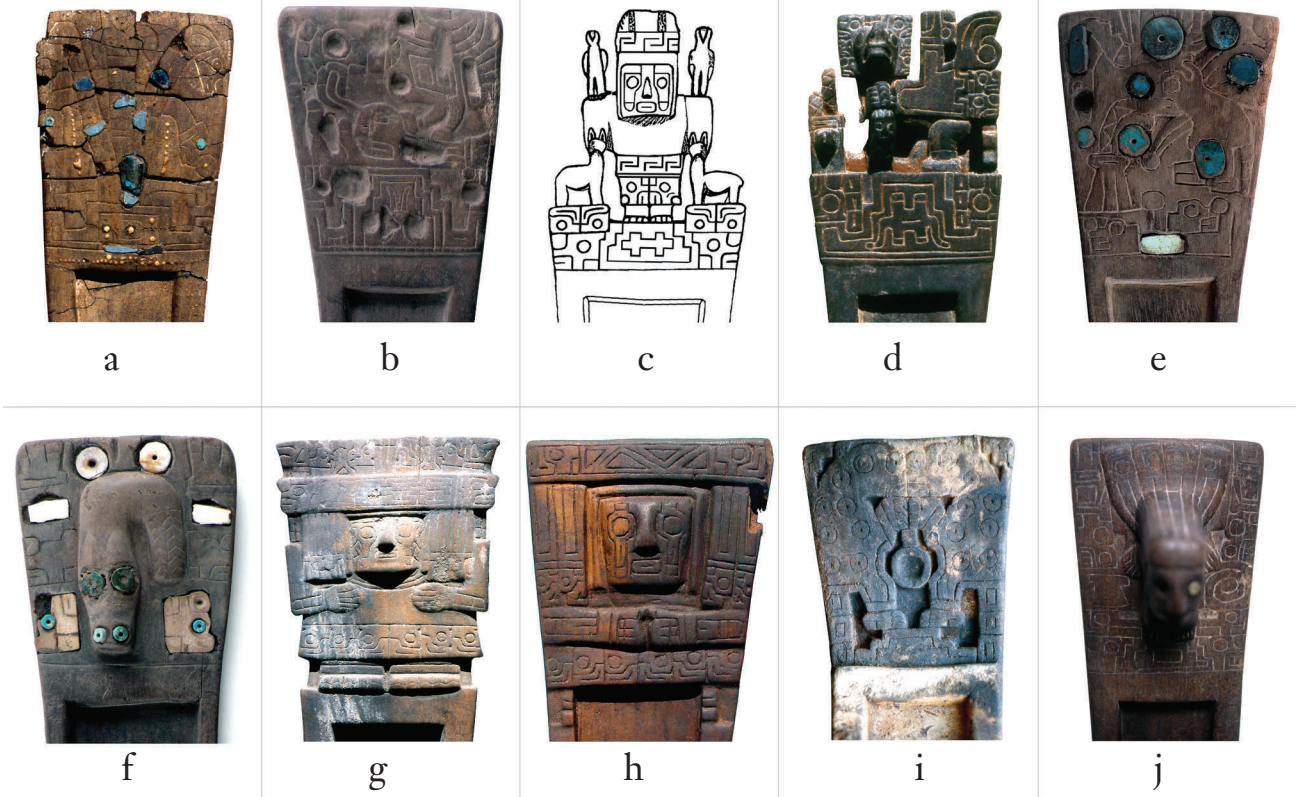


Figure 11.36. Unique and infrequent representations. a. Tomb 4111, Coyo Oriente; b. Tomb 5381, Coyo Oriente (cf. figure 11.10j); c. Tomb 3706, Quitor 2; d. Tomb 2189, Quitor 5; e. Tomb 2748, Quitor 6; f. Tomb 3662, Quitor 6; g. Tomb 99, Solcor 3; h - j. unknown provenience, San Pedro de Atacama area. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas. Photos by Constantino M. Torres, drawing by Donna Torres.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

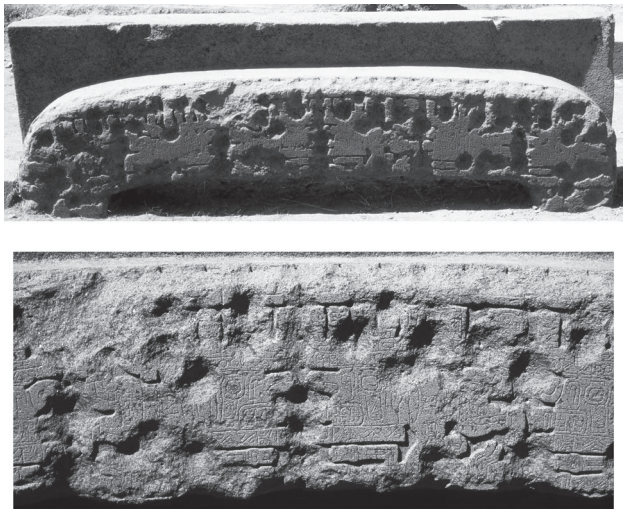


Figure 11.37. Kantatayita lintel and detail, Tiahuanaco. Photo by Constantino M. Torres.

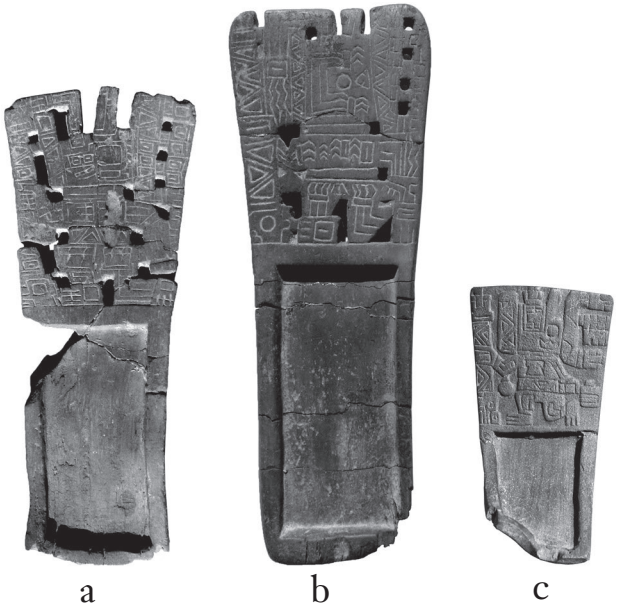


Figure 11.38. Snuff trays with profile genuflect personage. a: Tomb 3223, Quitor 8; b. 3380, Quitor 5; c. Tomb 5444, Quitor 6. Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas. Photos by Constantino M. Torres.

Conclusion

The factors discussed above indicate the possibility that a uniform and direct relationship might not exist between an iconographic representation and its meaning in the diverse places in which it appears. That is, the relationship between form and content was not constant across time and space; disjunction existed between form and meaning (Kubler 1981:21–22; Panofsky 1944:220). The presence of regional variations and of themes limited to a specific region also supports this proposal (Figure 11.36). Adaptability of the iconographic configuration to local or regional conditions could partially explain the coexistence of this type of iconography with local and other foreign artifacts. A good illustration of this situation is seen in numerous burials from San Pedro de Atacama (e.g., Solcor 3, Tombs 6, 107, and 112), where artifacts bearing SAIS icons are associated with objects from northwest Argentina and southern Bolivia, as well as with local ceramics and textiles.

Interaction between visionary plants, particularly in the forms of snuffs and potions, and mythohistorical iconography can be documented at Tiahuanaco as early as the Late Formative (Table 11.2). Snuffing implements dating from this phase have been found at Tiahuanaco and Lukurmata and coincide with the development of complex ritual spaces. According to Janusek (2003:54), "Their presence also correlates with an increase in display of mythical and religious iconography." In San Pedro de Atacama, snuff trays from the sites of Quitor 8 and Toconao Oriente (Figure 11.9e,h) were associated with Rojo Pulido ceramics and can, therefore, be dated ca. AD 100 to 300 (Berenguer et al. 1988:344). Likewise, in Niño Korin, snuff trays (Figure 11.15) were associated with materials dated ca. AD 355 ± 200 and AD 375 ± 100 (Wassén 1972:29). Direct and early association of snuffing paraphernalia with SAIS imagery, in addition to probable *Anadenanthera* and snuffing paraphernalia representations in the stone sculpture, indicates that ecstatic experiences provoked by visionary inhalants and potions contributed significantly to the formation and development of the SAIS.

A cluster of activities that surely included music, movement and dance, repetitive recitals, and manipulation of objects surrounds the use of visionary plants. The importance of the body, the variety of gestures and poses that define the thematic units, and the signs that articulate these ideologies suggest a transmission of information through performance activities. The term "performance" is used here to refer to actions within the contexts of ritual, religious, and political events that, through conventionalized sets of behavior, participate in the transmission of cultural elements. Vranich (Isbell and Vranich 2004:174–175, 181) has proposed that Tiahuanaco was designed, and many buildings constructed, "for feasting as well as hosting theatric rituals." The diversity of attributes, poses, and gestures seems to be part of a narrative, with fragments revealed by surviving objects. It can be suggested that it was in such performances that the interaction between visual representations and ecstatic states must have occurred. It was

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

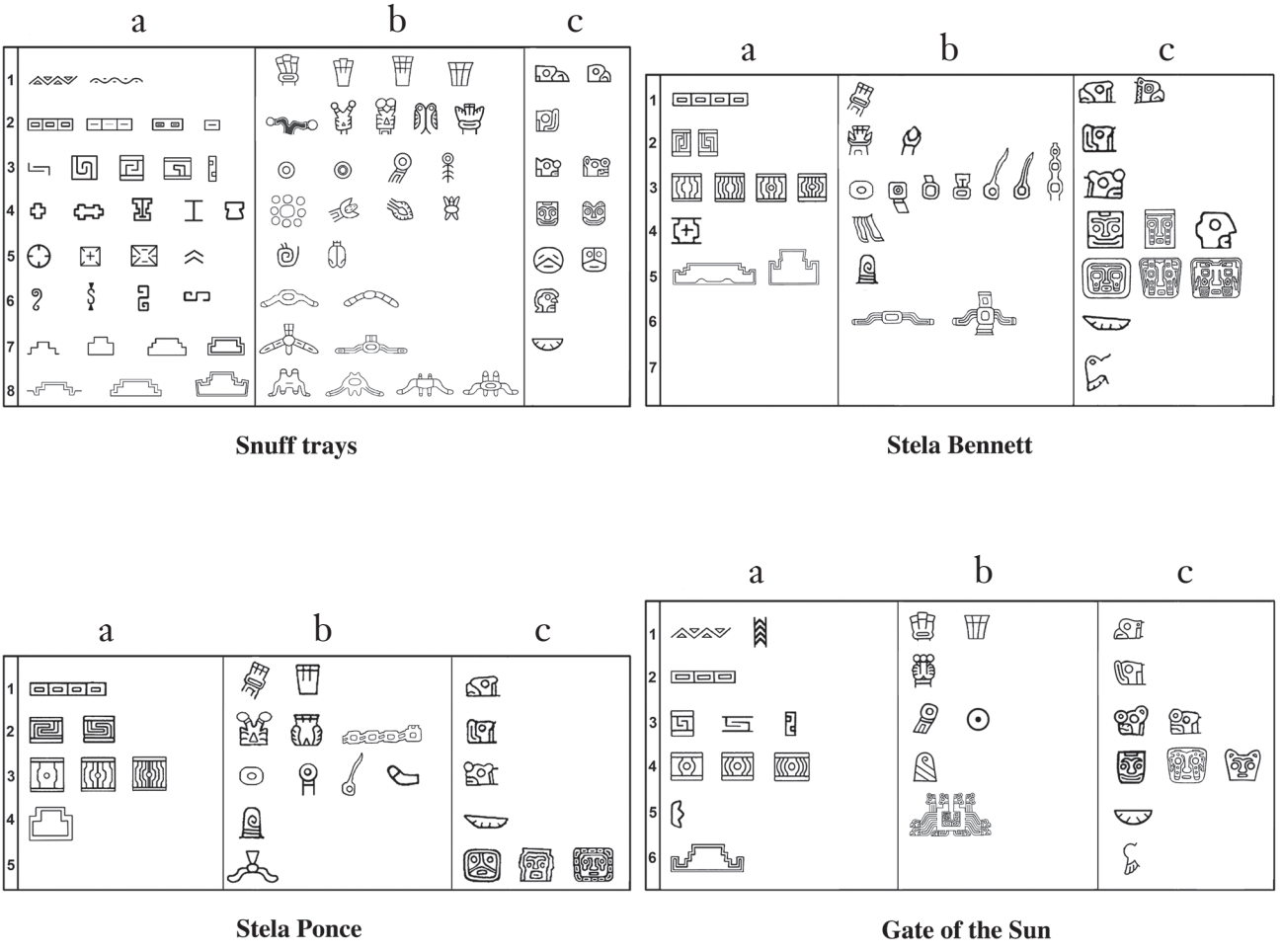


Figure 11.39. Primary signs components of snuff trays, Bennett stele, Ponce stele, and Gate of the Sun. Drawings by Donna Torres.

in this intersection of modalities where the SAIS configuration acquired its most complex level of significance.

In conclusion, I propose that the SAIS was not the reflection of a stable set of rules and meanings. The evidence presented here suggests a conceptual notation system, an attempt to codify, rather than the expression of a constant ideology. This notation system produced a repertoire of signs and themes that included traits with a wide temporal and geographical distribution, as well as others that were specific to a time and, more frequently, a place. The iconographic system can, therefore, be seen as having varying degrees of autonomy from exclusive political entities and, moreover, was not the carrier of a specific and constant ideology. Rather, it adapted to local conditions, and its meaning was variable. The sole presence in a specific area of objects bearing this type of iconography should not be taken as evidence of centralized control from Tiahuanaco or even of direct contact between the two.

Acknowledgments

I thank the following friends and colleagues who provided assistance, advice, and support: José Berenguer, William and Barbara Conklin, María Antonietta Costa, Clark L. Erickson, Agustín Llagostera, Donna Torres, and Margaret Young-Sánchez.

References

Agüero, Carolina, Mauricio Uribe, and José Berenguer
2003 La iconografía Tiwanaku: El caso de la escultura lítica. *Textos Antropológicos* 14(2):47–82.

Alcalde Gonzáles, Javier
1995 Ocupación humana en el período temprano en el valle de Ilo: Chilatilla Bajo, Ilo, Perú. In *Actas del XIII Congreso de Arqueología Chilena*, edited by Hans Niemeyer Fernández, pp. 165–170. Universidad de Antofagasta, Chile.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

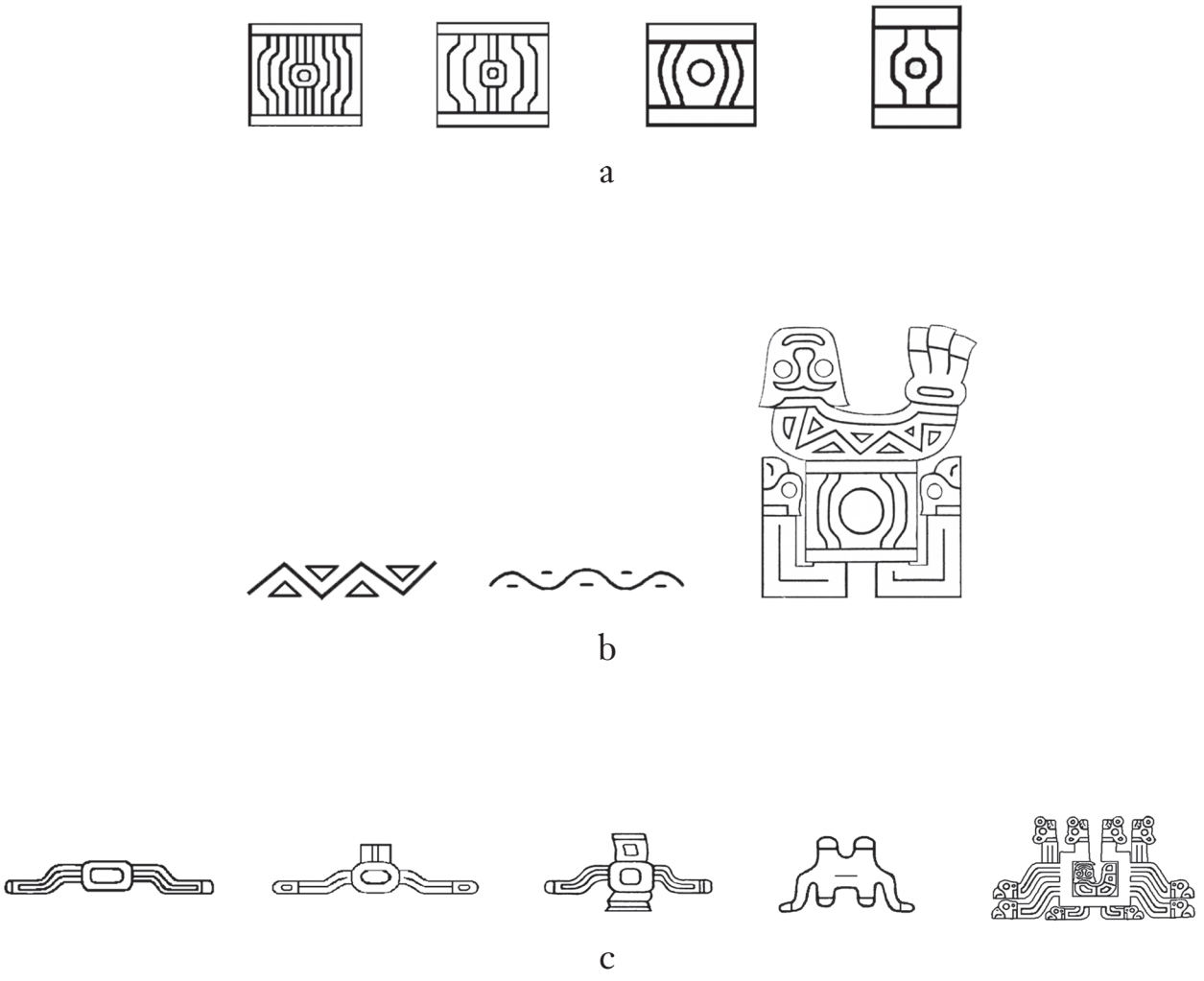


Figure 11.40. Three primary signs illustrating variability of the iconographic system. Drawings by Donna Torres.

Bennett, Wendell C.
1934 Excavations at Tiahuanaco. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 34(3):359–494.

Berenguer, José
2000 Tiwanaku. Señores del Lago Sagrado. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino.
2001 Evidence for Snuffing and Shamanism in Prehispanic Tiwanaku Stone Sculpture. *Eleusis* 5:61–83.

Berenguer, José, Angel Deza, Alvaro Roman, and Agustín Llagostera
1988 Testing a Cultural Sequence for the Atacama Desert. *Current Anthropology* 29(2):341–346 (see also La secuencia de Myriam Tarragó para San Pedro de Atacama: Un test por termoluminiscencia, *Revista Chilena de Antropología* 5:17–54).

Bermann, Marc
1994 *Lukurmata: Household Archaeology in Prehispanic Bolivia*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Boetzkes, Manfred, Wolfgang Gockel, and Manfred Höhl
1986 *Alt-peru. Auf den Spuren der Zivilisation. Herausgegeben anlaßlich der Neuaufstellung der Alt-Peru-Sammlung des Roemer-Museums*. Roemer-Museum, Hildesheim, Germany.

Bondeson, Wolmar E.
1972 Tobacco from a Tiahuanacoid Culture Period. *Etnologiska Studier* 32:177–184.

Califano, Mario
1976 El chamanismo Mataco. *Scripta Ethnologica* 3(3), part 2:7–60.

Chávez, Sergio J.
2004 The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 70–93. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Cobo, Bernabé
1964 [1653] *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. 2 vols. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles Vols. 91 and 92. Ediciones Atlas, Madrid.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Costa, Maria Antonietta
1988 Reconstitución física y cultural de la población tardía del cementerio de Quitor-6 (San Pedro de Atacama). *Estudios Atacameños* 9:99–126.

Couture, Nicole, and Kathryn Sampeck
2003 Putuni: A History of Palace Architecture at Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization, Urban, and Rural Archaeology 2*, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 226–263. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Goldstein, Paul S.
2005 *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of South American Empire*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Isbell, William H., and Alexei Vranich
2004 Experiencing the Cities of Wari and Tiwanaku. In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman, pp. 167–182. Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology. Blackwell, Oxford.

Janusek, John W.
2003 Vessels, Time, and Society: Toward a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization, Urban, and Rural Archaeology 2*, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 30–93. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
2004 *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*. Routledge, New York.

Kolata, Alan L.
1993 *The Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization*. Blackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Knobloch, Patricia J.
2000 Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata: An Interpretation of *Anadenanthera colubrina* Iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(4):387–402.

Kubler, George
1981 Period, Style and Meaning in Ancient American Art. In *Ancient Mesoamerica: Selected Readings*, edited by John Graham, pp. 11–23, Peek Publications, Palo Alto, California (original edition, *New Literary History* 1(2), John Hopkins University Press, 1970).

Latcham, Ricardo E.
1938 *Arqueología de la región Atacameña*. Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, Santiago.

Le Paige, Gustavo
1964 El preceramico en la Cordillera Atacameña y los cementerios del período agroalfarero de San Pedro de Atacama. *Anales de la Universidad del Norte* 3:5–275.
1965 San Pedro de Atacama y su zona. *Anales de la Universidad del Norte* 4:5–29.
1972 Tres cementerios indígenas de San Pedro de Atacama y Toconao. In *Actas del VI Congreso de Arqueología Chilena*, edited by Hans Niemeyer Fernández, pp. 163–187. Boletín de Prehistoria Universidad de Chile, Santiago.

Llagostera, Agustín, Constantino M. Torres, and María A. Costa
1988 El complejo psicotrópico en Solcor-3 (San Pedro de Atacama). *Estudios Atacameños* 9:61–98.

Loza, Carmen Beatriz
2007 *Develando Ordenes y Desatando Sentidos. Un Atado de Remedios de la Cultura Tiwanaku*. Artes Gráficas Sagitario S.R.L., La Paz.

Luna, Luis Eduardo
1986 *Vegetalismo: Shamanism among the Mestizo population of the Peruvian Amazon*. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.

Moseley, Michael E., Donna J. Nash, Patrick Ryan Williams, Susan D. deFrance, Ana Miranda, and Mario Ruales
2005 Burning Down the Brewery: Establishing and Evacuating an Ancient Imperial Colony at Cerro Baúl, Peru. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States* 102(48):17264–17271.

Núñez, Lautaro
1963 Problemas en torno a la tableta de rapé. *Anales de la Universidad del Norte* 2:149–168.

Oblitas Poblete, Enrique
1963 *Cultura Callawaya*. Talleres Gráficos Bolivianos, La Paz.

Ondegardo, Polo de
1916 Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas. In *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú*, edited by H. H. Urteaga. Vol. 3, Imprenta y Libreria Sanmarti, Lima.

Panofsky, Erwin
1944 Renaissance and Renascences. *The Kenyon Review* 6(2):201–236.

Polia, Mario
1996 *"Despierta, remedio, cuenta . . .": Adivinos y Médicos del Ande*. 2 vols. Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
1999 *La cosmovisión religiosa Andina en los documentos inéditos del Archivo Romano de la Compañia de Jesús*. Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Posnansky, Arthur
1945 *Tiahuanacu, the Cradle of American Man*. Vols. 1 and 2 (English/Spanish edition). J. J. Augustin Publisher, New York.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1957 *Tiahuanacu, the Cradle of American Man*. Vols. 3 and 4 (English/Spanish edition). Ministerio de Educación, La Paz, Bolivia.

Reis Altschul, Siri von

1964 A Taxonomic Study of the Genus *Anadenanthera*. *Contributions from the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University* 193:3–65.

Rivera, Mario, Arthur C. Aufderheide, Larry W. Cartmell, Constantino M. Torres, and Odin Langsjoen

2005 Antiquity of Coca-Leaf Chewing in the South Central Andes: A 3000 Year Archaeological Record of Coca-Leaf Chewing from Northern Chile. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 37(4):455–458.

Sharon, Douglas

2000 *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus: Ethnoarchaeological Evidence for San Pedro Use in Northern Peru*. San Diego Museum Papers 37, San Diego Museum of Man, San Diego, California (also in *Eleusis* 5:13–59).

Tarragó, Myriam Noemí

1968 Secuencias culturales de la etapa agroalfarera de San Pedro de Atacama (Chile). *Actas del XXXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* 2:119–145.

Torres, Constantino Manuel

1987 *The Iconography of South American Snuff Trays and Related Paraphernalia*. Etnologiska Studier 37, Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Gothenburg.

2004 Imágenes legibles: la iconografía Tiwanaku como significante. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 9:55–73.

Torres, Constantino Manuel, and David B. Repke

2006 *Anadenanthera*, *Visionary Plant of Ancient South America*. Haworth Press, Binghamton, New York.

Trout, Keeper

2005 *Trout's Notes on San Pedro & Related Trichocereus Species*. Moksha Press, Coconut Grove, Florida.

Uhle, Max

1898 A Snuffing Tube from Tiahuanaco. *Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art* 1(4):159–177.

1912a Arqueología Sudamericana. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* 4:411–425.

1912b Las relaciones prehistóricas entre el Perú y la Argentina. *Actas*, *XVIII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* 1910:509–540.

Wassén, S. Henry

1965 *The Use of Some Specific Kinds of South American Indian Snuffs and Related Paraphernalia*. Etnologiska Studier 28, Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Gothenburg.

1972 A Medicine-Man's Implements and Plants in a Tiahuanacoid Tomb in Highland Bolivia. *Etnologiska Studier* 32:7–114.

Webster, Ann D., and John W. Janusek

2003 Tiwanaku Camelids: Subsistence, Sacrifice, and Social Reproduction. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, *Urban*, *and Rural Archaeology 2*, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 343–362. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret (editor)

2004 *Tiwanaku*, *Ancestors of the Inca*. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Zuidema, R. Tom

1979 El puente del río Apurímac y el origen mítico de la *Villca* (*Anadenanthera colubrina*). *Collectanea Instituti Anthropos* 21:322–324.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 12: Introduction

San Pedro de Atacama, Northern Chile
The Domestic Ceramics of the Late Formative and Middle Period

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 12, Emily Stovel and Michael Deibel address issues relevant to the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS), employing archaeometric technology and ignoring iconography. Asking whether popular thinking about Tiwanaku's transformational impact on ancient life in San Pedro de Atacama and the neighboring oases of northern Chile can be confirmed, they examine new ceramic information from residential settlements to test traditional interpretations that were based exclusively on mortuary remains.

SAIS iconography, Tiwanaku-style artifacts, and imported ceramics from several distant cultures appear in graves at San Pedro de Atacama. Interpretations of these goods have changed with increasing knowledge of the archaeological contexts, as well as with shifts in anthropological theory. At one time, it was thought that Tiwanaku-style objects occurred in the graves of Tiwanaku colonists—probably representatives of the expansive Tiwanaku empire. Subsequently, these graves were reconceptualized as colonists or traders of diverse ethnic enclaves who caravanned the Atacama transporting specialized goods, more in keeping with John Murra's (1972) model of vertical ecological complementarity. In the current era of practice and agency, exotic mortuary objects are more frequently understood as purveyors of prestige employed by local leaders seeking to become lords. Such objects were displayed and perhaps gifted or exchanged in new contexts such as feasts and spectacles to enhance prestige and legitimize inequality and power by promoting new kinds of authority, wealth, and control. These processes were promoted in an increasingly complex social environment accentuated by complex interactions with distant interlocutors, especially the center of power and social hierarchy at Tiahuanaco. Of course, to confirm this currently popular interpretive model, archaeologists expect to find a similar diversity of goods that eventually ended up in graves—often showing signs of prolonged use—in domestic contexts. Increasing social inequality and complexity in San Pedro should be associated with increasing differentiation in the material objects of quotidian life, as new social activities were added to lived experience. Furthermore, and at last, data from ancient residential settlements in San Pedro de Atacama and neighboring locations are becoming available, although they are from surface collections, not excavations of actual residences.

Stovel and Deibel ask whether pottery from the surface of a Middle Period hamlet or village confirms social processes of increasing complexity inferred from mortuary finds. Was a special ceramic, Negro Pulido, emblemic and being manufactured by craft specialists, so the vessels could be displayed about the community in appropriate contexts? Were workshops producing distinctive styles of pottery for redistribution, perhaps among bounded identities in multiethnic settlements?

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Can special exotic goods be distinguished that would-be elites employed to promote themselves?

The approach selected by Stovel and Deibel is not stylistic but chemical, employing the new technology of portable X-ray fluorescence (XRF). First, the investigators found that ceramic typologies based on San Pedro mortuary pottery do not adequately express the greater variation that characterizes residential contexts. Furthermore, portable XRF machines are not as precise as stationary equipment, and the portable tool is still in something of a trial phase. Consequently, their laboratory protocol had to be carefully thought out to provide results that appear significant and valid, even if not yet conclusive.

Importantly, this preliminary chemical analysis of residential pottery from San Pedro implies little change in the production or materiality of ceramics from the Late Formative through the Middle Period, when Tiwanaku influences became most prominent. There appears to have been little or no specialization in manufacture and nothing that would identify workshops employing distinctive paste, temper, or other formulas that would result in distinctive chemical signatures. Only the chemical properties of external surfaces revealed significant diversity, perhaps due to variation in slips.

Of course, this research is very important for the new techniques and protocols it tests for laboratory analyses and new hypotheses it suggests for future examination. But on a preliminary basis, Stovel and Deibel do argue that their results cast doubt upon currently popular arguments about the way Tiwanaku, SAIS, and other exotic materials were employed in ancient San Pedro de Atacama. Social complexity remained low, and cultural change was much less than formerly imagined as the Late Formative developed into the Middle Period. Tiwanaku influence on San Pedro society has been overestimated.

If Negro Pulido pottery was emblemic, its use seems limited to burial ritual and grave furnishings. Furthermore, this seems to be the case for other special objects associated with SAIS and Tiwanaku as well. There is little to indicate their participation in daily life, promoting social differentiation, in comparison with their presence in mortuary contexts. Of course, mortuary activity was not separate from daily life, and issues of descent are often implicated in social inequality, but the information presented by Stovel and Deibel makes one think that perhaps we must consider that at least some attraction of special objects and images of the SAIS, and its Tiwanaku variety, were more about cosmology, afterlife, and health—and as suggested by Eeckhout (Chapter 18, this volume)—than about inequality, power, and changing social contexts.

We may look forward to more application of archaeometric technologies employing portable equipment. And prehistorians may also anticipate new information about San Pedro de Atacama and its southern Andean neighbors as residential areas are finally investigated by archaeologists. Rounding out information about the past by supplementing mortuary studies with data from settlement contexts will surely produce important new knowledge of northern Chilean prehistory, which is so greatly implicated in the history and development of the SAIS.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

Reference

Murra, John V.
1972 El 'Control Vertical' de un Máximo de Pisos Ecológicos en la Economía de las Sociedades Andinas. In *Iñigo Ortiz de Zuñiga, Visita de la Provincia de Leon de Huanuco en 1562*, edited by J. V. Murra, pp. 429–476. Universidad Hermillio Valdizan, Huanuco.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 12

San Pedro de Atacama, Northern Chile
The Domestic Ceramics of the Late Formative and Middle Period

Emily M. Stovel and Michael A. Deibel

Middle Period (ca. AD 500–950) graves in San Pedro de Atacama, northern Chile (Figure 12.1), contain a small number of ceramic vessels, textiles (Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004), and snuff paraphernalia (Llagostera 2006; Torres 1985, 1986) with Tiwanaku iconography, sometimes related to themes in the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS). It has been argued that exotic, Tiwanaku-related imagery was associated with power and that its display promoted changes in San Pedro de Atacama society, where their display bolstered local aspirations for authority and power (Berenguer 1998; Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Bravo and Llagostera 1986; Llagostera et al. 1988). Changes in head-shaping practices (Torres-Rouff 2002, 2008) and the production of a potentially emblemic local ceramic fineware, Negro Pulido (Stovel 2005), have been taken as support for the interpretation. Fuller understanding of the timing and nature of the cultural changes is, however, retarded by our lack of information about domestic contexts.

Study of prehistoric houses in San Pedro de Atacama began recently (Adán and Urbina 2007; Agüero 2005; Llagostera and Costa 1999; Llagostera et al. 1984), providing at least some information about this long unknown domain. However, most of the aforementioned papers are regional surveys of residential sites, employing long-accepted ceramic classifications based on mortuary goods. The inadequacy of using ceramic typologies based on grave furnishings is implied by hints of higher variability in domestic ceramic remains (Sinclaire et al. 1997; Stovel 1997). In short, Late Formative and Middle Period fineware ceramic styles shared by ancient inhabitants of San Pedro and the upper río Salado appear more variable in color and surface finish, and they entirely lack the imported vessels found in area graves (Stovel 2008; Tarragó 1989; Uribe and Carrasco 1999). This variability would seem to undermine the emblemic role of Negro Pulido pottery, as the absence of Tiwanaku-related iconography in San Pedro houses questions the contribution of the exotic iconography to the production of new power roles. While it would appear that from the perspective of graves, Tiwanaku iconography was an important part of material expression, it was scarce or absent from houses. What does such a difference in context mean for understanding life in Middle Period San Pedro de Atacama?

The present chapter contributes to this discussion with a chemical characterization of domestic ceramics, using a portable instrument to conduct X-ray fluorescent analysis on a diachronic sample of local styles. It demonstrates that local production practices changed little through the Late Formative and Middle Periods. The lack of Tiwanaku material in residential middens and a coeval lack of change in household ceramic production suggest that our interpretation of the impact

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

of Tiwanaku political and economic influence has been exaggerated. Local household remains reflect similar results in the neighboring upper río Salado (Sinclaire 2004), which no longer seems anomalous for its lack of Tiwanaku household material. Perhaps the changes we see during the Middle Period are restricted to ritual contexts and are thus idealized and uncharacteristic of daily life.

San Pedro de Atacama: Ceramics and Houses

San Pedro de Atacama is one of Chile's premier archaeological areas. It is located at the foothills of the Andes Mountains on the eastern edge of the Atacama Desert and offers an important series of oases in this extreme desert that are nourished by the San Pedro and Vilama Rivers. Over the past 10,000 years, these oases have been loci of human settlement (Grosjean and Núñez 1994; Grosjean et al. 1997; Núñez et al. 2002), where arid conditions have preserved an astonishing range of organic remains. Consequently, San Pedro is a center of national and international archaeological research.

Ceramic analysis in San Pedro has focused on descriptive classification and definition of local ceramic traditions (e.g., Uribe and Ayala 2004) as well as the study of long-distance exchange (Stovel 2008; Tarragó 1984, 1989; Uribe 2002). The San Pedro ceramic sequence begins with the Tilocalar phase (Agüero 2005; Núñez 2005; Núñez et al. 2006; Uribe 2006) at the end of the Archaic Period (ca. 1300 BC). Ceramics appeared in conjunction with increasing sedentism that involved the movement of people from surrounding high valleys suitable for camelid pastoralism into the lower oases more suitable for the exploration of tree products and the adoption of agricultural practices. Popular and well-recognized local ceramic types include red and the black burnished wares, Rojo Pulido and Negro Pulido. Negro Pulido pottery in particular is famous for anthropomorphic forms that have long been recognized as burial ceramics (Tarragó 1989), and it has been suggested that Rojo Pulido may also have been primarily mortuary in function (Uribe 2006). These ceramic forms characterize the Late Formative and Middle Periods of San Pedro prehistory (or predominantly the Middle Period; Stovel 2012), time periods when local inhabitants were adopting elements of the SAIS (Isbell 2008; Isbell and Knobloch 2006), especially in wooden tablets and textiles (see Chapter 11, this volume). To a lesser degree, imported ceramics were also making their appearance (Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004). But community artisans did not incorporate SAIS elements into local ceramic decoration, which remained discrete and distinctive throughout the Middle Period.

Late Formative and Middle Period mortuary finewares are highly standardized in their styles and metric dimensions (Stovel 2005). This points to clearly recognized ideas about what burial ceramics should look like that, in turn, may imply specialists dedicated to producing vessels of the right shapes and dimensions. To date, however, there is no evidence of large-scale ceramic production locations in the area (Agüero 2005; Llagostera and Costa 1999), suggesting that manufacturing was dispersed, occurring at the household level. Although houses have seldom been the subject of area excavations (but see Llagostera et al. 1984) and direct evidence of household production is lacking, it still seems likely that high ceramic standardization in tombs reflects the use of this pottery as an emblemic symbol in public displays such as burial rituals (Stovel 2005).

To better understand changes during the Middle Period, the present study sought a more comprehensive analysis of ceramic production by including descriptions of pottery found in domestic contexts. Although forms similar to the fine black polished mortuary types appear in household contexts, they lack the same attention to the black finish (Sinclaire et al. 1997; Uribe 2006) and are accompanied by a range of utilitarian (i.e., unburnished) forms (very occasionally found in tombs). Evaluating chemical element differences among the various household types might reveal production differences, such as paste recipes characteristic of distinct potters or workshops, as well as how these may have changed through time. Ceramic constituents were accessed using portable X-ray technology that, although criticized for its lack of precision and reliability (Craig et al. 2007; Shackley 2010a, 2010b), permits the quick assessment of a large number of sherds and of patterns that can be tested later with more rigorous methods. In this sense, it serves as a hypothesis-building tool.

Portable X-Ray Fluorescence and Chilean Archaeometry

Comparative research has shown that portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF) analysis does provide similar results to those of stationary instruments (e.g., the characterization and differentiation of ceramic groups) but not with the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

same precision in the measurement of each element (Craig et al. 2007; Nazaroff et al. 2010). This is particularly true in ceramic analysis, where the sample is itself a heterogeneous matrix unlike obsidian, where pXRF has been especially successful (Burley et al. 2011; Craig et al. 2007, 2010; Nazaroff et al. 2010; Phillips and Speakman 2009; Sheppard et al. 2010, 2011). pXRF ceramic analyses also employ supportive applications such as petrography (Burley and Dickinson 2010). Since there is still little known about the reliability of data obtained through portable methods (Shackley 2010a, 2010b), we sought to test the utility of this new technology with a preliminary pilot project.

Part of the problem with pXRF analysis lies beyond instrumentation and with the data themselves. Alden and colleagues (2006) examined Inca period ceramics from sites in San Pedro de Atacama and neighboring Upper Loa subregions using neutron activation analysis and demonstrated that ceramic production and consumption patterns are complex, including the differential production and consumption of ceramic forms (i.e., jars vs. bowls). Within one stylistic unit, two local groups were identified (high vs. low Cr) and a third possible nonlocal type (low Na, probably from northwestern Argentina). High and low Cr are present in both subregions, but low Cr sherds are much more frequent than those with high Cr at San Pedro sites (where the low Cr clay sources were also located). The Upper Loa site, Turi, showed more diversity in sherd chemical profiles. Vessel form and chemical signature covaried (i.e., high Cr bowls and low Cr jars), suggesting different recipes or clay sources for different vessel forms, a product perhaps of potters using a different temper for bowls. The authors conjecture that the presence of high Cr vessels in San Pedro sites may reveal that they were imported from the Upper Loa.

The problem this work presents for the present study is that Cr is at the upper limit of detection for the pXRF equipment we employed (Innov-X), requiring its removal from the analysis, and Na is not detectable at all. It was thus impossible for us to comment on the results of Alden and his colleagues. This previous study, however, does demonstrate the complexity of archaeometric analyses, showing that there are different kinds of chemically distinct sources in different, connected areas. Furthermore, chemical profiles do not match one to one with specific locations. Whereas different chemical groups were identified (Alden et al. 2006), these did not map clearly onto geographic location, and it was difficult for the authors to demonstrate that one type belonged to one area except in very general tendencies. Similar results arose in our own analysis.

In the light of these caveats, we selected a sample of domestic ceramics from a surface collection of the site of Coyo Aldea (ca. AD 660–995; Núñez 2005) to assess the following questions:

1. What are the chemical characteristics of local residential ceramics?
2. What are the differences among distinct ceramic types? Can these be linked to chronological changes or different recipes for different styles?
3. Are anomalous fragments evident in the sample? Can they be identified as nonlocal ceramics? That is, do anomalous chemical results covary with unusual stylistic differences?
4. How effective is pXRF for answering these research questions? What recommendations can we garner from our work to guide similar research in the future?

Methods

Sample Selection

A sample of local ceramic fragments was drawn from a surface collection carried out at the Late Formative/Middle Period site of Coyo Aldea. This surface collection produced over 400 bags of material with their numbers corresponding to cardinal points on a transect grid (i.e., Bag 382, N660E230). Ceramic fragments were selected from bags chosen according to numbers randomized within Excel and yet stratified to ensure the inclusion of all relevant local types. Coyo Aldea represents the end moment of the establishment of complex village sites after the movement of populations from surrounding valleys into the oasis and the adoption of more intensive agricultural economies (supported by pastoral activities maintained in the same valleys; Agüero 2005; Núñez 2005). This represents the period during which a distinct material tradition developed in the oasis, in conjunction with growing regional interaction, later transformed with the growing regional pressures associated with the rise of Tiwanaku after AD 500. Coyo Aldea, in fact, spans this time period as local communities shifted in response to the economic and political changes brought by Tiwanaku (Stovel 2005).

In total, 122 ceramic sherds over 5 cm^2 were analyzed for this study, including the following wares: fine smoothed (n = 3), incised (n = 10), potential nonlocal (n = 20), polished (n = 58), and utilitarian (n = 31). The

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 12.1. Río Loa and San Pedro de Atacama subregions.

only types with known dates are incised (AD 500–800) and polished (BC 300 to AD 700). Further division of polished wares (e.g., into the well-known burial types Rojo and Negro Pulido and residential types Gris and Café Pulido; Sinclaire et al. 1997; Tarragó 1989; Uribe 2006) was not exact and some may be later than previously through (Stovel 2012). Fine smoothed fragments include thin-walled utilitarian or unburnished vessels that have not been formally studied or distinguished as a type. Utilitarian vessels tend to be thick walled and roughly smoothed on the exterior. There may be a range of time periods represented here as some show early rim forms (see Ayala 2001; Uribe and Ayala 2004; Uribe et al. 2007). The nonlocal category includes fragments with unusual surface treatment or paste characteristics.

Analytical Procedure

Portable X-ray fluorescence analysis was conducted using an Innov-X 6500 operating in soil analysis mode. In this mode, both normal mode (for elements of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

greater atomic number than Fe) and light element analysis protocol mode (for elements lighter than Fe) were used with a measurement time of two minutes each. Each series of readings was checked for precision by shooting a standard metal sample in the morning and afternoon to control for instrument drift. Thirty-five sherds had readings taken on the interior and exterior surfaces. A smaller subset also had a reading taken on the broken edge or on surfaces that had been cleaned of sediments with distilled water. These served to evaluate the variation among values obtained for one sherd and allowed for the distinction between readings linked to surface treatment (i.e., slips) and exposed paste. Variation among these readings can be due to variation in the instrument's reliability and/or differences in the treatment of sherd surfaces through the application of pigments or slips. The majority of elements show a coefficient of variation[1] of less than 30 percent (see Hall 2001, 2011). All statistical analyses were performed using Statistica 7 (StatSoft, Inc.).

Statistical analysis of the results began with calculating descriptive statistics of all variables to determine (a) the normality of their distribution, (b) errors in the elemental data (i.e., very high error readings or large numbers of readings below the limits of detection), and (c) the presence of outlier readings. Outliers were identified using univariate, bivariate, and multivariate plots (following Baxter 1999). More complex analyses to characterize local ceramic elemental variation employed multivariate techniques (principal components analysis [PCA] and cluster analysis) of a $\log_{10}$ data set with a reduced number of variables. An effort was made to identify possible groups in the data along stylistic lines, including surface treatment, wall thickness, and color (which together constitute the attributes used to define local types).

Results

Identifying Outliers

Although identifying outliers, or anomalous readings, is always an important step in the initial assessment of complex data, it is not always important to remove them, especially if one is seeking to explore the full range of variation within a data set. In the present case, interestingly, none of the outlier readings characterized entire sherds (see Table 12.1). All of these outlier readings were confirmed by a PCA of $\log_{10}$ data where 95 percent confidence ellipses were plotted on graphs of paired factors 1 to 8 (all with eigenvalues over 1, following Alden et al. 2006), and five more were suggested (CyA06, 18, 19, 72, and 84). Most outlying readings occur on exterior surfaces. Only in one case are there outlying readings for more than one surface of a sherd (although not all sherds were assayed multiple times), and it did not display outlier values for a reading taken on its exposed paste. This intrasherd variation may be the product of the natural variation within ceramic matrices. The high percentage of exterior outlier readings, however, suggests that this reflects variation in surface treatments, such as an unexpected range of pigments or slips. Because we could not determine the source of these anomalous readings, all readings for all sherds with any outlier value were removed from statistical analyses to help us understand variation with a core of "typical values" for our sample.

Characterizing Residential Ceramics

Statistical analysis of the $\log_{10}$ data set, excluding outlier values, involved PCA and a single-linkage, Euclidean distance cluster analysis. This work sought to identify groups in the data and their coincidence with archaeologically meaningful stylistic categories. This coincidence would be seen as confirming different

Table 12.1. Potential outliers revealed by univariate graphing of chemical data

Fragment	Reading Surface	Style Category	Element
CyA051	Exterior	Polished	As
CyA051	Interior	Polished	As
CyA068	Exterior	Nonlocal	Fe
CyA074	Exterior	Nonlocal	Ca
CyA076	Interior	Nonlocal	Pb

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

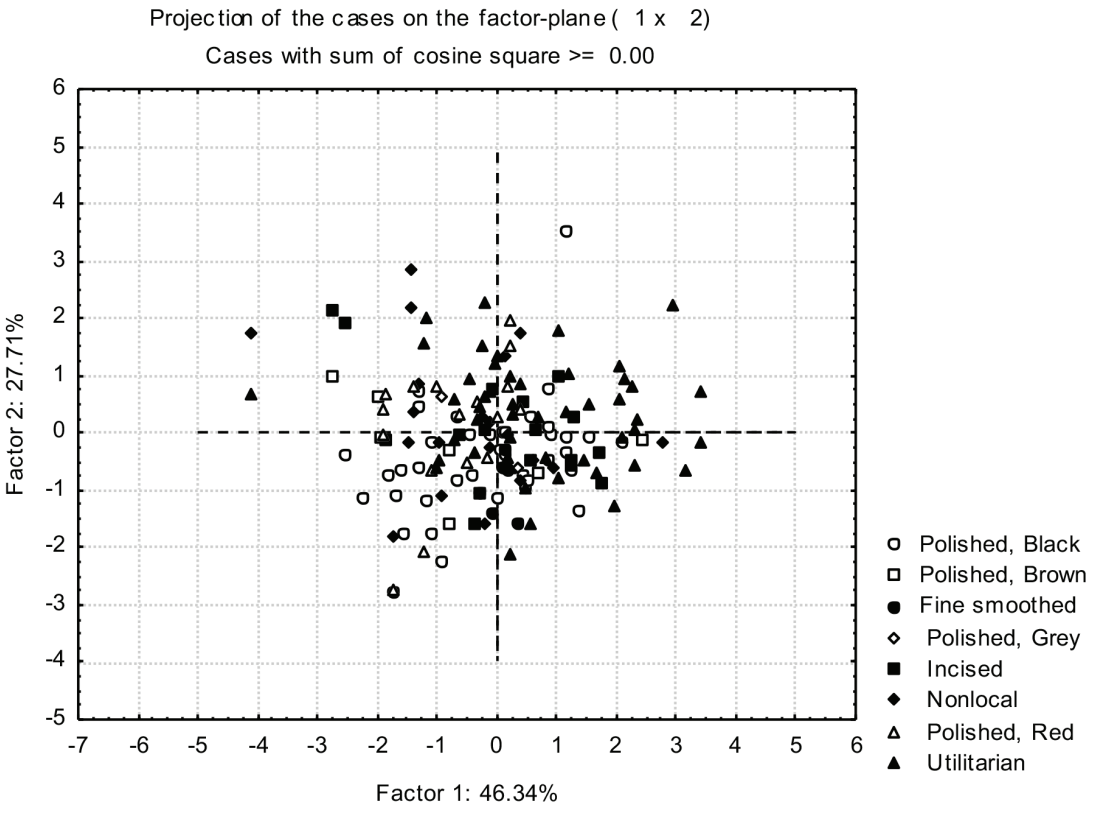


Figure 12.2. PCA graph of factors 1 and 2 for values of Ba, Fe, Zr, and MN (log[10]) without outliers, all categories.

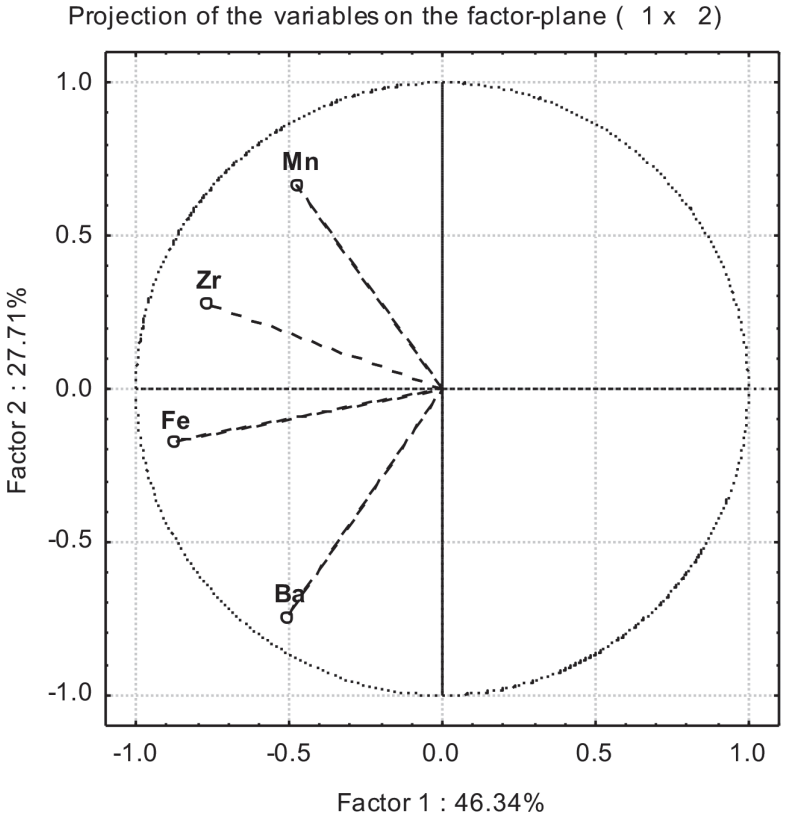


Figure 12.3. Factor loadings for variables Ba, Mn, Zr, and Fe (log[10]) without outlier values.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

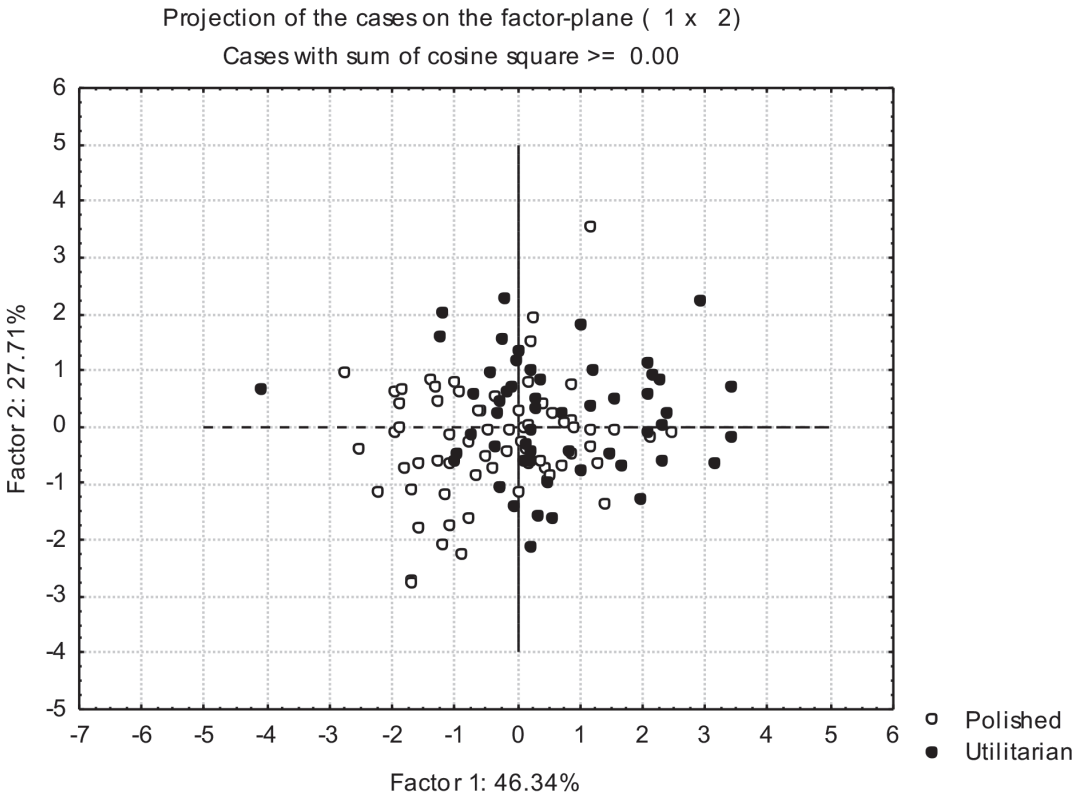


Figure 12.4. PCA graph of factors 1 and 2 for values of Bam Fe, Zr, and MN (log[10]) without outliers, all polished and utilitarian.

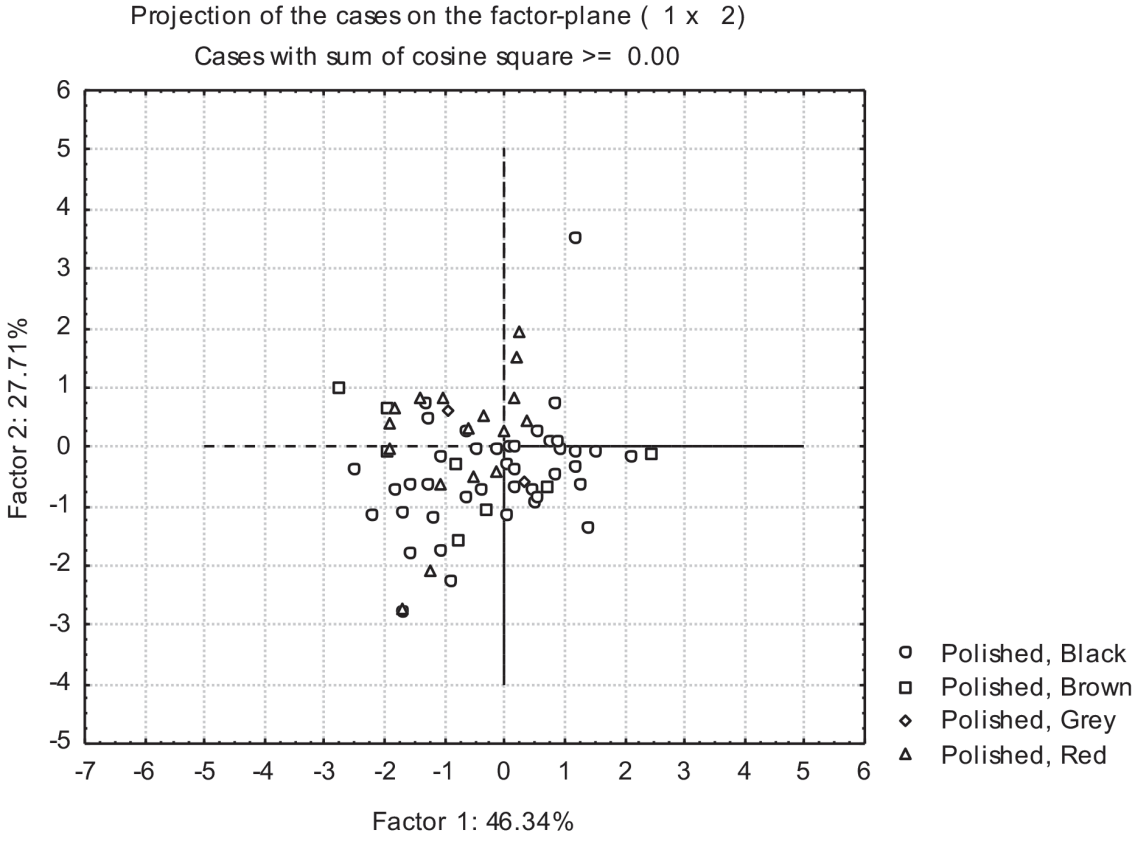


Figure 12.5. PCA graph of factors 1 and 2 for values of Bam Fe, Zr, and MN (log[10]) without outliers, all polished categories.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

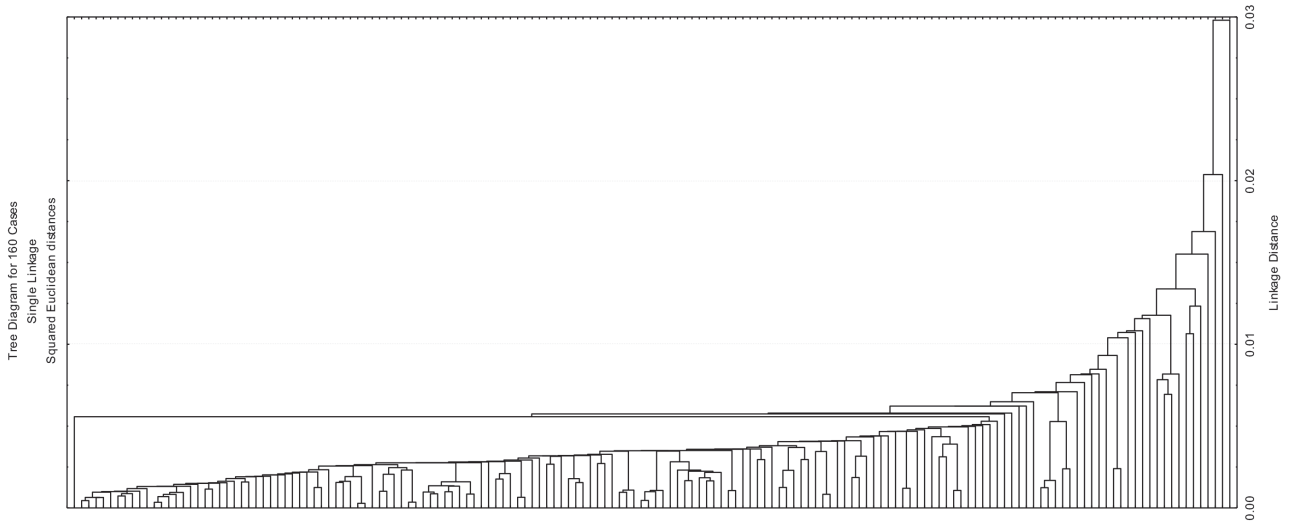


Figure 12.6. Cluster analysis, log(10) data, single linkage, squared Euclidean distance.

manufacturing practices for different styles, possibly, through time.

A consideration of Figure 12.2, a PCA of $\log_{10}$ transformed data for Ba, Fa, Zr, and Mn (transformed to diminish the impact of very high Fe), demonstrates that chemical values for all ceramic types overlap substantially. All local wares share very similar chemical values, except for a slight separation of polished and utilitarian categories according to the presence or absence of these four elements (see Figures 12.3 and 12.4). The nonlocal ceramic category, defined by unusual stylistic attributes, is not characterized by fragments with a significantly different chemical profile. Finally, no chemical differences are clear among polished types (Figure 12.5), suggesting their differences are the product of controlling firing conditions, not differences in clay recipes, and refuting the hypothesis of chronological differences from the Late Formative to the Middle Period. The only suggestion of patterning in the data is some difference between polished and utilitarian sherds, perhaps due to the use of more temper for larger vessels.

A single-linkage, squared Euclidean distance cluster analysis (Figure 12.6) does not provide clarity with respect to stylistic groupings. All ware types are distributed evenly throughout the clusters. The lack of structure in the data produces a wide range of different groupings, confirming the internal homogeneity of the sample. This is not to say there are not unexpected emic categories that we do not understand yet, but the data are not reflecting clear differences among polished, unpolished, and incised wares indicative of different production practices for these styles.

Conclusions

Although preliminary, this chapter uses pXRF technology to demonstrate the homogeneity of household pastes across styles and time with respect to their chemistry in San Pedro residential contexts during the Middle Period. It also confirms an unexpected heterogeneity of surface treatments in residential ceramic production compared with marked color homogeneity in the same vessel types found in burial, foreshadowed by previous work in the upper río Salado (Sinclaire et al. 1997). In other words, the homogeneity in chemical attributes is belied by surface treatment variation in household ceramics, suggesting that color consistency was more important in burial contexts and that there was little change in local ceramic practices through the Late Formative to the Middle Period. Household contexts show little to no evidence of explicitly nonlocal ceramic material in manifest contrast to the regular inclusion of low numbers of nonlocal vessels in contemporaneous graves (Stovel 2008). The absence of nonlocal material from houses, combined with the presence of curation practices on nonlocal vessels in graves (i.e., smoothed broken edges and handles), suggests that nonlocal ceramic objects were rehabilitated for special disposal in graves, or at least reserved for ritual contexts, and were perhaps more difficult to acquire than previously thought.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Of interest is the lack of difference among polished wares. There is clearly higher variation in surface color in household finewares, and when broken, these different sherds may appear to belong to different styles. Their chemical similarity suggests they could have come from the same vessels or are not the result of different production practices. Even so, the pXRF results identified some possible differences between utilitarian and polished fragments that warrant further study.

The lack of chemical differences in production suggests raw material exploitation in local domestic ceramic production did not vary to the same degree that surface treatments did. We may be facing an unexpectedly higher use of slips and pigments on vessel exterior surfaces, which warrants further analysis. Additional pXRF analysis was carried out in 2011 to compare the exterior surfaces of burial and household ceramics and published in 2013 (Stovel et al. 2013). The exploratory work presented here points to vibrant ceramic production practices in San Pedro houses that were not disrupted by the consumption of Tiwanaku-related objects and possible interaction (direct or indirect) with that polity during the Middle Period. It is likely that our interpretations of burial data has exaggerated our understanding of the impact of Tiwanaku in local community relations, or at least our picture of this time period should be reconceptualized on the basis of information from residential contexts that better represent daily life. More research in village sites will further clarify social dynamics during the Middle Period in San Pedro and the ways in which the Tiwanaku and the greater SAIS affected different aspects of life in various communities.

Notes

1 Coefficients of variation express the mean of a data set as a percentage of the standard deviation. Also called the relative standard deviation, it is used in archaeology to compare variability within and between data sets with respect to production standards or organization (Blackman et al. 1993; Costin and Hagstrum 1995) or precision in data measurement (Humphris et al. 2009; Rivals et al. 2009).

References

Adán, L., and S. Urbina
2007 Arquitectura formativa en San Pedro de Atacama. *Estudios Atacameños* 34:7–30.

Agüero, C.
2005 Aproximación al asentamiento humano temprano en los oasis de San Pedro de Atacama. *Estudios Atacameños* 30:29–60.

Alden, J. R., L. Minc, and T. F. Lynch
2006 Identifying the Sources of Inka Period Ceramics from Northern Chile: Results of a Neutron Activation Study. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33:575–594.

Ayala, P.
2001 Las sociedades formativas del altiplano circumtiticaca y meridional y su relación con el norte grande de Chile. *Estudios Atacameños* 21:7–39.

Baxter, M. J.
1999 Detecting Multivariate Outliers in Artefact Compositional Data. *Archaeometry* 41:321–338.

Berenguer, J.
1998 La iconografía del poder en Tiwanaku y su rol en la integración de zonas de frontera. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 7:19–37.

Berenguer, J., and P. Dauelsberg
1989 El Norte Grande en la orbita de Tiwanaku. In *Culturas de Chile. Prehistoria: Desde sus Origenes hasta los Albores de la Conquista*, edited by J. Hidalgo, V. Schiappacasse, H. Niemeyer, C. Aldunate, and S. Ivan, pp. 129–180. Andres Bello, Santiago.

Blackman, M. J., G. J. Stein, and P. B. Vandiver
1993 The Standardization Hypothesis and Ceramic Mass Production: Technological, Compositional, and Metric Indexes of Craft Specialization at Tell Leilan, Syria. *American Antiquity* 58:60–80.

Bravo, L., and A. Llagostera
1986 Solcor 3: Un aporte al conocimiento de la cultura San Pedro. Período 500 al 900 d.C. *Chungará* 16/17:323–332.

Burley, V., and W. R. Dickinson
2010 Among Polynesia's First Pots. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37:1020–1026.

Burley, D. V., P. J. Sheppard, and M. Simonin
2011 Tongan and Samoan Volcanic Glass: pXRF Analysis and Implications for Constructs of Ancestral Polynesian Society. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38:2625–2632.

Costin, C. L., and M. B. Hagstrum
1995 Standardization, Labor Investment, Skill, and the Organization of Ceramic Production in Late Prehispanic Highland Peru. *American Antiquity* 60:619–639.

Craig, N., R. J. Speakman, R. S. Popelka-Filcoff, M. D. Glascock, J. D. Robertson, M. S. Shackley, and M. S. Aldenderfer
2007 Comparison of XRF and PXRF for Analysis of Archaeological Obsidian from Southern Perú. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34:2012–2024.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Craig, N., R. J. Speakman, R. S. Popelka-Filcoff, M. Aldenderfer, L. Flores Blanco, M. Brown Vega, M. D. Glascock, and C. Stanish
2010 Macusani Obsidian from Southern Peru: A Characterization of Its Elemental Composition with a Demonstration of Its Ancient Use. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37:569–576.

Grosjean, M., and A. L. Núñez
1994 Lateglacial, Early and Middle Holocene Environments, Human Occupation, and Resource Use in the Atacama (Northern Chile). *Geoarchaeology* 9:271–286.

Grosjean, M., L. Núñez, I. Cartajena, and B. Messerli
1997 Mid-Holocene Climate and Culture Change in the Atacama Desert, Northern Chile. *Quaternary Research* 48:239–246.

Hall, M.
2001 Pottery Styles during the Early Jomon Period: Geochemical Perspectives on the Moroiso and Ukishima Pottery Styles. *Archaeometry* 43:59–75.
2011 Regional Craft Specialization in the Jomon Culture of Japan: Evidence from the Chemical Analyses of Atamadai Pottery. *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 6:98–114.

Humphris, J., M. Martinón-Torres, T. Rehren, and A. Reid
2009 Variability in Single Smelting Episodes—A Pilot Study Using Iron Slag from Uganda. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36:359–369.

Isbell, W. H.
2008 Wari and Tiwanaku: International Identities in the Central Andean Middle Horizon. In *The Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 731–759. Springer, Boston.

Isbell, W. H., and P. J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, Boston.

Llagostera, A.
2006 Contextualización e iconografía de las tabletas psicotrópicas Tiwanaku de San Pedro de Atacama. *Chungará* 38:83–111.

Llagostera, A., A. M. I. Barón, and L. Bravo
1984 Investigaciones Arqueológicas En Tulor-1. *Estudios Atacameños* 7:133–151.

Llagostera, A., and M. A. Costa
1999 Patrones de asentamiento en la época agroalfarera de San Pedro de Atacama (norte de Chile). *Estudios Atacameños* 17:175–206.

Llagostera, A., C. M. Torres, and M. A. Costa
1988 El complejo psicotrópico en Solcor-3 (San Pedro de Atacama). *Estudios Atacameños* 9: l–98.

Nazaroff, A. J., K. M. Prufer, and B. L. Drake
2010 Assessing the Applicability of Portable X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometry for Obsidian Provenance Research in the Maya Lowlands. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37:885–895.

Núñez, L.
2005 La naturaleza de la expansión aldeana durante el Formativo Tardío en la cuenca de Atacama. *Chungará* 37:165–193.

Núñez, L., M. Grosjean, and Isabel Cartajena
2002 Human Occupations and Climate Change in the Puna de Atacama, Chile. *Science* 298(5594):821–824.

Nuñez, L., I. Cartajena, C. Carrasco, P. de Souza, and M. Grosjean
2006 Emergencia de comunidades pastoralistas formativas en el sureste de la puna de Atacama. *Estudios Atacameños* 32:93–117.

Phillips, S. C., and R. J. Speakman
2009 Initial Source Evaluation of Archaeological Obsidian from the Kuril Islands of the Russian Far East Using Portable XRF. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36:1256–1263.

Rivals, F., E. Schulz, and T. M. Kaiser
2009 A New Application of Dental Wear Analyses: Estimation of Duration of Hominid Occupations in Archaeological Localities. *Journal of Human Evolution* 56:329–339.

Shackley, M. S.
2010a Is There Reliability and Validity in Portable X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometry (pXRF)? *The SAA Archaeological Record* 10:17–20.
2010b *X-Ray Fluorescence Spectrometry in Twenty-First Century Archaeology*. Springer, New York.

Sheppard, P., B. Trichereau, and C. Milicich
2010 Pacific Obsidian Sourcing by Portable XRF. *Archaeology in Oceania* 45:21–30.

Sheppard, P. J., G. J. Irwin, S. C. Lin, and C. P. McCaffrey
2011 Characterization of New Zealand Obsidian Using PXRF. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38:45–56.

Sinclaire, C.
2004 Prehistoria del Periodo Formativo en la cuenca alta del río Salado (región del Loa Superior). *Chungará* 36:619–639.

Sinclaire, C., M. Uribe, P. Ayala, and J. González
1997 La alfarería del Período Formativo en la región del Loa Superior: sistematización y tipología. In *Actas del XIV Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Chilena*, tomo II, pp. 285–314. Contribuciones Arqueológicas 5, Copiapó.

Stovel, E. M.
1997 *Habitational Analysis and Cultural Contact at Coyo Aldea, Northern Chile: The Surface Deposits.* Master's thesis, Anthropology Department, State University of New York at Binghamton.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2005 The Archaeology of Identity Construction: Ceramic Evidence from Northern Chile. In *Global Archaeological Theory*, edited by P. Funari, A. Zarankin, E, Stovel, pp. 145–166. Springer/Kluwer, New York.

2008 Interaction and Social Fields in San Pedro De Atacama, Northern Chile. In *The Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 979–1002. Springer, New York.

2012 Prehistoric Atacameño Ceramic Styles and Chronology Reassessed. Chungará 45: 371-385

Stovel, E., W. Whitehead, M. Deibel, and M. Uribe

2013 Relaciones cerámicas y sociales entre San Pedro de Atacama y el Loa Superior durante el período intermedio tardío a través del análisis de fluorescencia de rayos x portátil. *Estudios atacameños* 46:47–60.

Tarragó, M.

1984 La historia de los pueblos circumpuneños en relación con el altiplano y los andes meridionales. *Estudios Atacameños* 7:116–132.

1989 Contribución al conocimiento arqueológico de las poblaciones de los oasis de San Pedro de Atacama en relación con los otros pueblos puneños, en especial el sector septentrional del valle de Calchaquí. PhD dissertation, Universidad Nacional del Rosario, Argentina.

Torres, C. M.

1985 Estilo e iconografia Tiwanaku en las tabletas para inhalar substancias psicoactivas. *Dialogo Andino* 4:223–245.

1986 Iconografía de las tabletas para inhalar sustancias psicoactivas de la zona de San Pedro de Atacama, norte de Chile. *Estudios Atacameños* 7:178–196.

Torres-Rouff, C.

2002 Cranial Vault Modification and Ethnicity in Middle Horizon San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. *Current Anthropology* 43:163–171.

2008 The Influence of Tiwanaku on Life in the Chilean Atacama: Mortuary and Bodily Perspectives. *American Anthropologist* 110:325–337.

Uribe, M.

2002 Sobre alfarería, cementerios, fases y procesos durante la prehistoria tardía del desierto de Atacama (800–1600 DC). *Estudios Atacameños* 22:7–31.

2006 Sobre cerámica, su origen y complejidad social en los Andes del desierto de Atacama, norte de Chile. In *Esferas de interacción prehistóricas y fronteras nacionales modernas: los Andes sur centrales*, edited by H. Lechtman, pp. 449–494. Institute of Andean Research e Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

Uribe, M., and C. Agüero

2001 Alfarería, textiles y la integración del norte grande de Chile a Tiwanaku. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:397–426.

2004 Iconografía, alfarería y textilería Tiwanaku: Elementos para una revisión del Período Medio en el Norte Grande de Chile. *Chungará* 36:1055–1068.

Uribe, M., and P. Ayala

2004 La alfarería de Quillagua en el contexto formativo del Norte Grande de Chile (1000 a.C.–500 d.C.). *Chungará* 2:585–597.

Uribe, M., and C. Carrasco

1999 Tiestos y piedras talladas de Caspana: la producción alfarera y lítica en el período tardío del Loa Superior. *Estudios Atacameños* 18:55–71.

Uribe, M., L. Sanhueza, and F. Bahamondes

2007 La cerámica prehispánica tardía de Tarapacá, sus valles interiores y costa desértica, norte de Chile (ca. 900–1.450 d.C.): una propuesta tipológica y cronológica. *Chungará* 39:143–170.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 13: Introduction

Exploring the SAIS throughout the Middle Horizon in San Pedro de Atacama, Chile

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 13, Christina Torres-Rouff and Mark Hubbe discuss new information from San Pedro de Atacama, presenting a suite of radiocarbon dates from burials in cemeteries where Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) imagery has been found. Indeed, dating is a very important issue for better understanding cultural processes and relationships in the southern Andes. Was Tiahuanaco the origin center from which SAIS religious ideology and imagery spread to San Pedro, and other small communities, via the kinds of mechanisms inferred for core-periphery cultural interactions?

Asymmetric core-periphery relations between Tiahuanaco and the desert oases have been assumed by most investigators of north Chilean prehistory until very recently (see Chapters 10 and 12, this volume). The temporal priority and political dominance of Tiahuanaco is also taken for granted by Torres-Rouff and Hubbe as they explain their goal of exploring Tiahuanaco influence on the north Chilean cultural periphery. However, is that the right model for understanding the SAIS and its vast sphere of interactions?

It is increasingly clear that the triadic pantheon of the SAIS did not appear at Tiahuanaco until Janusek's Tiwanaku 1 (Ponce's Tiwanaku IV) times, which probably began between AD 600 and 750. Even the "Transitional" sculptures discussed by Janusek and Ohnstad (Chapter 4, this volume) reveal only the Rayed Head icon among their SAIS themes. Conversely, Profile Attendant imagery, and possibly the Staff God as well, may be significantly earlier in San Pedro de Atacama, where thermoluminescence (TL) produced a date of AD 190 for a grave, including a diagnostic profile figure carved on a poorly preserved snuff tablet. But, of course, one TL date is not conclusive.

Torres-Rouff and Hubbe are reassessing temporal duration of interments in the various San Pedro cemeteries, which have framed thinking about stylistic chronology in the oasis and its cultural interlocutors throughout the southern Andes. To resolve the questions of time, they have run 50 new atomic mass spectrometer dates on skeletal material from a selection of graves. Fourteen are attributed to the Middle Horizon, which they consider to be synonymous with the Tiahuanaco Period. Unfortunately, only three are recognized as containing art belonging to the SAIS repertoire, and the relevant objects are not described in this chapter. However, the new dates support the probability that SAIS art was present in San Pedro de Atacama as early as the fifth century AD, with even stronger possibilities that it was present in the sixth century. As I evaluate the data, the most convincing Tiahuanaco site dates for Janusek's Tiwanaku 1 (Ponce's Tiwanaku IV) are between AD 600 and 750—and more probably toward the latter half of that span. And Tiwanaku 1 saw the initial appearance

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

of the triadic pantheon of the SAIS at Tiahuanaco. Consequently, I conclude that Torres Rouff and Hubbe's program of radiocarbon dating in San Pedro de Atacama lends at least some support to the argument that SAIS iconography was participating in south Andean cultural interaction before the triadic pantheon became the popular religious dogma of Tiahuanaco and before Tiahuanaco came to dominate the southern Andes.

This contribution by Torres-Rouff and Hubbe is but a preliminary peek at what we can anticipate from the dating program they have carried out. San Pedro de Atacama chronology will finally be based on reliable absolute dates, without having to rely so extensively on stylistic cross dating. Of course, documentation of stylistic interaction, and the cultural meanings they imply, can be interrogated with much greater confidence.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 13

Exploring the SAIS throughout the Middle Horizon in San Pedro de Atacama, Chile

Christina Torres-Rouff and Mark Hubbe

The San Pedro de Atacama oases have long been considered an outpost of Tiwanaku influence in the periphery (e.g., Berenguer 2000; Oakland 1992; Orellana 1985; Stovel 2001). While Atacameños had been involved in interregional interaction networks for centuries before the spread of the altiplano polity, these became more important toward the end of the Late Formative Period (ca. AD 400), and they developed into sizable and crucial networks with the onset of the Middle Horizon (AD 500–1000). This likely resulted from the restructuring of exchange networks, increasing contact with neighboring areas, Tiwanaku's "state-managed llama caravans" (Janusek 2004:69), and the rise of the snuff complex, which necessitated plant material from distant regions, in the north Chilean case, likely from northwest Argentina (Torres et al. 1991).

While the Middle Horizon witnessed a general increase in interaction between Atacameños and numerous other groups, the material record documents the strong presence of objects depicting the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS). Here, we take the SAIS to specifically reflect iconography and styles that have been associated with the Tiwanaku polity as it is the only clear manifestation of SAIS in the Atacameño oases. The archaeological evidence from San Pedro de Atacama suggests a significant relationship with Tiwanaku in particular, as mortuary goods in the Tiwanaku style appear in Atacameño graves that are scattered across the cemeteries and *ayllus*[1] (e.g., Llagostera 2004; Oakland 1992; Torres and Conklin 1995; Uribe and Agüero 2001). These goods are frequently tied to wealthy graves and those with visible access to the material culture of other foreign groups (e.g., Llagostera 2004; Tamblay 2004; Torres-Rouff 2011). It is particularly noteworthy that no Middle Horizon cemeteries show clear evidence of foreign emissaries in the form of completely distinct tomb styles, mortuary assemblages, or cultural treatments of the body (e.g., Stovel 2001; Torres-Rouff 2008; Torres and Conklin 1995). The nature of Tiwanaku influence has been hotly debated, with scholars falling on all sides of the argument over the decades. Despite the current consensus that the San Pedro de Atacama oases were not a colony, the long-term effects of that interaction as well as its temporal trends have been less explored.

We focus here on a brief analysis of the distribution of SAIS objects, as well as other foreign goods, among individuals interred in five Middle Horizon cemeteries (Figure 13.1). For this study, we do not differentiate between SAIS objects that were imported from the Titicaca Basin and local objects that emulate the SAIS, since (1) both denote a close relationship with the Tiwanaku polity, and (2) a detailed determination of these differences is complex and beyond our expertise. We understand the SAIS to represent a more generalized iconographic system, in our case, reflective of Tiwanaku influence outside the heartland but not necessarily of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

an exclusively direct movement between the altiplano center and the Atacameño oases.

Based on previous research, we hypothesize that SAIS objects will be rare and unevenly distributed across the cemeteries. Given Llagostera's (1996) and Berenguer and colleagues' (1988) early thermoluminescence dates for some tombs with objects displaying Tiwanaku iconography, we also hypothesize that SAIS objects will be distributed throughout the Middle Horizon occupation of the Atacameño oases. Through this exploration of the SAIS and other foreign influences during the Middle Horizon, we hope to gain a better sense of the nature and timing of Tiwanaku influence in San Pedro de Atacama.

The San Pedro de Atacama Oases

The Salar de Atacama, located between the Andes and the Cordillera de Domeyko, at an altitude of 2,500 m, has one of the driest climates on the planet. This aridity provides ideal conditions for the preservation of both organic and inorganic remains, a situation that has allowed for decades of archaeological research focused on the populations living in the oases and river canyons of the region. Moreover, it has resulted in one of the most representative archaeological and skeletal collections in South America (e.g., Costa and Llagostera 1994; Hubbe et al. 2011; Le Paige 1964, 1972/1973; Llagostera et al. 1988; Llagostera and Costa Junquiera 1999; Núñez 2007).

The area around the high-altitude Salar de Atacama had a rich and dynamic prehistory. From the earliest moments of human presence in the area, about 8000 BC, group survival was linked to the exploitation of different ecological niches through the movement of hunter-gatherer groups in association with the migration of large mammals (Núñez 1995; Lynch 1975). With the emergence of semi-permanent and permanent settlements in the Formative Period (beginning around 1200 BC), the high mobility that characterized early groups was replaced by mobility for the exchange of material goods with neighboring regions (Berenguer et al. 1988; Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Llagostera 1996, 2004; Núñez 1992; Tarragó 1989). These exchanges peaked when the oases were incorporated into traffic networks that linked the south-central Andes, especially during the Middle Horizon, when Tiwanaku centralized trade routes and spread the SAIS over a wider area of the Andes (Berenguer 2000; Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Janusek 2004; Llagostera 1996, 2004; Núñez 1992). There is no doubt that this period witnessed the movements of groups and caravans through, to, and from the San Pedro de Atacama oases.

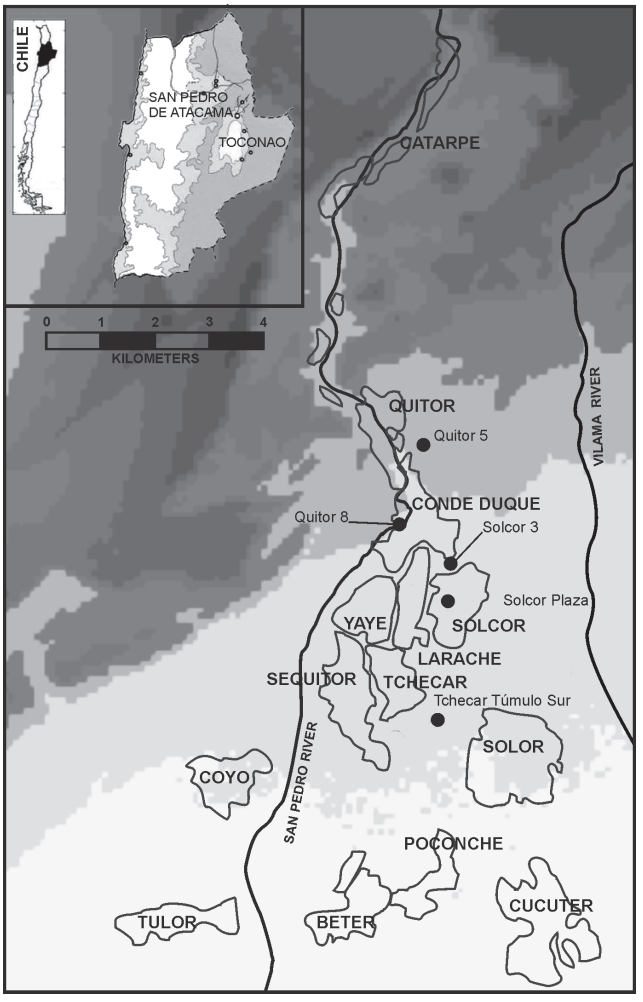


Figure 13.1. Location of the San Pedro de Atacama oases, indicating *ayllu* boundaries and sites included in this study.

The visible and occasionally opulent goods with SAIS imagery have led to a long fascination with the relationship between the Tiwanaku people and the residents of the Atacameño oases. Excavations at the Middle Horizon Larache cemetery, for example, yielded SAIS *keros* made entirely of gold (Le Paige ms). The contemporaneous cemetery of Coyo Oriente yielded several very fine and elaborate textiles depicting elements of the SAIS (Oakland 1992). Finally, the Solcor 3 cemetery, which is considered here, produced numerous Tiwanaku-associated artifacts including textiles, pyro-engraved bones, and elements of the snuff complex (Bravo and Llagostera 1986). Nevertheless, the items are generally isolated and found in tombs laden with local material and, sometimes, even objects from

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

other foreign groups. This makes the Middle Horizon in the San Pedro de Atacama oases an ideal place in which to explore the role and presence of the SAIS over time.

Temporal Considerations

Our current understanding of the Atacameño oases' chronology is derived primarily from ceramic seriation, complemented with some absolute dates (Berenguer et al. 1988; Tarragó 1989; Uribe 2002). Changes in manufacturing techniques, style, and iconography have been used to define periods and date sites. In some cases, ceramic seriation has been verified by absolute dating (Berenguer et al. 1986; Uribe 2002), allowing for refinement of the boundaries between different periods and the creation of shorter phases internal within these periods. For example, the Middle Horizon is divided into the Quitor Phase, AD 400 to 750, and Coyo Phase, AD 750 to 1000. These are associated with the "beginning of influence from Tiwanaku" and "Pure Tiwanaku," respectively (Berenguer et al. 1988:342). However, there are few direct dates for the individuals buried in local cemeteries, something that we have attempted to rectify. Over the past few years, the authors have obtained more than 50 new atomic mass spectrometer (AMS) ^{14}C dates from individuals interred in cemeteries throughout the oases (Hubbe et al. 2011; Torres-Rouff and Hubbe 2013). This has allowed us to provide an initial reassessment of the local chronology based on the time of use of nearly all of the larger cemeteries excavated in the Atacameño oases.

Here, we present 14 new AMS ^{14}C dates as well as 5 that were previously published (Llagostera et al. 1988; Torres et al. 1991) from Middle Horizon sites in the oases. Through this, we hope to provide a more nuanced view into the distribution of SAIS materials and the role of Tiwanaku over the course of the Middle Horizon. As mentioned before, it is during this period that the SAIS is most visible in the artifacts buried in San Pedro de Atacama graves. Here, we explore the relationship of the SAIS across the Middle Horizon to explore the influence of the Tiwanaku polity on this part of the periphery. We present a series of radiocarbon dates, obtained by ourselves and others, to refine the chronology for the period (Table 13.1). Moreover, we compare the distribution of goods (SAIS goods, other foreign goods, individuals without foreign goods) between the sexes, cemeteries, and throughout the time period so that we can provide a more nuanced view of the role of SAIS iconography and foreign interaction in San Pedro de Atacama.

Methods

The archaeological collections of the Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Museo in San Pedro de Atacama include hundreds of crania collected during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s by Father Gustavo Le Paige, an ambitious amateur archaeologist (Hubbe et al. 2011). Le Paige excavated four of the cemeteries we analyze here (Quitor 5, Quitor 8, Solcor Plaza, and Tchecar Túmulo Sur). Following the formal establishment of an archaeological research institute at the Le Paige Museum in the 1980s, a number of archaeologists excavated new cemeteries in the area, resulting in several well-contextualized and complete mortuary and skeletal collections. The institute's archaeologists excavated the last cemetery analyzed here, Solcor 3. For the purposes of this chapter, we consider 531 burials from five cemeteries that date to the Middle Horizon (Table 13.1). These cemeteries occupy three distinct *ayllus*—Quitor, Solcor, and Tchecar—within the oases (Figure 13.1).

New radiocarbon dates were obtained from all five of these cemeteries. As other authors had dated tombs from the Solcor 3 cemetery, only two more individuals were selected for dating. We chose to directly date human remains to have better sense of the use life of each cemetery. Beta Analytic and the University of Arizona Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Laboratory ran these dates. Dating was performed on the organic fraction (collagen) of dense cortical bone tissue samples, primarily from crania. In all cases, these samples were subject to standard pretreatment protocols. Despite slightly different pretreatment procedures, our yields and $^{13}C/^{12}C$ ratios suggest good preservation and reliable dates (Table 13.1). It should be noted that we present a series of dates for Solcor 3 obtained in earlier decades for which we lack detailed information and that may not be as reliable as the dates we recently obtained. All radiocarbon ages, including those obtained previously, were calibrated with the SHCAL04 curve using Calib 6.0 (McCormac et al. 2004; Stuiver and Reimer 1993).

Demographic data were collected from all crania following protocols described in *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains* (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). This allowed individuals to be grouped into sex (female, male, indeterminate) and age (child, adolescent, young adult, middle adult, old adult, generic adult) categories. Using detailed field notes from the original excavations, we were able to reconstruct individual gravelots and assess the presence of foreign objects. Artifacts were classed according to iconography and style, regardless of material type (e.g., ceramics, smoking

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 13.1. AMS ^{14}C dates for sites included in this study.[a]

Site	Sample (Site and Burial Number)	Foreign Objects in Burials	Lab. No.[b]	Radiocarbon Age	$^{13}C/^{12}C$ Ratio (‰)	Calibrated Radiocarbon Age (cal. AD; 2-sigma SHCal04)
Quitor 5	QT5-3394	No	X14974A	1623 ± 46	–17.1	401–599
	QT5-2009	Other foreign	X14972A	1511 ± 46	–17.4	443–450 [p = 0.01] 462–483 [p = 0.02] 533–664 [p = 0.97]
	QT5-2179	No	X14973A	1338 ± 45	–11.1	656–829 [p = 0.95] 837–865 [p = 0.05]
	QT5-1921	No	X14971A	1164 ± 44	–13.5	782–789 [p = 0.01] 811–847 [p = 0.05] 856–1019 [p = 0.94]
Quitor 8	QT8-3145	NA	Beta-251753	1510 ± 40	–17.3	538–659
	QT8-3226	No	Beta-251754	1450 ± 40	–16.4	566–689 [p = 0.99] 754–757 [p = 0.01]
Solcor 3	SLC3-24/1558	Other foreign	Beta-305870	1160 ± 30	–15.9	778–903 [p = 0.73] 914–969 [p = 0.27]
	SLC3-8/1161A	No	Beta-305869	1080 ± 30	–17.6	901–917 [p = 0.02] 967–1045 [p = 0.94] 1086–1107 [p = 0.03] 1120–1128 [p = 0.01]
Solcor 3 (Llagostera et al. 1988)	Tomb 23	No	Beta-27572	1470 ± 60	NA	465–483 [p = 0.01] 533–720 [p = 0.96] 742–769 [p = 0.03]
	Tomb 117	SAIS	Beta-27192	1470 ± 80	NA	433–495 [p = 0.07] 504–774 [p = 0.93]
	Tomb 107	SAIS	Beta-22461	1380 ± 60	NA	607–829 [p = 0.97] 739–771 [p = 0.03]
	Tomb 2	NA	Beta-27191	1270 ± 90	NA	659–986
	NA	NA	Beta-27573	1040 ± 50	NA	909–910 [p < 0.01] 975–1164 [p = 0.99] 1167–1176 [p < 0.01]
Solcor 3 (Torres et al. 1991)	Tomb 112	Other foreign	Beta-32447	1170 ± 60	NA	775–1024

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Site	Sample (Site and Burial Number)	Foreign Objects in Burials	Lab. No.[b]	Radiocarbon Age	$^{13}C/^{12}C$ Ratio (‰)	Calibrated Radiocarbon Age (cal. AD; 2-sigma SHCal04)
Solcor Plaza	SLCP759	Other foreign	X14977A	1535 ± 45	–17.2	436–489 [p = 0.10] 510–516 [p = 0.01] 529–654 [p = 0.89]
	SLCP1241	No	X14978A	987 ± 44	–14.8	1019–1189 [p = 0.99] 1197–1201 [p = 0.01]
Tchecar Túmulo Sur	TS824	No	Beta-263475	1240 ± 40	–13.7	711–746 [p = 0.06] 766–907 [p = 0.80] 911–971 [p = 0.14]
	TS838	SAIS	Beta-293928	1190 ± 30	–13.2	782–789 [p = 0.01] 810–847 [p = 0.08] 856–986 [p = 0.91]
	TS650	No	Beta-263473	1090 ± 40	–12.3	895–925 [p = 0.10] 936–1046 [p = 0.83] 1085–1112 [p = 0.05] 1116–1132 [p = 0.02]
	TS806	No	Beta-263474	960 ± 40	–13.4	1033–1206

NA = information is not available.

a All dates obtained by the authors, except Solcor 3 dates, indicated by Llagostera et al. (1988) and Torres et al. (1991).

b Beta—dates generated by Beta Analytic; X—dates generated by the University of Arizona Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Laboratory.

pipes, textiles) into three categories: local (lacking any foreign objects), Tiwanaku (clearly depicting the SAIS), and containing "other foreign" materials. This latter includes artifacts from other parts of Chile as well as the neighboring regions of the Andes, including modern-day Argentina and Bolivia. For the purposes of this chapter, the frequencies of occurrence of these elements were compared between the sexes, across cemeteries, and throughout the Middle Horizon. Statistical significance between the observed categories was tested using χ^2 (Sokal and Rohlf 1996).

Results

All radiocarbon dates are presented in Table 13.1 and Table 13.2. Dates represent all three burial categories on which this study is based: those presenting no foreign materials, those including SAIS objects, and those with other foreign artifacts. These dates demonstrate that the five cemeteries we analyze were in use throughout the length of the Middle Horizon with occupation during the early Middle Horizon at Quitor 8 (Quitor Phase), the late Middle Horizon at Tchecar Túmulo Sur (Coyo Phase), and occupations that span the length of the Middle Horizon at Quitor 5 and the two Solcor cemeteries (Solcor 3 and Solcor Plaza). In general, the dates cluster between AD 400 and 1100, encompassing the entirety of the Middle Horizon (AD 500–1000) as well as the centuries immediately surrounding this period. These data show that cemeteries in the same *ayllu* (i.e., Solcor 3 and Solcor Plaza and, to a lesser extent, Quitor 5 and Quitor 8) were in use

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

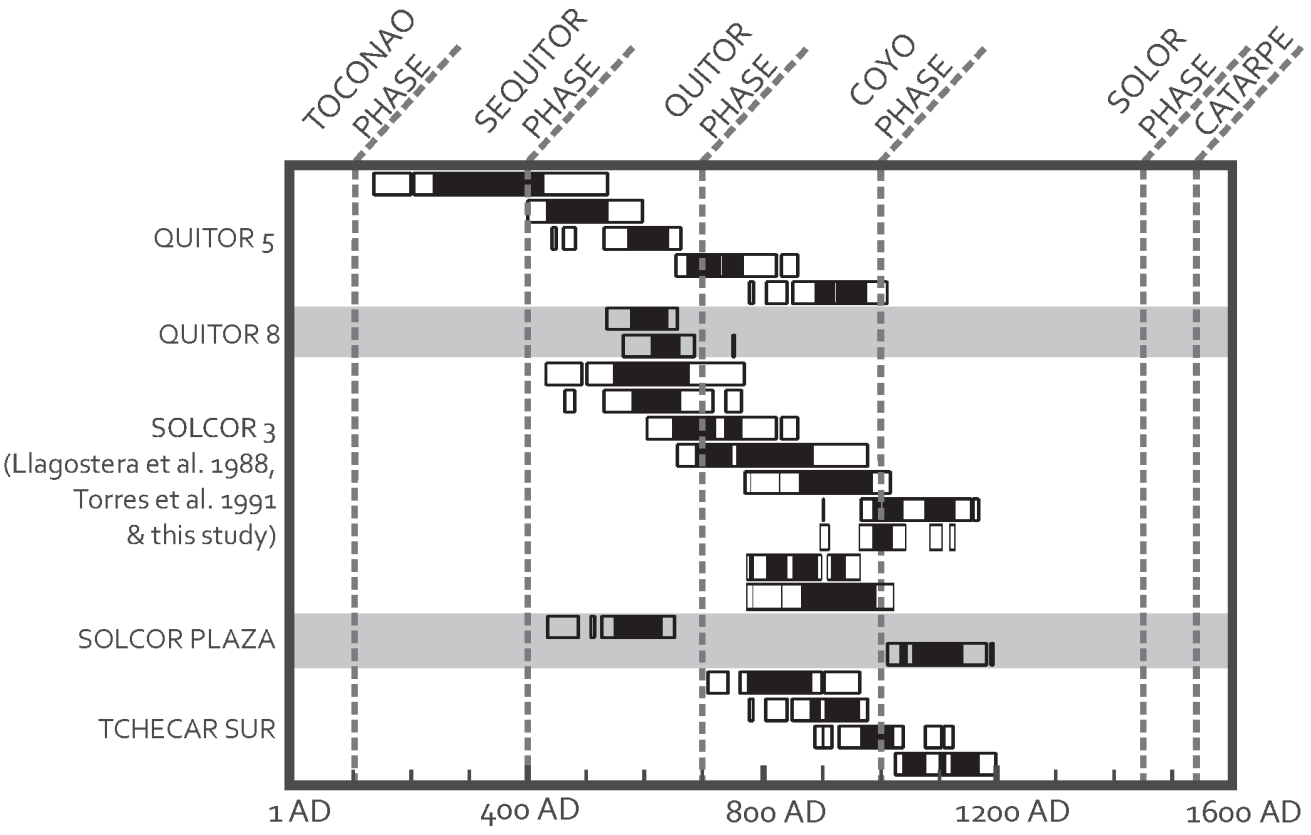


Figure 13.2. Calibrated AMS ^{14}C dates for the five sites included in this study. Black rectangles represent the 1-sigma (67%) confidence range of the calibrated date and the white rectangles represent the 2-sigma (95%) confidence range.

simultaneously and may reflect differential segments of the population. Importantly for this work, this indicates that these cemeteries had long use-lives and would have witnessed the rise and fall of Tiwanaku influence and, concurrently, of objects bearing SAIS, which we view as equivalent in style here.

Considering the presence of SAIS artifacts (Table 13.2), it is worth noting that there is an uneven distribution between cemeteries, with Solcor 3 demonstrating the highest presence (16.5 percent of individuals) while neither Quitor 8 nor Solcor Plaza had any such objects interred with the individuals whose skeletal remains were available for study, although there is evidence of SAIS iconography on a snuff tray from Quitor 8 (Chapter 11, this volume). Our data also indicate that Solcor 3 had the highest numbers of foreign goods from other cultures (20.6 percent of individuals). In contrast to SAIS goods, all cemeteries included foreign objects from other cultures, including several objects from nearby cultures in Bolivia, including Yavi, and Argentina, including Aguada.

The statistical tests show an uneven distribution of SAIS and other foreign goods between the sites. Solcor 3 shows a higher frequency of SAIS objects (16.5 percent of the graves have at least one SAIS object) than the other cemeteries (Table 13.3). A similar situation is observed with "other foreign" goods (Table 13.4), where Solcor 3 again shows higher frequencies (20.6 percent of the graves) than all other sites except for Quitor 5 (16.8 percent). In contrast, Tchecar Túmulo Sur shows very low frequencies (3.0 percent) of other foreign goods. Finally, there are also differences in the proportion of SAIS goods in relation to other foreign objects in the graves (Table 13.5). Both Quitor cemeteries present lower relative frequency of SAIS objects, while Tchecar Túmulo Sur presents a much higher frequency of SAIS goods in comparison to "other foreign" goods. There are no statistically significant differences between the sexes in any of these categories with the exception of the presence of SAIS objects at Solcor 3 (p = .014), where they are more common among men (22.6 percent vs. 7.5 percent).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 13.2. Distribution of goods in the graves of each cemetery.

	All Individuals, *n* (%)			Males, *n* (%)			Females, *n* (%)		
	SAIS	Other Foreign	None	SAIS	Other Foreign	None	SAIS	Other Foreign	None
Quitor 5	9/179 (5.0)	30/179 (16.8)	140/179 (78.2)	6/50 (12.0)	14/50 (28.0)	30/50 (60.0)	2/55 (3.6)	8/55 (14.5)	45/55 (81.9)
Quitor 8	0/63 (0)	7/63 (11.1)	56/63 (88.9)	0/22 (0)	4/22 (18.2)	18/22 (81.8)	0/24 (0)	1/24 (4.2)	23/24 (95.8)
Solcor 3	20/121 (16.5)	25/121 (20.6)	76/121 (62.9)	12/53 (22.6)	13/53 (24.5)	28/53 (52.9)	4/53 (7.5)	9/53 (17.0)	40/53 (75.5)
Solcor Plaza	0/73 (0)	5/73 (6.8)	68/73 (93.2)	0/23 (0)	1/23 (4.3)	22/23 (95.7)	0/29 (0)	2/29 (6.9)	27/29 (93.1)
Tchecar Túmulo Sur	10/202 (5.0)	6/202 (3.0)	186/202 (92.0)	6/81 (7.4)	1/81 (1.2)	74/81 (91.4)	4/80 (5.0)	2/80 (2.5)	74/80 (92.5)

The SAIS in Middle Horizon San Pedro de Atacama

These data support the work of other researchers who have suggested that San Pedro de Atacama was not a colony of the Tiwanaku but rather a well-integrated trade node in the Atacama Desert (e.g., Stovel 2001; Torres and Conklin 1995; Torres-Rouff 2008). Moreover, a closer examination of these five cemeteries supports our hypotheses. SAIS objects are rare and unevenly distributed among the cemeteries and yet they are present throughout the Middle Horizon. The numerous other Middle Horizon cemeteries in the oases, as well as perhaps the presence of SAIS artifacts prior to the official onset of this time period (i.e., Berenguer et al. 1988), indicate a longstanding relationship with the Tiwanaku. It should be noted that, unlike the situation in the altiplano where Pucara precedes Tiwanaku, it would appear that there is no pre-Tiwanaku SAIS in the oases. While there are some dates for SAIS in the early Middle Horizon (Berenguer et al. 1988; Llagostera 1996), these are from tombs containing material with clear Tiwanaku (SAIS) iconography and not an earlier precursor of that style. This subject is clearly open for a more detailed and appropriate exploration by scholars of iconography in the context of the new dates we present here and elsewhere (Hubbe et al. 2011; Torres-Rouff and Hubbe ms.).

It is important to note that these data also indicate that there is no significant temporal trend in the distribution of SAIS materials as they are seen over the entirety of the Middle Horizon. While the early Middle Horizon (Quitor Phase) site of Quitor 8 has a snuff tray with SAIS iconography, there is no preserved skeletal material in association and no other documented SAIS material. There are also SAIS objects at Quitor 5 and Solcor 3, both of which have early components. Together, the new and the recalibrated dates presented here support interaction with Tiwanaku and the presence of SAIS materials as early as AD 400. Torres (Chapter 11, this volume, Figure 11.10) illustrates the varied iconography seen on snuffing paraphernalia in these early cases, including profile figures and individuals with rayed heads. Llagostera (1996:21) details a profile figure incised onto a snuff tray with Tiwanaku iconography that has a very early thermoluminescence date of AD 190, but this case is significantly earlier than other SAIS material. Later in the Middle Horizon, Tchecar Túmulo Sur shows a pattern similar to that of Solcor 3, with a greater presence of SAIS objects than material from other foreign groups. Both Quitor cemeteries are significantly different from Solcor 3 and Tchecar in this aspect (Table 13.5).

Based on our analysis of the temporal data, we suggest that the influence of Tiwanaku, and concomitantly the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 13.3. Significant differences between sites in the presence of Tiwanaku versus local goods in the burials.

	Quitor 8	Solcor 3	Solcor Plaza	Tchecar
Quitor 5	p = 0.06	p < 0.001	p = 0.039	p = 0.71
Quitor 8		p < 0.001	p = 1	p = 0.08
Solcor 3			p < 0.001	p < 0.001
Solcor Plaza				p = 0.058

Table 13.4. Significant differences between sites in the presence of other foreign versus local goods in the burials.

	Quitor 8	Solcor 3	Solcor Plaza	Tchecar
Quitor 5	$p = 0.22$	$p = 0.16$	$p = 0.23$	$\mathbf{p = 0.028}$
Quitor 8		$\mathbf{p = 0.03}$	$p = 0.38$	$\mathbf{p = 0.01}$
Solcor 3			$\mathbf{p = 0.002}$	$\mathbf{p < 0.001}$
Solcor Plaza				$p = 0.17$

Table 13.5. Significant differences between sites in the presence of Tiwanaku versus other foreign goods in the burials.

	Quitor 8	Solcor 3	Solcor Plaza	Tchecar
Quitor 5	$p = 0.15$	$\mathbf{p = 0.04}$	$p = 0.23$	$\mathbf{p = 0.005}$
Quitor 8		$\mathbf{p = 0.02}$	$p = 1.00$	$\mathbf{p = 0.005}$
Solcor 3			$p = 0.054$	$p = 0.21$
Solcor Plaza				$p = 0.01$

presence of SAIS objects, in the Atacameño oases was diffuse and not necessarily the product of a surge in the polity's reaches. Moreover, our dates indicate that cemeteries were in use before, during, and after this foreign influence. This argues against the Tiwanaku causing any sort of social rupture in the oases. However, it is interesting to note that SAIS objects are distributed differentially not only across the area but also between different cemeteries in the same *ayllu*. As we have suggested previously, there appears to be differential access to resources during the Middle Horizon that may have been paralleled by population differentiation in burial place (i.e., Torres-Rouff 2008, 2011). This is most evident in the two Solcor cemeteries where we have previously noted differing grave goods, rates of violent injury, and influx of individuals from foreign areas (Nado et al. 2012; Torres-Rouff 2011).

Finally, the evidence presented here argues for a more complex understanding of the cultural phases, particularly one that is not tied so closely to particular sites or geographic spaces but that more closely reflects local events. The so-called Tiwanaku Period in the Atacameño oases affected people who maintained local traditions before, during, and after the spread of this foreign influence and iconography.

Acknowledgments

We gratefully acknowledge generous funding from the NSF (BCS-0721229, CTR), FONDECYT (11070091, MH and 1120376, CTR and MH), and Colorado College. We thank William Isbell and Mauricio Uribe for the opportunity to contribute to this thought-provoking volume.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Notes

1 Traditionally, the *ayllu* is an Andean kin-based community structure, representing both a political grouping and one built on lineage (ascriptive descent groups; Abercrombie 1998; Cock 1981). The use of the term *ayllu* here follows the actual kinship-geographic organization of the oasis in San Pedro de Atacama. While some *ayllu*s represent distinct small oases in the area, others are determined by sociopolitical boundaries, with no clear geographic boundaries between them (see Figure 13.1 for *ayllu* delimitations).

References

Abercrombie, T. A.

1998 *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Berenguer, J.

2000 *Tiwanaku: Señores del Lago Sagrado*. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.

Berenguer, J., and P. Dauelsberg

1989 El Norte Grande en la órbita de Tiwanaku (400 a 1200 DC). In *Culturas de Chile: Prehistoria. Desde sus orígenes hasta los albores de la Conquista*, edited by J. Hidalgo, V. Schiappacasse, H. Niemeyer, C. Aldunate, and I. Solimano, pp. 129–180. Editorial Andrés Bello, Santiago.

Berenguer, J., Á. Román, Á. Deza, and A. Llagostera

1988 Testing a Cultural Sequence for the Atacama Desert. *Current Anthropology* 29(2):341–346.

Berenguer, José, Ángel Deza, Alvaro Román, and Agustín Llagostera

1986 La secuencia de Myriam Tarragó para San Pedro de Atacama: Un test por termoluminiscencia. *Revista Chilena de Antropología* 5:17–54.

Bravo, L., and A. Llagostera

1986 Solcor 3: Un Aporte al Conocimiento de la Cultura San Pedro, Período 500 al 900 d.C. *Chungara* 16–17:323–332.

Buikstra, J. E., and D. H. Ubelaker (editors)

1994 *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains: Proceedings of a Seminar at the Field Museum of Natural History*. Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Fayetteville.

Cock, G.

1981 El Ayllu en la Sociedad Andina: Alcances y Perspectivas. *Etnohistoria y Antropología Andina* 17:231–253.

Costa, M. A., and A. Llagostera

1994 Coyo-3: Momentos finales del Período Medio en San Pedro de Atacama. *Estudios Atacameños: Arqueología y Antropología Surandina* 11:73–107.

Hubbe, M., M. Oviedo, and C. Torres-Rouff

2011 Estado de conservación y contextualización cronológica de la colección osteológica 'Gustavo Le Paige.' *Estudios Atacameños: Arqueología y Antropología Surandina* 41:29–44.

Janusek, J. W.

2004 *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*. Routledge, London.

Le Paige, G.

1964 El precerámico en la cordillera atacameña y los cementerios del período agroalfarero de San Pedro de Atacama. *Anales de la Universidad del Norte* 3:1–277.

1972/1973 Tres cementerios indígenas en San Pedro de Atacama y Toconao. Actas del VI Congreso de Arqueología Chilena (Octubre de 1971). *Boletín de Prehistoria*, Special Issue:163–187.

ms Field notes—Larache. Manuscript on File. Archive of the Museo Arqueológico R.P. Gustavo Le Paige, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile.

Llagostera, A.

1996 San Pedro de Atacama: nodo de complementariedad reticular. *La Integración Surandina Cinco Siglos Después. Estudios y Debates Regionales Andinos* 96:17–42.

2004 *Los Antiguos Habitantes del Salar de Atacama*. Pehuén Editores, Santiago.

Llagostera, A., and M. A. Costa Junquiera

1999 Patrones de Asientamiento en la Epoca Agroalfarera de San Pedro de Atacama (Norte de Chile). *Estudios Atacameños: Arqueología y Antropología Surandina* 17:175–206.

Llagostera, A., C. M. Torres, and M. A. Costa Junqueira

1988 El complejo psicotrópico en Solcor 3 (San Pedro de Atacama). *Estudios Atacameños: Arqueología y Antropología Surandina* 9:61–98.

Lynch, T. F.

1975 Algunos problemas básicos del estadio de caza-recolección andina: trashumancia. *Estudios Atacameños: Arqueología y Antropología Surandina* 3:7–10.

McCormac, F. G., A. G. Hogg, P. G. Blackwell, C. E. Buck, T. F. G. Higham, and P. J. Reimer

2004 SHCAL04 Southern Hemisphere Calibration, 0-11.0 Cal KYR BP. *Radiocarbon* 46(3):1087–1092.

Nado, K. L., S. J. Marsteller, L. M. King, B. M. Daverman, C. Torres-Rouff, and K. J. Knudson

2012 Examining Local Social Identities through Patterns of Biological and Cultural Variation in the Solcor *Ayllu*, San Pedro de Atacama. *Chungara: Revista de Antropología Chilena* 44(2):341–357.

Núñez, L.

1992 *Cultura y conflicto en los oasis de San Pedro de Atacama*. Editorial Universitaria, Santiago.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1995 Evolución de la ocupación y organización del espacio atacameño. In *Agua, ocupación del espacio y economía campesina en la región atacameña: aspectos dinámicos*, edited by Pierre Pourrut and Lautaro Núñez, pp. 18–60. Universidad Católica del Norte, Antofagasta.

2007 *Vida y cultura en el oasis de San Pedro de Atacama*. Editorial Universitaria, Santiago. Oakland. Rodman, A.

1992 Textiles and Ethnicity: Tiwanaku in San Pedro de Atacama. *Latin American Antiquity* 3(4):316–340.

Orellana, M.

1985 Relaciones culturales entre Tiwanaku y San Pedro de Atacama. *Diálogo Andino* 2:7–267.

Sokal, R., and F. J. Rohlf

1996 *Biometry: The Principles and Practices of Statistics in Biological Research*. W. H. Freeman, New York.

Stovel, E. M.

2001 Patrones funerarios de San Pedro de Atacama y el problema de la presencia de los contextos tiwanaku. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:375–398.

Stuiver, M., and P. J. Reimer

1993 Extended ^{14}C Database and Revised CALIB Radiocarbon Calibration Program. *Radiocarbon* 35:215–230.

Tamblay, J.

2004 El Cementerio Larache, los Metales y la Estratificación Social Durante el Horizonte Tiwanaku en San Pedro de Atacama. In *Tiwanaku: Aproximaciones a sus Contextos Históricos y Sociales*, edited by M. A. Rivera and A. L. Kolata, pp. 31–66. Universidad Bolivariana, Santiago de Chile.

Tarragó, M.

1989 Contribución al conocimiento arqueológico de las poblaciones de los oasis de San Pedro de Atacama en relación con los otros pueblos puneños, en especial, el sector septentrional del Valle Calchaquíe. PhD dissertation, Universidad Nacional de Rosario, Argentina.

Torres, C., and W. J. Conklin

1995 Exploring the San Pedro de Atacama/Tiwanaku relationship. In *Andean Art: Visual Expression and Its Relation to Andean Beliefs and Values*, edited by P. Dransart, pp. 78–108. Avebury, Aldershot.

Torres, C., D. B. Repke, K. Chan, D. McKenna, A. Llagostera, and R. E. Schultes

1991 Snuff Powders from Pre-Hispanic San Pedro de Atacama: Chemical and Contextual Analysis. *Current Anthropology* 32(5):640–649.

Torres-Rouff, C.

2008 The Influence of Tiwanaku on Life in the Chilean Atacama: Mortuary and Bodily Perspectives. *American Anthropologist* 110(3):325–337.

2011 Hiding Inequality Beneath Prosperity: Patterns of Cranial Injury in Middle Period San Pedro de Atacama, Northern Chile. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 146(1):28–37.

Torres-Rouff, C., and M. Hubbe

2013 The Sequence of Human Occupation in the Atacama Oases, Chile: A Radiocarbon Chronology Based on Human Skeletal Remains. *Latin American Antiquity* 24(3):330–344.

Uribe, M.

2002 Sobre alfarería, cementerios, fases y procesos durante la prehistoria tardía del desierto de Atacama (800–1600 DC). *Estudios Atacameños: Arqueología y Antropología Surandina* 22:7–31.

Uribe, M., and M. C. Agüero

2001 Alfarería, textiles y la integración del Norte Grande de Chile a Tiwanaku. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:397–427.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 14: Introduction

Symbols, Offerings, and Metallic Goods from the Puna and Quebrada de Humahuaca, Northwestern Argentina

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 14, Myriam Tarragó takes a descriptive and theoretical approach to a sphere of interaction that linked northwestern Argentina's Quebrada de Humahuaca to adjacent highlands, to the northern Chilean oases, and to the Bolivian altiplano—especially the influential center of Tiahuanaco. In particular, she examines portable metal objects and specifically a number of impressive discoveries made in the formative years of professional archaeology that include spectacular drinking goblets—*keros*, *aquillas*, and effigy cups—that have remained inadequately published since their early excavation.

At the regional and macro-scale, Tarragó explores the promotion of social difference and the reproduction of inequality employing a variation of the wealth finance model (D'Altroy and Earl 1985; Earl 2002) as a theoretical tool. Complex webs of meaning were constructed in temporally ordered rituals embedded in emblematic landscapes and public monuments. Ritual participants employed portable objects whose symbolic capital was a function of material composition, scarcity, and complex biographies that apparently emphasized long-distance movements and long-term use/display. Some valuables eventually entered secretive caches and/or tombs of deceased elites or human sacrifices. Especially important were portable objects of gold, silver, and copper (and their alloys) whose incorruptible metallic essence affirmed purity and power intensified and delivered through particulars of color, sound, and reflectivity of light. Reflective metal adornments that were simultaneously bells and rattles accompanied goblets—often matched pairs of vessels—from which alcoholic beverages were consumed in stylized rituals that may also have included the ingestion of psychotropic drugs.

The objects described and discussed by Tarragó were excavated in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and surrounding high Puna de Salta and Jujuy, northwestern Argentina. All are ascribed to the second half of the first millennium AD, when cosmological power and prestige emanated from Tiahuanaco through material things decorated with images and icons of its supernatural patrons. Discussion centers on ceramic and wooden, but primarily metal, artifacts from Rio Doncellas (or Agua Caliente de Rachaite in the southwest portion of the department of Cochinoca, collectively known as the "Colección Doncellas"), la Quebrada de La Cueva, el asentamiento de Volcán, and La Isla de Tilcara. Many recent radiocarbon, relative, and cross-datings are cited supporting contemporaneity of sites and styles with the ascendancy of the Tiahuanaco center, although few objects were directly associated with the absolute dates themselves.

Myriam Tarragó's interpretive descriptions provide valuable information to international scholars. They are essentially synchronic—affirming the materialization of social inequality through ritualized cosmological ideology in a vast system promoting linkage among

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

elites of distant communities. Although materialized in the archaeological remains themselves, this pan-regional association, or associations, remains poorly understood by archaeologists. What meanings were carried by ceremonial drinking from special vessels, employed in what kind of ritual contexts? Who participated in kero rituals, and how did the objects and associated practices construct social power? How were meaning and strength changed by expanding biographies of objects circulating in the vast and inadequately understood system of southern Andean exchange and interaction? Tarragó suggests no analogies, as perhaps with Malinowski's Kula, but she affirms that interment of valuables in elite graves demonstrates associations with the reproduction of social inequality. Prominence of human remains, as well as images of severed heads and captives, implies violence, probably human sacrifice, and/or warfare, at least in some times and places.

Unexplored by Tarragó are diachronic processes emphasized by many volume authors, especially the question of southern Andean antecedents for Tiahuanaco. If *keros* and Staff Gods appeared relatively late at Tiahuanaco—no earlier than AD 600 but more probably around AD 700 or 750—did southern Andean interaction contribute to the formation of the great center? Or did the southern Andean interaction grow in the light of Tiahuanaco's magnificence, as apparently assumed by Tarragó? Be that as it may, understandings of the Southern Andean Iconographic Series are greatly enhanced by Tarragó's new interpretive descriptions of these early discoveries of spectacular artifacts that participated in the same interaction sphere.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

D'Altroy, Terence N., and Timothy K. Earle
1985 Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy. *Current Anthropology* 26(2):187–206.

Earle, Timothy
2002 *Bronze Age Economics: The Beginnings of Political Economies*. Westview, Boulder, Colorado.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 14

Symbols, Offerings, and Metallic Goods from the Puna and Quebrada de Humahuaca, Northwestern Argentina

Myriam N. Tarragó

This chapter addresses precious objects from the Puna and Quebrada de Humahuaca of northwestern Argentina, examining collections of metallic objects to determine their technological and iconographic characteristics, as well as associations with other goods. At the same time, comparisons are made with similar materials from Chile and Bolivia to propose interpretations of their symbolic, religious, and political implications.

During the second half of the first millennium AD, southern Andean peoples experienced political developments resulting in differing degrees of organization and preeminence among the regional ethnic communities. As part of this process, representations of anthropomorphic deities and related themes were widely circulated. In the highlands of northwestern Argentina, one area experienced the development of an innovative and autochthonous style known as "La Aguada." Its art appears in many media, as well as richly varied regional manifestations, with its center of development in what are today the modern provinces of Catamarca and La Rioja. More or less simultaneously, but farther north, in the highlands of Salta and Jujuy, different conditions prevailed, with art demonstrating much greater influences from Tiwanaku, of the Lake Titicaca Basin, as well as territories under its dominion—the southern altiplano of Bolivia and the Atacama oases of Chile.

Among the goods of great symbolic value that circulated though this northern region were cups of the *kero* form. Many were manufactured of precious metal—gold or silver—as well as other media such as wood, stone, or pottery. Eventually ending up in offering caches or as grave furniture accompanying bodies of important dignitaries, in life these cups must have participated in a variety of ceremonies that involved consuming an alcoholic beverage and/or hallucinogenic substance from the eastern lowlands where "cebil" (*Anadenanthera* sp.) is abundant. Also appearing in prestigious and ceremonial offering contexts are sets of gold objects that adorned the clothing and headdresses of the entombed deceased.

Attempting to clarify the biography of these objects opens a series of perspectives regarding the production of signification in the relationship between society and objects of diverse uses. Circulation of goods in important contexts of social interactions progressively loaded the objects with meanings, potentially resignifying them such that they were transformed into active media producing and reproducing social hierarchy in a reciprocal process of value creation. Pursuing the "micro-history" of objects—their forms and uses—enables researchers to gain some insight into the mobile people who promoted these developments. Of course, it is important to consider the entire trajectory of the objects, from production through consumption, including circulation, exchange, distribution as gifts, and other acts fulfilling recognized duties (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1991).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

A great number of objects that circulated among Andean peoples were made of gold and silver, or a combination of these metals, often with copper, forming special alloys. Gold and silver had special ritual and political significance throughout the pre-Hispanic past, and this tradition continued prominently into Inca times. Indeed, Inca cosmology considered gold to be the sweat of the sun and silver to be the tears of the moon (Lechtman 1991). The transfer and distribution of sumptuous ceremonial objects during the Middle Period, or central Andean Middle Horizon, contributed greatly to the symbolic capital gained by the Tiwanaku polity as it transformed into an urban ceremonial center with pan-regional power (Janusek 2005).

Societies that developed or appropriated symbolic power from La Aguada–style iconography, regardless of the degree of their autonomy, also availed themselves of cosmological ideas originating and developing in the Lake Titicaca Basin (A. R. González 2004). But they were not the only societies in northwestern Argentina to participate in the great movement recently named the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS). Less known but no less important processes took place that are critical for understanding cultural complexity in the region. This chapter presents a study of these issues by analyzing a set of metallic objects consisting of collections from past excavations at sites in the Puna de Jujuy and Quebrada de Humahuaca that have been neglected in the published literature. Technological and iconographic characteristics are examined, as well as associations with other goods and their places in regional chronologies. At the same time, comparisons are made with related collections from Chile and Bolivia, making important inferences about the symbolic, religious and political implications of the objects.

The Quebrada de Humahuaca and Puna de Jujuy

Societies of the Quebrada de Humahuaca and adjacent Puna de Jujuy have been immersed, throughout their history, in multiple relations with communities of diverse environmental sectors, including the western desert, the humid eastern valleys, and, from their position along the Tropic of Capricorn, with societies of the altiplano as well as its eastern frontier (Albeck 1994; Tarragó 1994a). Because of this critical location, the Quebrada de Humahuaca and adjacent Puna de Jujuy seem to have played a pivotal role in cultural process within the southern Andes (Figure 14.1). Frontier areas are ideal places for investigating processes of cultural expansion since interferences of foreign sociopolitical forces frequently produce profound and diverse changes in local societies (Berenguer 1998; Tarragó 2006). Recent archaeological work in the Quebrada de Humahuaca has largely ignored the metal artifacts considered here, despite their importance for discussions of local cultural processes associated with influences from more complex state formations, especially Tiwanaku, during the centuries prior to the great cultural apogee of the Late Period, which included kingdoms based on social inequality in the southern Andes.

The important archaeological zone of Río Doncellas, or Agua Caliente de Rachaite, is located in the southeast of the department of Cochinoca, in the least arid portion of the Puna de Jujuy (Boman 1908; Vignati 1938). Within a space delimited by 22º45' to 23º latitude south and 66º to 66º20' longitude west are a series of sites that include a residential settlement covering 2.5 ha with ample agricultural areas surrounding it. Two cliffs or outcrops of volcanic dacitic tufa that bound the region on the north and south contain hundreds of tombs in sealed caves and special sepulchers of the type referred to as "grave-houses" (cf. Rydén 1947:404). A total of 96 such graves have been located at the foot of the southern outcrop, while some 800 sealed caves are reported for both cliffs (Ottonello 1973:30–33). Excavations conducted by Eduardo Casanova between 1941 and 1943 produced the "Colección Doncellas" that includes more than 3,000 objects currently located in the Museo Etnográfico de Buenos Aires and the Museo de Tilcara, Jujuy (Casanova 1943, 1944).

A valuable analysis of the spatial distribution of constructions and artifacts was completed during the 1970s (Ottonello 1973), and slightly later archaeologists undertook excavations in the residential settlement and its surroundings (Alfaro 1983, 1988; Alfaro and Suetta 1976). However, the discoveries have convinced prehistorians to assign Doncellas exclusively to the Late Intermediate Period and Late Period (AD 1000–1550). Of course, it is obvious that much of the material recovered, including the most visible structures, does belong to that important time span. However, they should not overlook a set of data that indicates the presence of several diachronic components: (a) architectural variants consisting of a stepped structure of quarried stone beside an open space on a prominence that dominates the entire site (Alfaro 1988:Figura 19), (b) presence of cylindrical as well as ashlar-shaped monolithic stones of volcanic tufa in wall construction contexts that surely represent reuse, (c) trichrome vessels with white dots (Alfaro 1988:92–93)

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 14.1. Map of the South-Central Andes showing locations of the Quebrada de Humahuaca, Puna de Jujuy, and archaeological sites discussed in the text.

associated with an Isla/Alfarcito component (Nielsen 2007:236), (d) a cache from the site of Peña Atajadera containing two effigy vessels of gold in Tiwanaku style, and (e) significant stylistic diversity in rock art painted on the cliffs, outcrops, and the stone walls of "grave-houses." These images range from post-Hispanic riders on horseback, to rows of rigid little llamas in Inca style, to curvilinear llamas with long necks, to an immense feline in red ochre, and even include mask-like images, as well as anthropomorphs with elaborate headdresses or plumes (cf. Alfaro 1978, 1988:109–126). These data emphasize the urgency of the most recent re-restudy of the collections, using modern methods of analysis as well as atomic mass spectrometer (AMS) radiocarbon dating.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Results include new dates, technological comparisons, and corrected chronological schemes that admit a great deal more time depth. Five traditional radiocarbon dates and three AMS dates span from as early as 4400 and 3400 BP until as recent as the Late Period. At the extreme top of the chronological chart are post-Hispanic materials, including horses with riders, a child accompanied by a cross of sticks, and a knife and needle of iron (Ottonello 1973); five chain links and a knife blade of iron from a room (Alfaro 1981–1982); and a silver coin minted in Potosí in 1677 that came from the burial of an adult from one of the caves (Vignati 1938:83–84).[1]

However, we want to focus on Tiwanaku items. During the 1974 field season, Diana Rolandi discovered exceptional artifacts in the mortuary area on the right bank of the Arroyo Antiguo (a place known as "Peña Atajadera," according to Alfaro 1988:49). While surveying, she observed a fragment of an ordinary vessel. Upon excavation, it became apparent that the fragment belonged to a utilitarian *olla*, blackish in color, 20.7 cm tall, that was covered by a bowl and the base of another similar vessel. Inside the *olla* were two effigy vessels of a gold-silver alloy, one upright that contained a necklace. The other vessel was inverted over the first; beside it was a bracelet of a copper alloy and three bangles with holes for suspension, of copper-silver alloy. The beads of the necklace total 394, of different size and thickness.

Although there are no radiocarbon dates for the span between AD 600 and 1000, the two gold effigy vessels of Tiwanaku affiliation indicate that, along with the ceramic evidence and the form of the stepped structure, part of the settlement must belong to the Middle Period or transitional moments at the beginning of the Late Intermediate.

The Quebrada de La Cueva is a subsidiary canyon of the Quebrada de Humahuaca that flows north to south, joining the larger valley near the modern city of Iturbe. Archaeological explorations in the region by Casanova in 1930 revealed valuable information about three locations and their surrounding areas of influence. The most important is Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva at 22°35' latitude south and 65°18' longitude west (see Figure 14.1). The residential nucleus of rectangular buildings was constructed of split stone masonry with quarried jambs over many doorways. This sophisticated architecture for the time and region relates to the Doncellas remains.

The building excavated by Casanova stands out among others for its greater dimensions and higher quality construction, as well as the archaeological contents discovered. In addition to *manos* for grinding and obsidian tools, five diagnostic cups of the Isla style were associated spatially with a pair of large ovoid jugs of the kind called *virque* (Editor's note: a large Inca jug into which liquids—especially *chicha*—were poured from drinking cups when elites drank toasts to the dead or to supernatural beings). The jugs were located in the two western corners of the room. Both these vessel shapes, storage jars and drinking cups, are obviously associated with the ceremonial preparation and ritual consumption of *chicha*—corn beer. Also discovered were cooking vessels and personal adornments of gold (Casanova 1933:297–299).

Excavations at the site by Susana Basílico in 1983 produced complementary materials. The new ceramics are consistent with pottery found by Casanova, of the Isla Tricolor and Bicolor styles, but also including cups of similar shape that were colored gray or brown, as well as utilitarian culinary pottery. She also excavated 29 coarse sandstone beads that are typical personal adornments of the era (Basílico 1987, 1992). One radiocarbon date spans the eighth and ninth centuries AD (LP-142: 1180 ± 50 BP uncalibrated).

Within the Isla ceramic style, a distinctively inflected cup shape seems to have had a special role. This shape is oval in cross section and hyperboloid in profile, like an hourglass, with convex lip, flat base, and vertical strap handle riveted to the body, usually above and below the vessel's constricted waist. Variations include bodies more like the section of a cone, or an oval, with a waist at the level of the handle, and even specimens with a cylindrical body and everted rim (Figure 14.2a–e). These cups approximate regional variants of the *kero* that belong to the southern Andean tradition of the Middle Period and especially the hourglass form defined by Goldstein (1985:103, Figure 13d) for Moquegua. The external surface is slipped red-purple, with vertical polishing marks, over which designs were painted with black and white lines or black alone. The design is characterized by play between two fields, the lower on the vessel body and the upper on its neck, above the handle. The division is marked by black lines or a flange or raised band at the waist, dividing the profile in two. Typical designs in the lower register include a row of triangles opposing another row, all filled with parallel black lines, black triangles, hatching, or a panel formed by a set of parallel lines that break into right angles to form triangular shapes with a step figure in the center (Figure 14.2c,d). This last design is the one most allied to Tiwanaku, a relationship suggested long ago by Debenedetti (1912). In the upper register, the same design may be repeated or replaced by triangles filled with white dots. On the inner edge of the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

rim, the common design is the simple or double zigzag line. In reflection, it seems significant to note that in the development in Moquegua and Humahuaca, in zones at the opposite ends of the Tiwanaku interaction sphere, regional ceramic styles share formal attributes as well as certain design elements. This recalls what occurred later, during the Late Period, with local Inca styles.

The temporal position of the Isla-style cups was established by cross-dating with materials named "Clase 27" from mortuary contexts excavated in San Pedro de Atacma, Chile (Tarragó 1977:Figure 4, 1989:423–424). The tomb of Quitor 5, ME-2241 containing a single individual had an Isla Tricolor cup as its singular ceramic object but in association with objects of wood that include a lovely Tiwanaku *kero* with two bands or flanges (Figure 14.3), making it very similar in proportions to the gold *kero* from Larrache (see below). The upper band is engraved with an interlocking fret design, composed of "L"-shaped elements, that appears in many Tiwanaku sculptures (Torres 2001:446, Figure 15). Perhaps the radiocarbon dates from the Muyuna S2 (LP-1467: 1230 ± 50 BP) and Tilcara 22 (LP-346: 1190 ± 90 BP uncalibrated) sites, which include an Isla-style component (Nielsen 2007:238; Rivolta and Albeck 1992), apply to these cups from other locations.

The archaeological site of Volcán sprawls across the elongated top of a cinder cone tangential to the Rio Grande de Jujuy. Its location is only 2,000 m above sea level, occupying the lower part of the Quebrada de Humahuaca where humid winds from the east bring more frequent rains, sufficient to support pasture, and tropical forest trees such as the cebil (*Anadenanthera* sp.) (Gatto 1946). The site covers some 7 ha, including a dense habitation zone that, at its maximum, reached as many as 600 stone-walled rooms. An axial raised causeway runs east to west across the site, dividing the site into two halves.

Figure 14.2. Vessels in the Isla style. (a) La Isla A, tomb 18, ME 2647; (b) Tricolor with white dots, Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva, ME 31-297; (c) ME 73-874, without provenience; (d) Tchecar Sur-695; (e) Tricolor with white dots, Quitor 6 2569-2573, San Pedro de Atacama.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 14.3. *Kero* of wood carved in Tiwanaku style, Quitor 5, Tomb 2241, San Pedro de Atacama.

Explorations by Casanova and Gatto in 1935 revealed a marvelous discovery, a gold *kero*. Furthermore, the room named *yacimiento* ME-10 produced more important materials. Of rectangular form, 6.3 m long, the room had an opening in the southeast corner, bordered by two vertical stone slabs. This doorway opened onto a lateral street that joined the principal causeway. Next to the western wall of the room, the archaeologists found two painted jars and between them a grind stone with the skull and bones of a llama and a utilitarian jar. At the foot of the grindstone, as though fallen, lay the golden cup (ME No. 35-224).[2]

At the northern extreme of the habitation zone, other grinding stones, both *manos* and *metates*, were found (Gatto 1946:Figure 11; Tarragó 2006:361). Although it may be that these contexts are later in time, the techno-morphological characteristics of the gold cup identify it with Tiwanaku metallurgy. Of course, it is wise to remember that the place has a long occupation, with radiocarbon dates ranging from an early episode 1,900 years ago up until the Inca takeover in the fifteenth century (Garay de Fumagalli 1998).

The island of Tilcara is located on the left margin of the Rio Grande, 7 km north of the Pucará de Tilcara. Salvador Debenedetti excavated there during the 1908 campaign of the Museo Etnográfico de Buenos Aires, in three cemetery areas: El Morro, Necropolis A, and Necropolis B. In the first two, he was able to distinguish individual tombs and excavated 11 and 21 burials, respectively (Debenedetti 1910). The El Morro cemetery is located in an elevated area separate from residential space, and although the Necropolis A graves contained few artifacts, El Morro burials included an impressive quantity of high-quality goods, especially objects of metal as well as other luxuries with each individual. One burial in particular stands out from all the others, ME-11, containing an inhumation accompanied by 142 items. By order of wealth, the next most impressive burials were Nos. 3, 6, and 4 (Tarragó 1994b). Much later, E. Casanova (1937) excavated additional mortuary contexts in the area, and most recently, Clara Rivolta (2000:19–20) has drawn plans, excavated rooms in Alto de la Isla, and sunken test probes into the El Morro and Necropolis cemeteries. No radiocarbon dates are available for the contexts discussed here, but the ceramic component with cups of the Isla style along with Early Yavi pottery, as well as the style of the metal objects accompanying the burials, suggest a tentative placement during the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD.

Symbols, Offerings, and Golden Cups

For many years, archaeologists have studied monuments as inert objects abandoned in the past, treating them as though their existence was almost independent of social life. Alternatively, if they are treated within a holistic configuration analyzing intrinsic contextual dimensions, and following their long-term trajectories, dynamism is achieved that permits significant interpretive levels (Miller 1987:110–112). Among the most important questions to ask is about the relationship between the signifier and the signified—that is, the form of representation and that which is represented (for underlying ideas, cf. Foucault 1990:11–17). Signs can be natural or arbitrary—established by humans in accord with convention. They may appear within the concept that is expressed or not, but in all cases, signs establish the link that permits communication of meaning through language and image, object referred to, or the matrices of signification involved. The relationship can only be established at a general level of understanding given that the signifier and signified are not connected except in that the two have been represented and that the one stands for the other (Foucault 1998:73). In this sense, symbols, representations perceived by the senses from a virtual reality that exists only as socially accepted convention, constitute a class of testimonies especially interesting for the study of material culture. These objects, through

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

their materiality, reveal a series of significations for the social group to which they belong that can, with the passage of time, transform into signs denotive of social status and rank. Their spatial distributions and associations preserved in the archaeological record possess grand potential for providing information about patterns of sociopolitical and economic activity. Among the symbols discovered—landscapes, public monuments, ceremonial contexts, icons, and portable objects—the final group was especially effective for long-distance communication among elites (DeMarrais et al. 1996).

Anthropological and ethnohistorical literature are replete with accounts from many societies of objects that function as insignias and emblems that confirm the rights of particular leaders within the paradigms of a local cosmovision that sustains the institutions of that society (Martínez 1986). A very special role seems to have been fulfilled by *kero* drinking cups, from the era of Tiwanaku through Inca times (Cummins 2007). Whether in polychrome ceramics, carved wood, or precious metal, *keros* circulated as objects of great symbolic value, materially admired for their designs, shine, and color, among many cultures and social spaces throughout the southern Andes. Intimately associated with feasting and consumption of alcoholic beverages, *keros* had great salience in relation to special persons located at the heart of societies negotiating various degrees of social complexity. Guamán Poma de Ayala (1980:262–263, 268–269), speaking of Collasuyo, affirmed that the Collas engaged in ritual drinking from *keros* in front of the *chullpa*, a vault or tower-shaped tomb into which the dead were placed. They also poured libations with these cups at the interment of the Inca emperor. Teresa Gisbert (1999:22) has found a pair, or four, wooden *keros* imbedded in the walls of the *chullpas* of Rio Lauca, in the Carangas region. Ramos Gavilán (1976:26), chronicler of Copacabana on Lake Titicaca, contributed to the topic when he commented that the cups from which the children to be sacrificed had drunk were buried with them. Indeed, in some tombs, numerous of these cups are found—called *queros* when they are of wood and *aquillas* when of silver. The presence of pairs of cups in many offering contexts, such as the effigy vessels of Contituque, Atacama (Llagostera 2004:152), and Doncellas, Puna de Jujuy, surely express to some a denotative aspect or the promotion of alliances (Sagárnaga 2008).

The *kero* cup was valued as an object and an icon in the imagery of Tiwanaku and for that reason was widely distributed throughout many regions. In stone sculpture, the "symbol *kero*" appears on the Gate of the Sun and on the personage with staffs on the Stone Receptacle for Offerings No. 1 from the Semi-subterranean Temple (Figure 14.4). On the Bennett and Ponce monoliths, the primary figure holds a *kero* in the left hand and a snuff tablet for snorting hallucinogenic powder in the right. Many metonymic versions of these complex figures circulated throughout the southern Andes, especially small and portable objects that participated in rituals where alcoholic beverages were consumed. This seems to have been a major feature of Tiwanaku expansionism in many parts of its vast sphere of influence (Berenguer 1998:27–34).

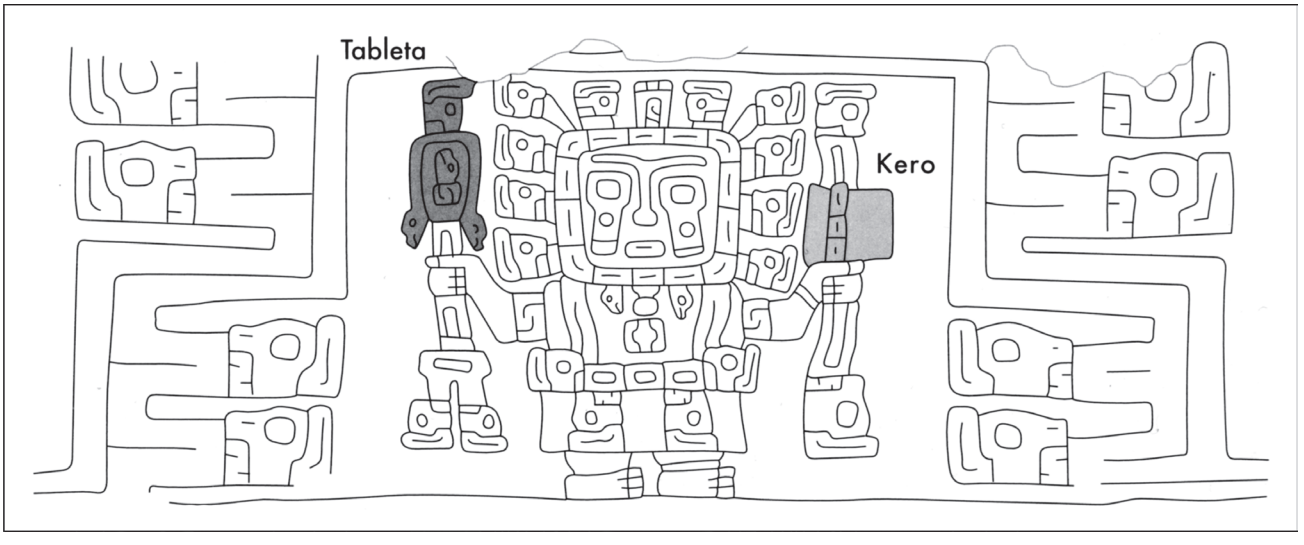


Figure 14.4. The *kero* symbol held by a Personage with staffs carved on the Stone Receptacle from Offerings No. 1 found in the Semi-subterranean Temple at Tiwanaku.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The pair of gold-silver alloy effigy cups from Doncellas is almost the same height (102 mm for Vessel 1 and 105 mm for Vessel 2). Each was manufactured by hammering, trimming, and embossing a single sheet of metal, and they weigh 56.8 g and 89.3 g, respectively (Figure 14.5a,b). A qualitative spectrographic analysis indicates that silver was the primary element, with gold accounting for only about 10 percent of the metal (Rolandi de Perrot 1974:158).[3]

The relief image of the human head wearing a cap, with a hairdo that hangs in a nested "Y" shape on the back, stands out clearly. The face is framed by a trapezoid with the chin constituting its base. The eyebrows join the trapezoidal nose, while the eyes are rhomboidal or diamond shaped, with a slight central protuberance representing the pupil. The mouth is an elongated rectangle, and at each end the cheekbones were saliently embossed. On the sides are hints of ear adornments. The better preserved of the *keros* is Vessel 2 (Figure 14.5b) that has a throat-like constriction between the representation of the head and the lower part of the vessel. Vessel 1, on the other hand, has a wrinkly appearance with a puckered scowl at the base of the nose. Careful inspection of the vessel surfaces reveals many dents in the basal portions, and some embossed designs have been almost worn away, apparently from so much handling before the cups were buried. This is especially apparent in the upper edge of the cups where the caps of the effigies were represented. This evidence of prolonged use of the cups before they were concealed in their final resting place speaks to a dense biography for the iconic objects. In view of their style, these objects were related to Tiwanaku since discovery (Alfaro 1988:49, Figure 16; Rolandi de Perrot 1974:159), an assignation that has been reaffirmed recently by A. R. González and Baldini (1992:11, Lámina 11).

Figure 14.5. Effigy vessels of gold from Doncellas: (a) *kero* I and (b) *kero* II with constricted waist. INAPL 2613.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Surely relating to the Doncellas discovery, another extraordinary find of gold-silver alloy objects comes from Pueblo Viejo de la Cueva, probably from funerary contexts. This collection belonging to Dr. Alfredo Linares includes an effigy cup 108 mm tall that averages about 0.64 mm thick and weighs 69.58 g (Figure 14.6). This *kero* has been modeled and embossed to form a human face, with somewhat quadrangular eyes and convex pupils, as well as arched eyebrows that turn sharply down to join the eagle-like nose that has very prominent nostrils. The rectangular mouth with parted lips suggests a man of mature age, an impression that is accentuated by bags under the eyes and worry lines on the cheeks and chin. The upper front of the vessel has been pushed in, between the mouth and nose. The material is basically gold with a complement of silver, nine parts to one, respectively.[4]

The upper rim of the cup is markedly convex, reminding one of the classic Puneño hat (see illustrations of this hat style by Guamán Poma de Ayala [1980:148, 268]) that characterizes Tiwanaku effigy vessels. Perhaps it once had a decorative design, invisible today from long use before being deposited in its final context. A bundle-shaped object can be seen on the back of the head, projecting from under the cap, with a band hanging from it that is decorated with parallel lines—perhaps representing hair. Below the neck and ears are modeled shoulders and arms that meet in front of the body. Three deep grooves at the end of each arm suggest fingered hands. Significantly, this posture with the hands together over the midriff resembles many Tiwanaku monoliths, especially those of small size, such as a miniature figure in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.14).

The Linares collection includes another *kero* of the same provenience decorated with wavy lines embossed on an upper and a lower zone, separated by a horizontal band that creates a waist. The style and manufacture clearly relate to Tiwanaku. This cup measures 106 mm tall, is 0.68 mm thick, and weighs 89.57 g. It appears to have been covered with red pigment that is still visible in some places, probably cinnabar (Figure 14.7a). Another *kero* that probably belonged to the same group is only 85 mm tall and weighs 71.27 g. It is plain, with expanded waistband (Figure 14.6b), and shows some similarities to the *kero* from Larrache, San Pedro de Atacama (Llagostera 2004:152; Tarragó 2006:Figure 13), as well as the gold cup from Pariti (Bennett 1936:Figure 30k).[5] A. R. González and Baldini (1992:Lamina 11-4) published another *kero* from this same locality, with a central register decorated with embossed volutes and stepped hooks of the same cultural affiliation.

A gold cup from Volcán has a hyperboloid shape that approaches the classic *kero* form with regard to the relationship of base to rim—mouth diameter 115 mm, base diameter 88.5 mm—as well as for the three convex bands it has on its constricted midportion (Figure 14.8a). This is one of the three styles of *kero* illustrated by Janusek (2001:Figure 2). It measures 161 mm tall and weighs 152 g. It also seems to have been covered with red pigment similar to cinnabar that is especially visible on the interior and exterior of the lip. According to a preliminary analysis by the Museo de Ciencias Naturales B. Rivadavia (Gatto 1946:63), it appears that the surface is

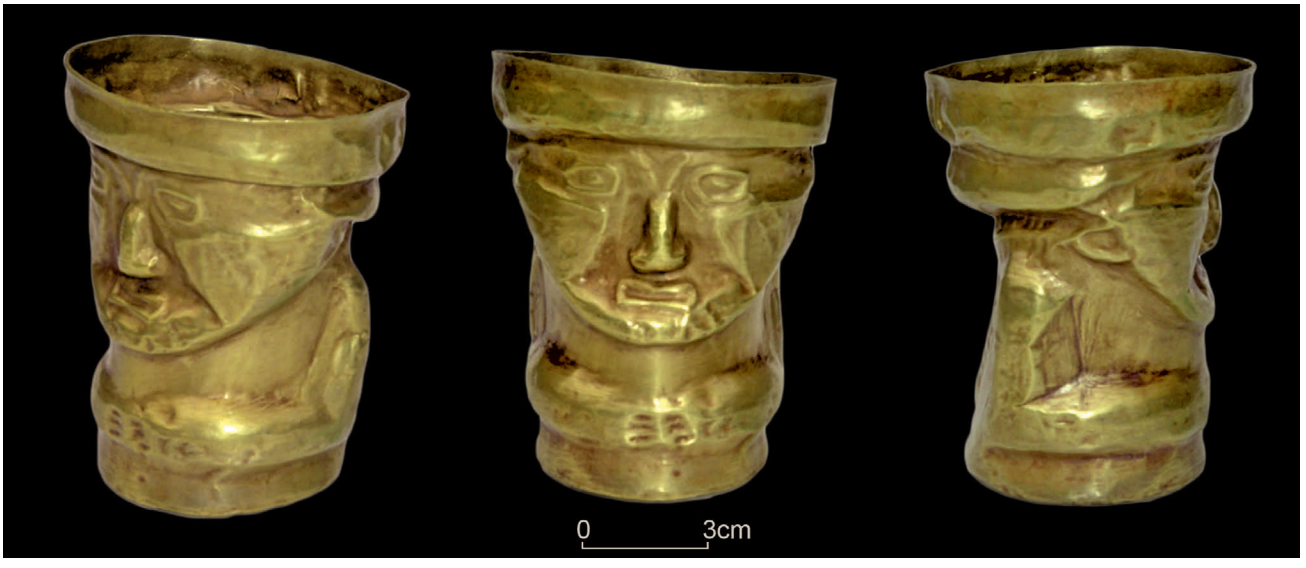


Figure 14.6. Effigy vessel of gold from Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva: front, profile, and three-quarters views. A. Linares collection.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

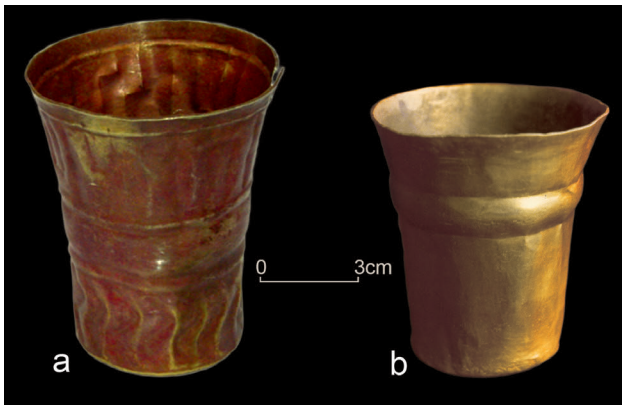


Figure 14.7. *Keros* in Tiwanaku style from Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva. (a) embossed vessel with red paint; (b) plain vessel with constricted throat. A. Linares collection.

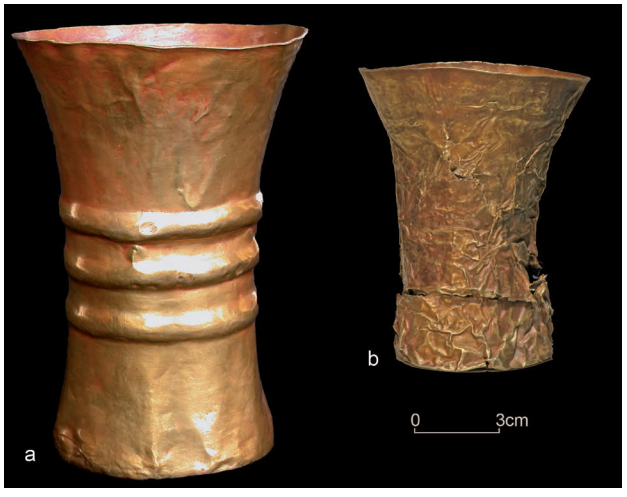


Figure 14.8. *Keros* of gold from the Quebrada de Humahuaca. (a) Volcán, with two constricted throats, ME 2276; (b) Hornillos, with deformation and breakage ME -90407.

high-quality gold, including some silver. Comparing this cup with the *kero* of Larrache, San Pedro de Atacama, one can see similarities in production technology (Tarragó 2006:Figure 13), for example, a zone of weakness in the union of the body with the base as a result of enlarging the gold sheet that, in the Volcán specimen, resulted in a break. Similarly, in both vessels, there are many small dents from prolonged use before their final deposit in an offering.

At the Pucará de Hornillos site, a coarse jar was discovered that contained remains of an infant. An equally coarse pitcher was also found within that contained a piece of metal twisted and folded several times, along with a necklace of malachite beads (Casanova 1942:256, Lamina 7a). After conservation, it was revealed that the piece of metal was a *kero* (Figure 14.8b) with a small base (56 mm) and wider mouth that measured 104 mm tall and weighed 53.3 g. Inclusion of this cup in the burial of a child constitutes an emphatic epilogue relating the biography of the *kero* associated with libations of great social and ceremonial importance, which only after prolonged use by many owners was employed to seal the short life of an infant.[6]

The impressive effigy vessels of gold from Doncellas and Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva, although of Tiwanaku tradition, may not have come from the lakeshore city but perhaps from regions under its influence. These effigy vessels as well as *aquillas* with constricted waist represent clear examples of circulation throughout the southern Andes of ceremonially valuable goods in the sense of "all those forms of action and symbolic representation that relate to the social, economic, ecological, political and even religious" (Berenguer et al. 2000:765, translation W. H. Isbell).

Sound and Color in Ceremonial Paraphernalia

Metals and especially gold, by virtue of their incorruptible nature, were used in the pre-Hispanic Andes as a medium to express cultural values and religious ideology of the highest symbolic worth. The unfolding of prestige and power constitutes the social scene within which Andean metallurgy was developed. Furthermore, it seems that the symbolism underlying the colors of gold and silver played a key part in the way these new values were expressed. Ancient smiths were obliged to produce a host of sumptuous objects for the elite that for the most part fulfilled ideological ends. What was desired was the reaction provoked by visually experiencing the objects, their sound and movement, and the color of the pieces. These impacts could only be appreciated in their ceremonial and ritual contexts, whether achieved within life-affirming events or celebrations of death. To create noise and movement, a large number of small sheets of metal were fastened together mechanically, producing flexible and mobile objects capable of making sounds and reflecting sunlight in accord with the gyrations of the individual carrying the object—often attached to a ceremonial costume. Given the great interest in the color of the metal, artisans were encouraged to become masters of alloying techniques (Carcedo de Mufarech and Vetter 1999). Other well-known specialties include mosaic encrustations in necklaces using malachite, lapis lazuli, and turquoise.

It is significant that among the collections discussed above, gold and silver objects were discovered that served as adornments, directly for the body, or for costume. It

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

is no accident that in the secret sanctum of Doncellas, together with the effigy cups, they found pectoral disks, a bracelet, and a long necklace of malachite beads. Three long silver ornaments have diameters between 68 and 81.5 mm. Circular in form with a hole in the center, they have a slightly concave profile that suggests the function of reflecting light from the front of a cap—perhaps like the "Arica fez" that was popular in the Late Period. Alternatively, they may have been used as bangles to hang on the chest of individuals wearing them. Three gold plaques of similar size and shape were encountered in Tiwanaku contexts at Larrache, San Pedro de Atacama (Llagostera 2004:151).

A bracelet from Doncellas is open and oval in shape, measuring 92.5 mm long but only 1 mm thick. It is composed primarily of copper. Additional adornments include a necklace of 394 malachite beads, probably originally strung on a wool string, of which some traces remain and whose clasp was made of rectangular wooden beads with three lateral holes on each side (Rolandi de Perrot 1974:158).

Grave No. 11 at Morro de La Isla was located in the middle of the cemetery, where it was clearly distinguished by its permanence and visibility. It contained bones of a single person who was accompanied by an extraordinary trousseau that included many offerings. It is the richest tomb on La Isla, with 143 items, making it one of the wealthiest burials ever found in northwestern Argentina (Debenedetti 1910:37–38). Intended as servingware, 71 red bowls were placed in the grave, of which approximately 50 preserved interior designs of black lines forming mostly triangles cross-linked into designs with two, three, or four sections. A total of 12 gray-colored bowls were found or with the interior polished black. Among the closed ceramic forms were six small jars decorated with cross-hatch of other simple design. Five mugs intended for beverages were recovered along with one trichrome cup of a style originating in the Chicha-Yavi area (Debenedetti 1910:Figure 160). A total of 96 ceramic vessels were recorded from this burial.

Some of these ceramic objects must have contained the large quantity of burned maize that is mentioned in the field notes, along with other food and drink that may have been placed in the jars. Traces of botanical impressions, on the interior walls of closed vessels, as well as heavy wear of the interior decorations of the bowls, document long use of these vessels. This demonstrates that this collection of ceramics had a significant use history before the pieces were offered as mortuary furnishings in the grave of a deceased individual.

A tool kit for specialized metallurgical work includes copper minerals of several types, two small stone polishers with a good deal of use-wear as well as red impregnations, scoria from founding, and two pieces of deer antler with wear showing their use for retouch. The presence of copper minerals in the artist's kit is suggestive. It might establish relations between metallurgy, a miraculous technical process that transformed stone into metal through the actions of fire, with powerful symbolic implications (L. R. González 2007). Furthermore, it is reasonable to suppose that power and prestige were intimately associated with the control and knowledge of technical skills in these ancient societies.

As regards ideology and rituals in propitiation of the natural world, a solid figure of a terracotta female llama was found, 110 mm long and 40 mm high, which Debenedetti (1910:245, Figures 184–185) considered a beautiful *illa*. On its ventral side are two pairs of mammary glands as large as the stumpy legs of the animal. Also excavated was a fragment of a similar llama figurine and the osseous remains of a large parrot or macaw, probably of the genus *Ara* or *Anodorrhynchus*.[7] There were also remains of another parrot of smaller size. As is well known, the impressive plumage of these birds, ranging from red, yellow, and turquoise, was long favored throughout the Andes for decorating headdresses and clothing. Such garments were probably included in the grave, but nothing has survived because of poor conditions for archaeological preservation.

The deceased individual buried in the tomb must have worn rich attire adorned with gold sheets hanging from or sewn to the garments. A total of 25 of these plaques were recovered, along with four small bronze bells. A large diadem measures 660 mm long and weighs 14.3 g. It must have been tied around a headdress (Figure 14.9). The band is of a consistent thickness, .14 mm, with smooth surface and no cracks from bending or stretching. There are slightly undulating marks visible that appear to have been caused as the metal was elongated. From the center of the band outward toward the edges, one can see marks running oblique to the long axis, revealing the technique used as the band was elongated by the smith, to give it curvature. The two ends narrow to terminate in triangular point, each with an orifice for tying.

The diadem or headband was accompanied by two lovely llama figures cut from sheet gold that may have been part of the headdress or decoration on the front of the deceased's *uncu* or shirt (Figure 14.10). The pair is almost identical, 39 mm tall (feet to head), with bodies

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 14.9. Diadem of gold, El Morro, Tomb 11, La Isla, ME 2989.

Figure 14.10. Llamas figures cut from sheets of gold: El Morro, Tomb 11, La Isla, ME 3000 and 3001.

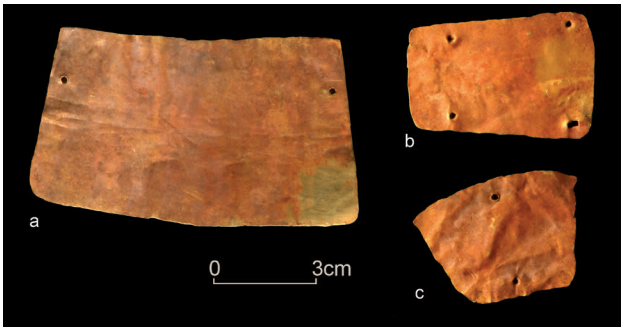


Figure 14.11. Pectoral adornos of gold, El Morro, Tomb 11, La Isla: (a) ME 2990; (b) ME 2991; (c) ME 2992.

31 mm long and .20 to .24 mm thick. Each piece weighs 2 g, but one of the two, ME-3001, retains traces of the llama's outline along which it was cut, probably with a bronze chisel. The edge of this cut was not evened up by polishing. A curious feature is the tail that was deliberately bent forward over the back at the tip. This may mark a specific posture of the female animal in heat. This same condition is represented in a figurine from Tabladitas, as well as some of the figures of Manuel Elordi, province of Jujuy, published by Ventura (1984–1985:Figures B–C). An orifice for hanging was placed where the neck and back join. Analysis of object ME-3000 revealed 78.89 percent gold, 19.34 percent silver, .051 percent copper, and 1.24 percent iron.[8]

Specimen ME-2990 is a trapezoidal sheet with a base 96 mm wide and .17 to .20 mm thick that weighs 8.6 g. The surface is well smoothed. Traces of a flat tool used to spread the metal can be detected along the edges, and a longitudinal line is also visible in the central area. The other trapezoidal plaque, ME-2991, is 55 mm long and weighs 3.7 g. It is composed of 77.19 percent gold, 21.45 percent silver, 0.43 percent copper, and .91 percent iron. Sheet ME-2992 is irregular in shape, 36 mm long and mostly of gold—82.99 percent. Silver accounts for only 15.66 percent, and there are traces of copper and iron as well (Figure 14.11a–c). Other objects of gold from the same collection include ME-2697, as well as additional fragments of plaques entered under the same catalog number, ME-2614. They are like other pieces, elongated rectangular sheets with perforations for sewing, but of copper. Six little bells of gold-silver alloy could have been sewed to clothing or placed like jingle bells attached to woolen strings hung on the extremities like wristbands of leggings. They were trimmed into circular or quadrangular sheets and then folded. Shaped somewhat like a pyramid with four folds, at the truncated peak, a hole was punched from the inside to facilitate suspension. The size and thickness (.20 mm) of the sheets are consistent, varying only slightly, which may suggest that these objects were manufactured according to a plan that anticipated the final form. The degree of the folds and height of the peaks differ somewhat, with ME-2996 the largest and best made, measuring 36 mm in diameter and 1.7 g in weight. ME-2994 measurers 35 mm wide and weighs 1.6 g. Analysis of ME-2998, weighing 1.4 g, reveals the content to include 82.96 percent gold and 17.03 percent silver (Figure 14.12a,b). Four pyramidal bells of bronze are made from circular sheets 85 mm in diameter that were folded four times using percussion and compression. They were pierced at the center for suspension (L. R. González and Cabanillas 2005). Considering their use, Debenedetti (1910:226–227) suspected that they were personal adornments, perhaps part of dance belts worn in ceremonial performances similar to practices by Chaqueñas tribes at the beginning of the twentieth century. In modern ceremonial costume, the ancient bronze bells have been replaced with rattles made of deer hooves, seeds of special plants, or metal sheets cut from tin cans and rolled up.

The deceased individual must have been buried with a pendent ornament composed of five stone disks, or beads, probably of volcanic tuff, that are distinct for their large size and slight weight. Of irregular shape, their diameter varies between 40 and 27 mm. Resembling

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

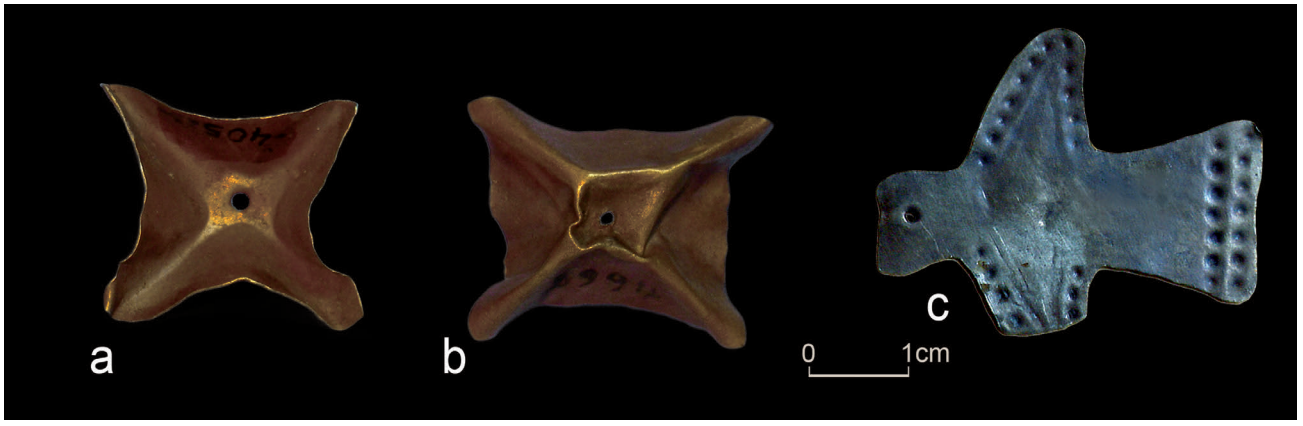


Figure 14.12. Jingle bells and bird effigy of gold: (a) El Morro, Tomb 11, La Isla, ME 2996; (b) ME 2994; (c) Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva, ME 31-326.

those recuperated from Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva, they are common in sites from the Puna and Atacama, constituting a class of adornment diagnostic of a transitional era during the development of the Late Intermediate Period. The offerings also include two highly polished bone tubes, one 55 mm long and the other measuring only 11 mm, that were surely associated with the imbibing of hallucinogens.

Goods of high symbolic and ceremonial value such as these metal objects are unique at Morro de La Isla. The investment in energy was very high, as was the degree of specialization in the metallurgical craft responsible for the emblematic art. Symbols associated with fertility of llamas along with the offering of the *guacamayo* suggest a person of special meaning who was clearly distinguished during the burial process (Tarragó 1994b). Considering mortuary landscape, El Morro was a place of interment for a particular social segment of high standing, considering the elaboration and abundance of mortuary goods and offerings. Speaking of Burial 11, Debenedetti commented as follows:

> This was the most important of the tombs explored at "El Morro," both in the number of items discovered as well as their quality and variety . . . it contained a single cadaver placed in a manner with such extraordinary goods that an analogical relationship can be inferred between this tomb and medieval chroniclers' descriptions of burials of Inca nobles, or their representatives [Debenedetti 1910:37, translation W. H. Isbell].

Excavation of the building at Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva by Casanova yielded spectacular personal adornments of gold, among them four bracelets, two rings, and a bird-shaped plaque. This latter pendant, ME 31-326, is shaped like a bird with wings spread, and is 35 mm long, is .20 to .24 mm thick, and weighs 1.4 g. Analysis indicates that the greater portion is silver (51.94 percent) while gold constitutes slightly less (48.05 percent). Alloying or some other technical process produced an iridescent effect with silver or gold appearance varying with how the object is moved in the light. The spread wings, which give the effigy its triangular shape, are outlined by a row of embossed dots and a pair of lines while the tail ends in a double row of similar dots. A suspension hole pierces the head (Figure 14.12c). According to A. R. González, the Early Intermediate Period was distinguished by oval and figure-eight–shaped plaques, as well as figures of birds with spread wings, cut from thin gold sheet, such as the bird pendant just described (A. R. González and Baldini 1992:9).

Wrist band ME 31-323 is 48 mm in diameter and 5.9 g in weight. It belongs to the open type and has borders raised upward slightly. The width is 11 mm but reduces toward the ends. Analysis in CONEA determined that it contains 78.60 percent gold and 21.15 percent silver. A ring, ME-31-324, consisting of an open-ended rolled ribbon 20 mm in diameter, contains 57.65 percent gold and 42.34 percent silver (Figure 14.13a,b).

Complementing the information about ceremonial adornments presented in this chapter is a collection of objects from Linares del Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva. Included are three gold bracelets, containing only about 10 percent silver, that are more or less identical to the one described above. Given their diminutive size, they seem to have been intended for small children.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

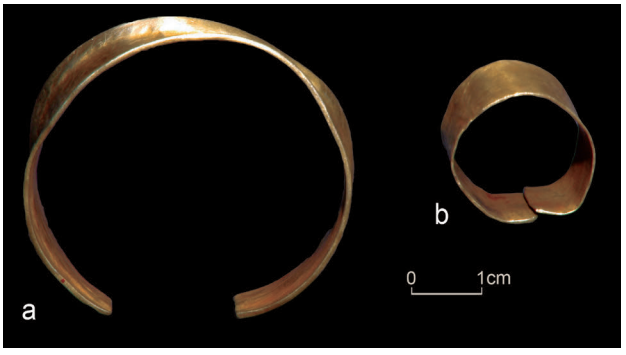


Figure 14.13. Bracelet and ring of gold from Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva: (a) ME 31-323; (b) ME 31-324.

Another object of personal adornment is a pectoral in the shape of a "U" that is 54 mm long, with two suspension holes at the extremes of its half-moon shape. This is a bimetallic object, basically of silver, but with a band of sheet gold attached to the middle of the front side. Half-moon–shaped ornaments with downward projections may be smooth, with embossed dots, or anthropomorphic faces on the tips. An example discovered by Krapovickas (1955:Lamina IIi) in Tebenquiche is in the Museo Etnográfico, and another is in the collection of B. Vázquez de Santa María, from the Valle del Cajón. Several similar specimens from Lípez belong to the Museum of the American Indian (Washington, D.C.). All are associated with early contexts or Middle Period remains (A. R. González 1979:147; A. R. González and Baldini 1992:Lamina IV).

Another piece of gold sheet has been cut into the form of a bicephalic llama. Two heads project from its body, one at each end as though a reflection of itself. The form of the heads—the ears and especially the open maw with canine teeth—presents something of a feline aspect. Embossed dots outline the mouths, eyes, and two collars formed or a double row of punctations. The effigies measure 64 mm tall and a maximum of 90 mm long, and they average .2 mm thick. Point perforations appear in each snout and the upper part of the back (Ventura 1984–1985:196–197). The composition resembles that of other objects containing nine parts gold and one part silver.[9] Furthermore, similar images appear in the rock art of Ancasti and Catamarca, while observers may also be reminded of the "Señor de los Camélidos" theme—an anthropomorphic figure who rises above bicephalic camelids—in "La Isla"–style petroglyphs from northern Chile. According to Berenguer (1999:29–31), this latter style postdates the Tiara style of northern Chile and developed during the first millennium AD.

In the search for similar objects and styles, it is significant that a semi-lunar object similar to those described above appears on headdresses of the Colla Indians, as drawn by Guamán Poma de Ayala (1980:148, 268). Furthermore, the "Tesoro de San Sebastián" from Cochabamba, Bolivia, includes a pair of trapezoidal pectorals quite similar to one from the Linares collection, as well as two circular gold disks with embossed volutes and a central perforation, in more or less the same style. Another pair of pectorals from the same San Sebastián mortuary collection, with cut-out birds pendant from both long sides, belongs to the same style as object ME-31-236 (illustrated in Figure 14.12c) (Berenguer 2000:72–73).

In the Quebrada de Humahuaca, a number of gold mortuary masks have been found. Two of them were excavated with other offerings in two separate burials at Puerta de Juella de Maidana; another probably came from the lower portion of the settlement on La Isla, a fourth from Tilcara, and a fifth from Huacalera. Encrusted with a red pigment, the last belongs to the André collection.[10] Significantly, the first three masks were discovered in association with ceramic cups of the Isla Polychrome style (A. R. González 1973).

In the André collection, there are also bells and sheets of gold similar to those described for La Isla. Another object is similar to one of the various gold feather-like diadems found in the priests' house at San Pedro de Atacama (Llagostera 2004:151), while three other feathers or head decorations are made from a sheet of gold 15 to 18 mm wide and 100 mm long, with a fastening hole at the bottom. At the opposite end, the object expands into a sort of circular disk that terminates in belled edges. Another sheet metal object, ME-4375, terminates in a half-moon shape that resembles a piece from Pueblo Viejo de la Cueva. All these data show what an impressive number of gold objects have been found associated with pre-Hispanic costumes and mortuary offerings from the province of Jujuy.

Exceptional excavation contexts containing spectacular luxury goods, sometimes in significant numbers, confirm the existence of high-ranking actors with access to long-distance traffic. Corporeal adornment with profusion of gold and silver jewelry confirms the presence of ceremonial costumes in which socially prestigious lords or leaders participated in festivities that included the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and music as diverse rites was surely carried out. Emergence of regional styles such as Isla and Alfarcito, which are characterized by luxury goods that circulated throughout the "Circumpuneño" area—located at the latitude of the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Tropic of Capricorn—is consistent with the emergence of new social groups that sought to legitimize their local preeminence within a greater process of increasing sociopolitical complexity.

Circulation of Goods, Emblems, and Symbolic Power

One of the most highly valued properties of metal in the Andean world was color (Lechtman 1991), which is based on its role in communication and promotion of symbolic power. Color was related to an aesthetic of brilliance throughout the Americas. The world was imbued by a spirit of shininess, derived from the generative capacity of light in connection with cosmological power, within which the transformative spheres combined aspects of symbolism, ritual, and technological activity (Saunders 2003).

In Inca times, ceremonies and rituals involved grand scenarios and actuations that employed a series of iconic objects, including pairs of fancy drinking cups for ceremonial toasts and ratification of alliances (Sagárnaga 2008). The production and consumption of special drinks seems to have been critical to and from the beginning, associated with these actuations, ceremonies, and sacrificial events. Transition to the afterlife re-created and put in motion these symbolic processes.

Exceptional effigy cups curated and jealously guarded for generations constitute a paradigmatic case of value afforded such goods within a social space that conferred specific meaning on them. The *aquilla* from Volcán represents an iconic object securely stowed within a great jar that safely protected its integrity—given that it survived into our times in perfect condition. In this example as well as that of Doncellas, the iconic object is the *kero*-shaped cup that was surely associated with festive consumption of fermented beverages made of corn and other cereals. The effigy cup from the Linares collection could have come from a similar archaeological context, or perhaps it accompanied an important person in his or her transition to the afterlife—as an offering of an emblem. In the other two cases analyzed, metallic vessels were replaced by ceramic cups, of the Isla style in the example from Pueblo Viejo de la Cueva and in the case of tomb No. 11 from Morro, by an imported vessel of the early Chicha-Yavi style that was highly prized in long-distance exchange.

Metal goods associated with ceremonial attire, such as patens, diadems, bracelets, and other jewelry, were material symbols associated with religious and social domains of the Tiwanaku political sphere that continued in use into Inca times. These objects, based on their properties of color, shine, and sound, were attributed great significance as social markers for the afterlife. The cemetery of Morro de La Isla, with its exceptional offerings from Tomb 11, implies that places of death were spatial metaphors inscribed into built environments of the past (Rivolta 2000). Such spaces were designed to constitute differences in power within the social universe, with a goal of establishing norms that accepted distinctions marked as relevant (Isbell 2004). Objectification of the social being of the venerated dead encouraged the production and reproduction of dialectical relations of cohesion within the diversity of groups characterized by face-to-face relationships (Miller 1987).

The ubiquity of diagnostic ceramics in archaeological sites of the "Periodo Medio" favors analyses of stylistic variation within the southern Andean iconographic tradition, making it possible to discuss spheres of interaction between Wari and Tiwanaku (Cook 2004; Isbell and Knobloch 2006; Isbell and Silverman 2006). Simultaneously, advances have been achieved in studies of textile arts as well as carved wood, thanks to the outstanding preservation of archaeological contexts from the Atacama Desert, as well as dry rock shelters (Oakland 1986; Torres 2001, among others). Conversely, artifacts of metal are less studied, perhaps because they are so scarce in the archaeological record. Nonetheless, it is essential to include them in our discussion of cultural interactions since they document inadequately understood processes that characterized the SAIS. The formal attributes observed in the *aquillas* of embossed gold (Figures 14.7 and 14.8) as well as effigy cups (Figures 14.5 and 14.6) show that the principal relationship is with the stonework of Tiwanaku and especially the anthropomorphic statues—or monoliths (Berenguer 1998, 2000). Features of the cup from the Linares collection are especially interesting. The form of the headdress or hat and the profile of the face resemble the heads of the monoliths, particularly one drawn by Alcides D'Orbigny in 1839. Furthermore, the position of the shoulders and arms is like that of several miniature monoliths from the altiplano of Bolivia. In terms of the big picture, it seems likely that they constitute a metonymic version of the principal icon of southern Andean iconography, the Staff God, with many variations in different media that appear in Arica, Atacama, and in northwestern Argentina. In the latter region, the most salient image occurs on oval plaques of bronze that depict a deity, usually with arms spread but empty hands, who often has attributes of a Sacrificer (A. R. González 1992).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

As regards the temporal placement of the metal objects analyzed from Jujuy, cross-correlating local relative chronologies with radiometric dating currently available for the Tiwanaku center, as well as the Pariti Island discoveries, implies a span between AD 600 and 1150 (Kolata 2003; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005). Furthermore, the complexity of the SAIS embodies multiregional and transcultural interactions involving cultures of the altiplano as well as the Transverse Valleys of eastern Bolivia, the Norte Grande of Chile, and northwestern Argentina. This was a dynamic tradition that implicated ideology as much as iconography that was part of the universal symbolic competence of Andean peoples (Isbell and Silverman 2006). In many and diverse reinterpretations and hybridizations, the people of northwestern Argentina participated, but not as a uniform block. Rather, participation involved diverse areas integrating and reintegrating assorted cultural spheres. Certainly, the two most salient of these traditions are the iconography and style known as La Aguada, from the central part of the semiarid valleys, while the other is from the distant Quebrada and Puna de Jujuy, bordering the Atacama and Lípez regions. In contrast with Staff God and Sacrificer iconography in La Aguada, with its heavy symbolic load, societies of Tropic of Capricorn latitudes appear to have followed other paths of symbolic expression, emphasizing greater abstraction in the expression of ideology, as implied by such elaboration and variation in ceramics. Nonetheless, shiny metallic artifacts, wooden tablets for the consumption of hallucinogenic powders, and use of *kero*-shaped cups of gold or pottery—as well as bloody human sacrifices documented by trophy heads throughout the Jujuy region—demonstrate that local societies participated in the beliefs and practices characteristic of the religious ideology of the time.

Throughout this period of time, social inequality and political power were on the increase, but not in a homogeneous manner. Processes were uneven and often involved the combined effects of contact among diverse social groups, for example, participating in pan-regional ceremonies, pilgrimages, and festivities that encouraged the display symbols of ethnicity. A panorama of interdigitated peoples distributed across the vast Puna de Atacama, as well as its immediately surrounding lands, is perhaps a good beginning for understanding the complex social history implied by the biography of sumptuous and ceremonial objects—best represented by shiny metal artifacts discussed in this chapter (Martínez 1998). As the culmination of the social and historical processes that promoted political complexity in late pre-Hispanic times, we can point to the proliferation of fortified settlements as well as warfare among hierarchical political formations that characterized the extent of the valleys, Puna basins, and the entire altiplano from the twelfth or thirteenth century on.

Acknowledgments

Thanks go to Dra. Diana Rolandi de Perrot for providing access to the gold cups of Doncellas, Dr. A. Linares for supplying photographs of his collection, Dr. Luis R. González for sharing his research methods as well as commentaries, Gimena Ávalos for sharing the inventory of the La Isla collection, Carlos Belotti López de Medina for osteological analyses of avian remains, Marcelo Lamamí and Catriel Greco Mainero for their work with the images, Clarisa Otero for information about collections at the Instituto de Tilcara, and of course the diligent collaboration of Silvia Manuale and staff in charge of archaeology storage at the Museo Etnográfico de Buenos Aires. Special thanks to Dr. William H. Isbell for the English translation.

Notes

1 Dates for Doncellas materials: CSIC-576: 640 ± 50 BP, CSCIC-577: 360 ± 50 BP, CSIC-578: 740 ± 50 BP, CSIC-579: 640 ± 50 BP, and CSIC-595: 310 ± 50 BP (Alfaro 1988:152–153). BETA-93787: 720 ± 70 BP, AA-65130: 4811 ± 39 BP (Pérez de Micou 1996, 2009). AMS date: 3400 ± 40 BP, from Sitio 14 "Cueva del Hechicero" (Hugo Yacobaccio, personal communication, 2009).

2 Code ME: Museo Etnográfico Juan B. Ambrosetti, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

3 The "Colección Doncellas" is No. 2613, at the Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano (INAPL), Buenos Aires. Significantly, both *keros* present a golden color on the exterior and interior surfaces, which seems inconsistent with their compositions.

4 Report of the Dirección de Minería to Dr. Alfredo Linares. San Salvador de Jujuy, 1983.

5 Registered in the Registro Nacional de Colecciones de la República Argentina, Ley 25743, are No. 66.7286503.094 (effigy cup), No. 66.7286503.093 (*kero* with wavy lines), and No. 66.7286503.091 (plain *kero*).

6 An effigy vessel of trunco-conical form and an anthropomorphic face in relief on the front was illustrated by Lafón (1964); M. E. Albeck and B. Varga reported a gold vessel from Santa Victoria Oeste to the XIV Congreso of Arqueología Chilena, Copiapó, 1997.

7 Analysis of the bones labeled ME-2615 reveals that they belong to a large macaw, or guacamayo, in the size range of the species in the genus *Anodorrhynchus*, or the even larger species of the genus *Ara* (e.g., *Ara chloroptera*) (Belotti López de Medina, report, March 2008).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

8 These chemical compositions were determined for ME-3000, 2998, 2992, 2697, and 2991 from La Isla and Nos. 31-323, 31-325, and 31-326, from Pueblo Viejo de La Cueva, using energy-dispersive X-ray spectroscopy (EDS) with an instrument (EDAX-DX4) attached to an electron scanning microscope, in the laboratories of the Centro Atómico Constituyentes (Comisión Nacional de Energía Atómica). Each of the values reported is an average from five measurements made on clean surfaces in May 2008.

9 Registered in the Registro Nacional de Colecciones de la República Argentina, Ley 25743, are No. 66.7286503.089, the half-moon shaped object, and No. 66.7286503.090, the bicephalic llama.

10 The André collection is curated at the Instituto Interdisciplinario Tilcara that is administered by the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

References

Albeck, María Ester (editor)

1994 *Taller "De Costa a Selva." Producción e Intercambio entre los pueblos agroalfareros de los Andes Centro Sur*. Instituto Interdisciplinario Tilcara, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, UBA, Tilcara.

Alfaro, Lidia C.

1978 Arte rupestre en la cuenca del río Doncellas (Provincia de Jujuy, República Argentina). *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 12:123–146.

1981–1982 Materiales arqueológicos posthispánicos en la cuenca del río Doncellas, Provincia de Jujuy. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 14(2):81–83.

1983 Investigación arqueológica en la cuenca del Río Doncellas (provincia de Jujuy). Integración de la puna jujeña a los centros cúlticos andinos. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 15:25–47.

1988 *Excavación de la cuenca del río Doncellas. Reconstrucción de una cultura olvidada en la Puna Jujeña*. Departamento de Antropología y Folklore, San Salvador de Jujuy.

Alfaro, Lidia C., and Juan Manuel Suetta

1976 Excavaciones en la cuenca del río Doncellas. *Antiquitas, Boletín de la Asociación de Amigos del Instituto de Arqueología* 22–23:1–32.

Basílico, Susana

1987 Pueblo Viejo de la Cueva: sitio arqueológico en el Departamento de Humahuaca, Provincia de Jujuy. Recuperación de información contextual y cronología. Tesis de Licenciatura inédita, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Católica Argentina, Buenos Aires.

1992 Pueblo Viejo de la Cueva (Dpto. De Humahuaca, Jujuy). Resultados de las excavaciones en un sector del asentamiento. *Cuadernos* 3:108–127.

Bennett, Wendell C.

1936 *Excavations in Bolivia*. Anthropological Papers, Vol. 25, Pt. 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Berenguer, José

1998 La iconografía del poder en Tiwanaku y su rol en la integración de zonas de frontera. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 7:19–37.

1999 El evanescente lenguaje del arte rupestre en los Andes Atacameños. In *Arte Rupestre en los Andes de Capricornio*, edited by José Berenguer and Francisco Gallardo, pp. 9–56. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.

2000 *Tiwanaku. Señores del lago sagrado*. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.

Berenguer, J., Tom Dillehay, and Ana M. Barón

2000 Introducción al simposio de ceremonialismo en los Andes del Sur. *Actas XIV Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Chilena*, t. 1, Contribución Arqueológica 5:765–767.

Boman, Eric

1908 *Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine et du Désert d'Atacama*. I. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris.

Carcedo de Mufarech, Paloma, and Luisa Vetter

1999 Usos de minerales y metales a través de las crónicas. In *Los Incas. Arte y símbolos*, edited by F. Pease, C. Morris, J. I. Santillana, R. Matos, P. Carcedo de Mufarech, L. Vetter, C. Arellano, V. Roussakis, and L. Salazar, pp. 167–213. Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Casanova, Eduardo

1933 Tres ruinas indígenas en la quebrada de La Cueva. *Anales del Museo Nacional de Historia Natural B. Rivadavia* 37:255–320.

1937 Contribución al estudio de la arqueología de La Isla. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 1:65–70.

1942 El pucará de Hornillos. *Anales del Instituto de Etnografía Americana* 3:249–265.

1943 Comunicación acerca del yacimiento de Doncellas. *Boletín de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología*. Resúmenes de actividades 5–6:80–81.

1944 Una estólica de la Puna Jujeña. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 4:115–132.

Cook, Anita G.

2004 Wari Art and Society. In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman, pp. 146–166. Blackwell, Malden, Massachusetts.

Cummins, Tom

2007 Queros, Aquillas, Uncus, and Chulpas: The Composition of Inka Artistic Expression and Power. In *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power*, edited by R. L. Burger, C. Morris, and Ramiro Matos, pp. 267–312. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Debenedetti, Salvador
1910 *Exploración arqueológica en los cementerios prehistóricos de la Isla de Tilcara (Quebrada de Humahuaca, Provincia de Jujuy) Campaña de 1908*. Publicaciones de la Sección Arqueológica 6. Universidad de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires.
1912 *Influencias de la cultura de Tiahuanaco en la región del noroeste argentino. Nota preliminar*. Publicaciones de la Sección Antropológica 2. Universidad de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires.

DeMarrais, Elizabeth, Luis J. Castillo, and Timothy Earle
1996 Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies. *Current Anthropology* 37:15–86.

Foucault, Michel
1990 *La arqueología del saber*. 14th ed. Siglo Veintiuno, México.
1998 *Las palabras y las cosas*. 16th ed. Siglo Veintiuno, México.

Garay de Fumagalli
1998 El pucará de Volcán, historia ocupacional y patrón de instalación. In *Los desarrollos locales y sus territorios*, edited by María B. Cremonte, pp. 131–153. Universidad Nacional de Jujuy, San Salvador de Jujuy.

Gatto, Santiago
1946 Exploraciones arqueológicas en el Pucará de Volcán. *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 4, Antropología 18:1–84.

Gisbert, Teresa
1999 *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes. La imagen del otro en la cultura andina*. Universidad Nuestra Señora de La Paz, Plural Editores, La Paz.

Goldstein, Paul
1985 Tiwanaku Ceramics of the Moquegua Valley, Perú. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Illinois.

González, Alberto R.
1973 Máscaras metálicas del NO. Argentino. In *Estudios dedicados al Profesor Dr. Luis Pericot*, pp. 411–441. Instituto de Arqueología y Prehistoria, Universidad de Barcelona, Barcelona.
1979 Pre-Columbian Metallurgy of Northwest Argentina: Historical Development and Cultural Process. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Pre-Columbian Metallurgy of South America*, edited by E. Benson, pp. 133–202. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
1992 *Las placas metálicas de los Andes del Sur. Contribución al estudio de las religiones precolombinas*. AVA-Materialien 46, Mainz.
2004 La arqueología del Noroeste argentino y las culturas formativas de la cuenca del Titicaca. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 29:7–38.

González, Alberto R., and Marta Baldini
1992 La Aguada y el proceso cultural del NOA. Origen y relaciones con el Área Andina. *Boletín del Museo Regional de Atacama* 4:6–24.

González, Luis R.
2007 Tradición tecnológica y tradición expresiva en la metalurgia prehispánica del Noroeste Argentino. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 12(2):33–48.

González, Luis R., and Edgardo Cabanillas
2005 Las campanillas piramidales del Noroeste Argentino. *Pacarina* 4:25–34.

Gosden, Chris, and Yvonne Marshall
1999 The Cultural Biography of Objects. *World Archaeology* 31(2):169–178.

Guamán Poma de Ayala, F.
1980 *Nueva coronica y buen gobierno*, 1615. Siglo XXI, México DF.

Hernández Llosas, Isabel
1983–1985 Las calabazas prehispánicas de la Puna centro-oriental (Jujuy, Argentina). Análisis de sus representaciones. *Anales de Arqueología y Etnología* 38–40:77–159.

Isbell, William H.
2004 Mortuary Preferences: A Wari Culture Case Study from Middle Horizon Perú. *Latin American Antiquity* 15(1):3–32.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia K. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery. In *Andean Archaeology III. North and South* edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Helaine Silverman
2006 Rethinking the Central Andean Co-Tradition. In *Andean Archaeology III. North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 497–518. Springer, New York.

Janusek, John W.
2001 Diversidad residencial y el surgimiento de la complejidad en Tiwanaku. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:251–294.
2005 Patios hundidos, encuentros rituales y el auge de Tiwanaku como centro religioso panregional. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 9:161–184.

Kolata, Alan L. (editor)
2003 *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland. Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization: 2. Urban and Rural Archaeology*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Kopytoff, Igor
1991 La biografía cultural de las cosas: la mercantilización como proceso. In *La vida social de las cosas. Perspectiva cultural de las mercancías*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, pp. 89–122. Grijalbo, México DF.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Korpisaari, Antti, and Martti Pärssinen (editors)
2005 *Pariti: isla, misterio y poder. El tesoro cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku.* La Paz.

Krapovickas, Pedro
1955 *El yacimiento de Tebenquiche (Puna de Atacama).* Publicaciones del Instituto de Arqueología 3. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.

Lafón, Ciro R.
1964 De arte antiguo humahuaca. In *Homenaje a Fernando Márquez-Miranda. Arqueólogo e Historiador de América*, edited by Juan Comas, pp. 221–241. Editorial Universidad, Madrid.

Lechtman, Heather
1991 La metalurgia precolombina: tecnología y valores. In *Los orfebres olvidados de América*, pp. 9–18. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago de Chile.

Llagostera M., Agustín
2004 *Los antiguos habitantes del Salar de Atacama. Prehistoria Atacameña.* Pehuén Editores, Santiago.

Martínez, José Luis
1986 El "personaje sentado" en los keru: hacia una identificación de los Kuraka andinos." *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 1:101–124.
1998 *Los pueblos del chañar y el algarrobo. Los atacamas en el siglo XVII.* Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, Santiago.

Miller, Daniel
1987 *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Nielsen, Axel
2007 El periodo de desarrollos regionales en la Quebrada de Humahuaca: aspectos cronológicos. In *Sociedades Precolombinas Surandinas*, edited by V. Williams, B. Ventura, A. Callegari, and H. Yacobaccio, pp. 235–250. Artes Gráficas Buschi S.A., Buenos Aires.

Oakland, Amy S.
1986 Tiahuanaco Tapestry Tunics and Mantles from San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by Ann P. Rowe, pp. 101–121. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Ottonello, María M.
1973 Instalación, economía y cambio cultural en el sitio tardío de Agua Caliente de Rachaite. *Publicaciones de la Dirección de Antropología e Historia* 1:24–68.

Pérez de Micou, Cecilia B.
1996 Los artefactos sobre materias primas vegetales de la Colección Doncellas, Museo Etnográfico (Buenos Aires) y Museo del Pucará (Tilcara). Tesis doctoral inédita, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, UBA, Buenos Aires.
2009 Indicios arcaicos en la Colección Doncellas, Jujuy (República Argentina). El "Yacimiento 26" a la luz de un fechado radiocarbónico (4811 ± 39 AP). *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 38(1):75–85.

Ramos Gavilán, A.
1976 *Historia del célebre santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*, 1621. Academia Boliviana de la Historia, La Paz.

Rivolta, Clara
2000 *90 años de investigaciones en la Quebrada de Humahuaca: un estudio reflexivo.* Monográfica 5, Instituto Interdisciplinario Tilcara. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Tilcara.

Rivolta, Clara, and María Ester Albeck
1992 Los asentamientos tempranos en la localidad de Tilcara: SJujTil22, Provincia de Jujuy. *Cuadernos* 3:86–93.

Rolandi de Perrot, Diana
1974 Un hallazgo de objetos metálicos en el área del río Doncellas (Provincia de Jujuy). *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 8:153–166.
1979 Los tejidos del río Doncellas, provincia de Jujuy. In *Actas Jornadas de Arqueología del Noroeste Argentino, Antiquitas*, pp. 22–73. Universidad del Salvador, Buenos Aires.

Rydén, Stig
1947 *Archaeological Researches in the Highlands of Bolivia.* Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, Goteborg.

Sagárnaga, Jédu
2008 Alianza y ritualidad en Tiwanaku. Las vasijas pares de Pariti. *Chachapuma, Revista de Arqueología Boliviana* 4:5–25.

Saunders, Nicholas J.
2003 "Catching the Light": Technologies of Power and Enchantment in Pre-Columbian Goldworking. In *Gold and Power in Ancient Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia*, edited by Jeffrey Quilter and John W. Hoopes, pp. 15–47. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Scattolin, María Cristina
2006 De las comunidades aldeanas a los curacazgos en el Noroeste Argentino. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 10:357–398.

Tarragó, Myriam N.
1977 Relaciones prehispánicas entre San Pedro de Atacama (Norte de Chile) y regiones aledañas: la Quebrada de Humahuaca. *Estudios Atacameños* 5:50–63.
1989 Contribución al conocimiento arqueológico de las poblaciones de los oasis de San Pedro de Atacama en relación con otros pueblos puneños, en especial, el sector septentrional del Valle Calchaquí. Tesis doctoral inédita, Facultad de Humanidades y Artes, Universidad Nacional de Rosario, Argentina.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1994a Intercambio entre Atacama y el borde de la Puna. In *Taller de Arqueología De Costa a Selva*, edited by María E. Albeck, pp. 199–214. Instituto Interdisciplinario Tilcara, Tilcara.

1994b Jerarquía social y prácticas mortuorias. *Actas y Memorias XI Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Argentina*, 1a. Parte. *Revista del Museo de Historia Natural* 13(1/4):170–174.

2006 Espacios surandinos y la circulación de bienes en época de Tiwanaku. In *Esferas de interacción prehistóricas y fronteras nacionales modernas: los Andes sur centrales*, edited by Heather Lechtman, pp. 331–376. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

Torres, Constantino L.

2001 Iconografía tiwanaku en la parafernalia inhalatoria de los Andes centro-sur. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:427–454.

Uribe, Mauricio, and Carolina Agüero

2003 Aproximaciones a la puna de Atacama y la problemática Yavi. In *Actas 36º Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Chilena*, pp. 283–292. Tomé, Chile.

Ventura, Beatriz N.

1984–1985 Representaciones de camélidos y textiles en sitios arqueológicos tardíos de las Selvas Occidentales. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 16:191–2002.

Vignati, Milcíades A.

1938 "Novísima Veterum." Hallazgos en la Puna Jujeña. *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 1:53–61.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret

2004 *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*. Denver Art Museum, Colorado.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Part 3
Late SAIS and the Wari Realm

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 15: Introduction

Ayacucho and the Staff God Pantheon
Wari, Tiwanaku, and the Late SAIS Era

William H. Isbell

Chapter 15 discusses new insights into prehistoric relations between Huari and Tiahuanaco, a key issue for Andean archaeology since the discovery of Tiwanaku-style artifacts on the coast of Peru (Uhle 1903a, 1903b) and their eventual identification with the great site of Huari (Bennett 1953). I have argued that a Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) originated in the art of community interaction throughout the altiplano and adjacent coastal deserts by about 800 BC (Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009). The origin of the SAIS is identified in the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition that reached an artistic apogee in the Pucara culture. Late SAIS, I maintain, appeared with the formalization of the pantheon of three supernaturals shared, and depicted in the same way, by both Tiahuanaco and Huari/Conchopata.

While it has been recognized for decades that Tiahuanaco and Huari shared the same set of supernatural images, implying that the two practiced a common religion, the history and nature of their relationship has remained confusing. Recently, archaeologists have shown that in many cultural attributes—ceramics, spatial organization, monument construction, residential architecture, political organization, attitude toward pollution, and cleanliness—Tiahuanaco and Huari were very different. The papers of this conference volume confirm another point that has also become clear from recent investigations—a simple model of diffusion from Tiahuanaco will never account for the spread of the religious imagery that constitutes the Middle Horizon (MH). Rather, Tiwanaku and Wari iconography participated in the much larger, much older, and much more complex field of cultural interaction, which can now be discussed with the name SAIS. Employing this SAIS concept, I seek deeper understandings of relations between Tiahuanaco and Huari, including the timing, the history, and the cultural processes involved.

This chapter presents a new stylistic chronology for the early MH, based primarily on oversize offering ceramics from recent excavations at Huari's smaller Ayacucho Valley, companion city of Conchopata. The MH began about cal. AD 650 to 700, as Conchopata residents manufactured Chakipampa and Ocros ceramics that reveal a mixed Huarpa-Nasca heritage. These included giant jars sometimes deliberately smashed and scattered across floors to mark the abandonment of a home.

A public offering of stylistically more advanced jars belongs slightly later in the MH. However, no significant trace of SAIS (formerly Tiwanaku) iconographic influence is evident in ceramics of either of these offerings. This pottery is best assigned to MH 1a and early 1b, about cal. AD 725 to 800.

A key breakthrough documents initial interaction between Tiahuanaco and Conchopata/Huari, when a Staff God image was represented in both of these

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

heartlands. Two icons, one from each center, are so similar that they appear to have been copied from a single model. This earliest Staff God at Conchopata is best dated late MH 1b and, in absolute time, probably about cal. AD 775 to 825. However, initial iconographic exchange involving Tiahuanaco and Huari embraced remarkable diversity, implying that many regional traditions and substyles contributed to the final product. Considering this, I argue that the pantheon shared by Tiahuanaco and Huari, and probably by other cultures of the MH, was the outcome of deliberate negotiation among religious specialists representing many influential participants from the old SAIS sphere. I suggest a great ecumenical council in which new dogma, liturgy, and iconography were agreed upon, creating the new triadic pantheon religion officially adopted in both great MH centers, as well as by many other cultures that had historically participated in the SAIS. Indeed, the Ponce monolith that shares its Staff God image with Conchopata painted jars is the stylistically earliest sculpture at Tiahuanaco to depict the complete Late SAIS pantheon of three supernaturals. However, consensus was short lived. Imagery shows divergences, at least between Tiahuanaco and Conchopata/Huari, which imply changes in form and meaning that surely signal grander conflicts about religious issues.

The new MH chronology synchronizes Tiahuanaco's Ponce monolith with the 1977 Conchopata Jar Offering and its style (which has been expanded by a more recent find that depicts a different kind of Profile Attendant, more consistent with Tiahuanaco). This is a key step toward complete cross-dating of the two sequences. The new chronology also shows that adoption of SAIS iconography in Ayacucho did not initiate the MH, as Menzel (1964) originally believed. Chakipampa and Ocros styles had a significant existence—and apparently succeeded in significant political expansion—before the formulation and adoption of Late SAIS iconography. Substantial rethinking of traditional interpretations of the MH is required.

By the beginning of Middle Horizon Epoch 2, ceremonial smashing of SAIS imagery on oversize jars had shifted to oversize urns. The significance of this is obscure, although both of these giant vessel shapes were probably employed in brewing beer from corn and/or molle seeds. It is widely believed that feasting was an important part of Wari social and political life, so elites required sets of immense brewing vessels to fulfill their social responsibilities.

A new representational theme that appears with the earliest Conchopata SAIS Staff God is a pyramidal pedestal, on which the Staff God stands. This theme originated in Provincial Pucara textiles of the Early Intermediate Period but disappeared centuries before cal. AD 775 to 825, when the pedestal reappeared at Conchopata. Pyramid pedestals also occur in snuff tablet iconography from northern Chile, probably over a very long time. In whatever way the theme reached Conchopata, the pyramid pedestal became almost ubiquitous with subsequent Staff God images at Tiahuanaco. This shows that Conchopata-Wari and Ayacucho SAIS was never a simple recipient of SAIS imagery but a participant making innovative contributions, some of which became popular at Tiahuanaco. But not all Conchopata/Huari iconographic innovations succeeded in the Tiwanaku style. The Ayacucho cities also created a large, Disembodied Profile Head image, probably abstracted from Profile Attendants, which became very important in the Wari sphere but was never represented at Tiahuanaco or its peripheries.

Symbols of the hallucinogenic *Anadenanthera colubrina* plant appear on Conchopata ceramics—as well as on Tiahuanaco and northern Chilean SAIS art. I suggest that the popular appearance of this theme implies preferences for shamanic, trance-based religious experiences, while its scarcity or absence, in the context of such abundant and formal iconography, more probably implies a doctrinal approach to religious experience (Whitehouse 2004). Indeed, doctrinal religion, with its potential for limitless numbers of participants, resonates with the goals and probable methods of universalist imperial religion (see Areshian 2013). Doctrinal religion is usually experienced through liturgy recited by priests. Most probably, the sequence of orations and ritual acts was codified in the elaborate iconography shared by Tiwanaku-Wari, so that it could be "read" by qualified practitioners (Chapter 22, this volume). However, *Anadenanthera colubrina* symbols continue to appear in varying frequencies in Tiahuanaco as well as Conchopata/Huari art, suggesting long-term negotiation between devotees who preferred one type of religious experience over the other. Indeed, this struggle may never have been reconciled, and its possible role in the decline of Middle Horizon polities should be examined.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

References

Areshian, Gregory E.

2013 Variability and Complexity in Multidisciplinary and Interdisciplinary Studies of Empires. In *Empires and Diversity: On the Crossroads of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History*, edited by G. E. Areshian, pp. 1–20. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, Los Angeles.

Bennett, Wendell C.

1953 *Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 49. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch

2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology Vol. III: North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.

2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sanchez, pp. 163–210. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Menzel, Dorothy

1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–106.

Uhle, Max

1903a Ancient South American Civilization. *Harpers Monthly Magazine* October:780–786.

1903b *Pachacamac: Report of the William Pepper, M.D.L.L.D. Peruvian Expedition of 1896*. Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Whitehouse, Harvey

2004 *Modes of Religiosity: A Cognitive Theory of Religious Transmission*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 15

Ayacucho and the Staff God Pantheon

Wari, Tiwanaku, and the Late SAIS Era

William H. Isbell

Many Andean prehistorians agree that the Late Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) iconographic repertoire represents the supernatural beings who populated the cosmos and motivated the ritual practices of the peoples of Tiahuanaco,[1] Huari,[2] and their Middle Horizon (MH) time period in central Andean prehistory (Bawden and Conrad 1982; Cook 1994; Demarest 1981; Isbell 2001; Isbell and Cook 1987; Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009; Kolata 1993; Lumbreras 1960, 1969; Makowski Hanula 2001, 2002; Menzel 1964, 1968, 1977; Posnansky 1945, 1957; Young-Sánchez 2004a; Zuidema and De Bock 1990). Late SAIS iconography developed from Early SAIS, which originated about 800 BC and is best represented in the art of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition (Chávez and Chávez 1976), Pucara (Chávez 2002), and Atacameño styles of snuff paraphernalia intensively studied at San Pedro de Atacama (Torres 1987). Early in the MH, Late SAIS became formalized into an iconic triad—Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant. At about the same time, Tiahuanaco and Huari became the primary centers of political and artistic influence in the central Andes (Isbell and Knobloch 2009). These two urban centers emerged as separate politico-religious capitals, about 750 km from one another (Figure 15.1). The MH, which they define, is best dated about cal. AD 650 to 1050 and is generally thought of as a time of religious universalism predicated on rituals recognizing the triad of supernatural images. It was also a time of political expansionism at least sometimes involving imperial colonization and administration, ethnic complexity associated with new urban life experiences, and new international identities promoted in social events that involved special drinking and feasting wares (Isbell 2008).

For more than a century, our understanding of Andean prehistory has been predicated on the conviction that SAIS iconography—long called Tiahuanaco, or Tiahuanacoid—originated in the southern Andean sphere at Tiahuanaco (Figure 15.1) and spread from there to the northern sphere (Means 1931; Uhle 1903), especially Huari (Bennett 1953; Lumbreras 1960, 1969; Menzel 1964; Tello 1942). However, the nature and timing of this diffusion, the meaning of SAIS images, and evaluation of religion as opposed to political processes in the unification of Tiahuanaco and Huari iconography have continued to confuse prehistorians, despite significant research by many outstanding scholars.

Recognizing significant inadequacy in the "origin and diffusion from Tiahuanaco" model, this chapter proposes a different understanding of Tiahuanaco, Huari, and the MH, based in large part on two recent developments. One is the formulation of the SAIS concept and the insights it provides. SAIS (see Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009) recognizes long-term interaction and a sphere of shared religious belief in the southern Andes, perhaps similar to the Chavín sphere of northern Peru or the Olmec in

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.1. Tiahuanaco, Huari, and their Middle Horizon spheres of influence. Drawn by William H. Isbell.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Mesoamerica. Shared experiences promoted similar cultural preferences in ways of doing, which earlier anthropologists might have called "deep structure." Enduring for millennia, cultural relations inclined peoples in distant places toward similar religious practices, ritual, and ideology—also making them susceptible to similar processes of social change. But perhaps most important, SAIS decouples the iconography, religious practice, and their developmental process from Tiahuanaco, which for more than a century has been imagined as *the* precocious "origin center" where all the significant evolution took place. Consequently, answers to any questions about SAIS iconography and culture privileged Tiahuanaco, assuming its origins and critical development at the ancient center. Today, employing the SAIS concept, archaeologists can address much more complex and nuanced enquiries to the greatly expanded community of SAIS cultures, religions, social practices, ritual places, and probably, most important, processes of interaction throughout vast cultural fields, embracing theoretical models that range from peer polities to objects in motion through various forms of trade (Renfrew 1986; Urban 2010).

The second key new development is archaeological investigation at Conchopata. Conchopata is a prehistoric ruin on the edge of the modern city of Ayacucho, about 10 km south of Huari (Figure 15.2). It appears originally to have been the second city of the Huari heartland and perhaps, at the end of the Early Intermediate Period, a competitor of Huari itself. Conchopata is the location where the greatest quantity of elaborate SAIS iconography—formerly called Tiahuanaco or Tiahuanacoid—has been found, north of the altiplano. Excavations over the past decade have revealed a new stylistic chronology for and iconographic information about the early MH that inform new evaluations of Tiahuanaco-Huari interaction, their timing, other participants, and the role of the SAIS.

Combining the new SAIS concept with recent excavation results from Conchopata, a great chronological question has been resolved, synchronization of a monument from Tiahuanaco with a style in the newly emerging chronology for Huari/Conchopata. At last it is possible to make temporally controlled inferences about processes and implications of SAIS art, rethinking Tiahuanaco-Huari relations.

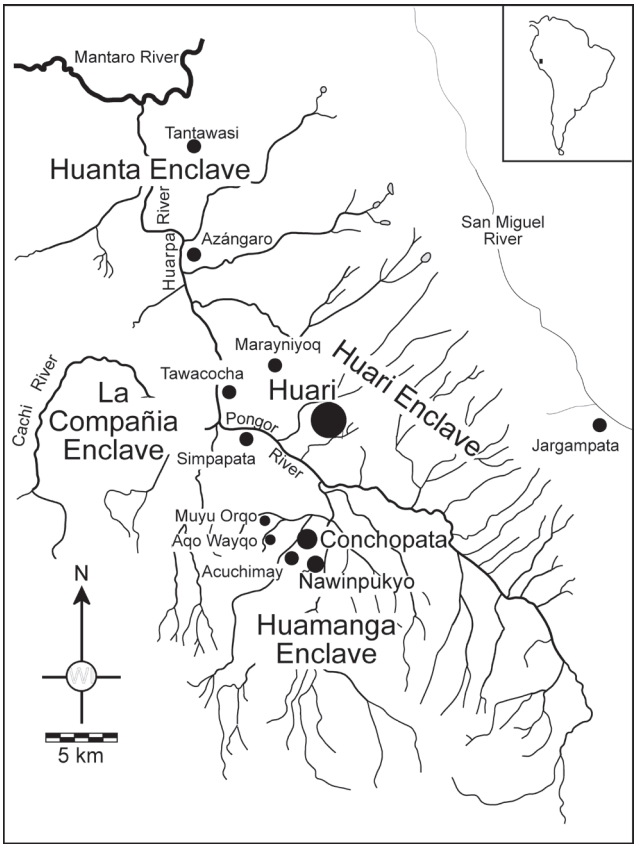


Figure 15.2. The Ayacucho Valley locating Huari, Conchopata, and other heartland settlements of late Huarpa and Wari cultures. Drawn by William H. Isbell.

SAIS Iconographic Chronology at Tiahuanaco

Archaeological chronology (Figure 15.3) for the Tiahuanaco capital has changed dramatically in the past decade or two, with Carlos Ponce Sanginés's (1976, 1985) old Tiwanaku I through Tiwanaku V phases giving way to a new sequence in which some of the old phases have disappeared while new alternatives have been created (Janusek 2008; Kolata and Ponc Sanginés 1992). But problems are still rife in Tiahuanaco's chronology. Style and time are conflated in Tiwanaku ceramic analyses. It is still not clear that primary phases are real time periods, especially whether Tiwanaku IV–style pottery was manufactured in a different time than Tiwanaku Phase V pottery (these phases are now renamed Tiwanaku 1 and 2, respectively). Furthermore, is the Late Formative/Tiwanaku cultural boundary dated too early, currently placed at AD 500? If so, by how much? Fortunately, at least for the moment, we can postpone these issues, which are more urgent for understanding ceramic styles, settlement organization, and demography at Tiahuanaco, but SAIS iconography only rarely occurs on ceramics, whose styles are only generally correlated with SAIS imagery. We must focus on rock carving, for stone sculpture was the favored medium for SAIS iconography at Tiahuanaco, and it is essential for understanding Staff God religion. Indeed, at Tiahuanaco, SAIS imagery is

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

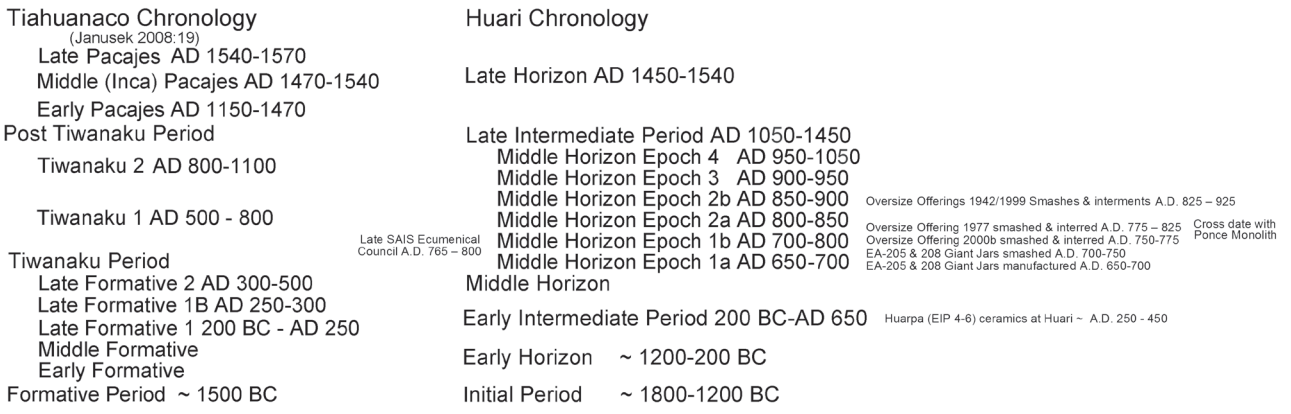


Figure 15.3. Probable dates for events discussed in text, plotted against currently popular chronologies for Tiahuanaco and Huari. Drawn by William H. Isbell.

almost restricted to stone sculpture, with few examples documented in ceramics, textiles, snuffing paraphernalia, or other media.[3]

Most of Tiahuanaco's SAIS sculptures were found on the surface of the site or hidden in Colonial pits when first recorded. They have little or no stratigraphic context to help establish their date. Furthermore, stone sculptures cannot be dated by popular chronometric techniques like radiocarbon. Consequently, seriation is the only practical means of establishing chronological relationships among Tiahuanaco's SAIS images, given current archaeological technology.

Seriational chronology presents problems for archaeologists, as the method requires assumptions about formal variation in artifacts. Investigators must make decisions about what aspects of difference are temporal as opposed to other axes of variation, such as ethnic, regional, or symbolic meaning. Distinguishing these domains of variation is especially difficult in cases like the SAIS, where most of the relevant remains represent ancient systems of communication that ranged over a vast space and time and include many poorly dated objects from contexts that are unknown or inadequately understood. When the goal is to determine the history of interaction and infer changes in meaning from a chronological series, there is always danger of circular reasoning in which convictions about cultural processes or about religious significance shape the chronology. Just such a prejudice provoked Dorothy Menzel (1964) to synchronize the appearance of Staff God imagery at Conchopata/Huari with the initiation of the MH—the onset of MH 1A—in her great seriation of Wari and its ceramic styles. To best avoid this kind of vicious-circle thinking in this study, I employ a seriation presented by scholars whose investigations and inferences were entirely independent of my own research; the chronology of Tiwanaku SAIS sculpture was developed by Agüero et al. (2003).

In the chronology of the Tiahuanaco type site (Agüero et al. 2003; Janusek 2008; Ponce Sanginés 1976; 1995; Portugal Ortiz 1981, 1998), archaeologists generally agree that SAIS sculpture appeared during the Middle or Late Formative Phase (Figure 15.3) and represents a variant of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition sculpture (Figure 15.4, see also Figures 2.2 and 2.4; Chávez 20004b, see Chapters 2 and 4, this volume) that belongs to the Early SAIS tradition. However, SAIS sculpture experienced a significant transformation in the next period, formerly named Classic Tiahuanaco (Bennett 1934), but subsequently named Tiwanaku IV (Ponce Sanginés 1976, 1985) and most recently renamed Tiwanaku 1 by John Janusek (2008). Furthermore, considering the amount of stylistic change from beginning to end in this Late SAIS style that includes the famous Gate of the Sun (Figures 15.5 and 15.6), Late SAIS sculpture continued through the next phase, Decadent Tiahuanaco, Tiwanaku V, or Tiwanaku 2, in the respective chronological schemes (although chronometric and stratigraphic confirmation of absolute temporal difference between the ceramic styles assigned to these phases continues to be problematic). It is asserted that Tiwanaku IV/Tiwanaku 1 began sometime around AD 500, but I consider this an "earliest possible" date. The beginning of Late SAIS stone carving at Tiahuanaco seems best placed about AD 650. The imagery continued until about AD 1100, as indicated by radiocarbon dates associated with pottery that depicts SAIS themes from the island of Pariti (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.4. Sculpture from Tiahuanaco that precedes Late SAIS imagery and belongs to the Yaya-Mama style, defined by Karen and Sergio Chávez. This and all photographs in this chapter by William H. Isbell.

Unfortunately, the stone sculptures themselves continue to resist absolute dating.

Agüero et al. (2003) established five temporal phases for Tiahuanaco Late SAIS art by combining formal series based on Staff God representations, Profile Attendant imagery, and the Tiahuanaco meander band. Their sequence is intuitively appealing, and it seems unlikely that a more convincing chronology can be worked out with the data currently available.

What is most relevant to this study is that the Late SAIS pantheon of three supernaturals (Staff God, Profile Attendants, and Rayed Head) did not appear at Tiahuanaco until Phase 2 or, more likely, in Phase 3 of the seriation, as discussed below. This means that SAIS Staff God religion shared by Tiahuanaco and Huari/Conchopata was not traditional at Tiahuanaco but involved innovation and adoption that, furthermore, appears to have been a rapid process if the small number of transitional sculptures is an adequate indication of time. Consequently, even though Early SAIS imagery and ideology was southern Andean in distribution, Late SAIS with its triadic pantheon was an innovative adoption at *both* Tiahuanaco and Huari/Conchopata.

Agüero et al.'s (2003) Phase 1 Tiahuanaco sculpture consists of a single monument, the Kantataita lintel, decorated with horizontal Profile Attendants (Figure 15.7; see also Conklin 1991; Isbell and Cook 1987), although these images are more correctly Sacrificers[4] like those of the Early SAIS styles. Employing a new technology, fine-line incision, as well as adopted imagery, this sculpture is without local antecedents. Six long-nosed, anthropomorphic figures with salient "N"-shaped canine teeth have an axe and severed head in one hand and lack wings, like earlier Sacrificers, but grasp a staff in one hand, like both the Sacrificer and Profile Attendant. Although wingless, the figures seem to be flying, appearing in two horizontal processions of three and three that meet at the center of the lintel. Conversely, the flying posture seems at odds with the position of the legs, which implies running or genuflecting, and indeed, the form of these figures suggests transfer from textile images like the vertically oriented figures on the Pulacayo textile (Berenguer Rodriguez 2000:86–87, unnumbered figures) from the southern Bolivian highlands. Additionally, the Kantataita lintel Attendants have decorated bands below the chin, mouths with teeth that include a set of "N"-shaped, crossed canine teeth, and a mouth projection. They have a double-banded headdress, a waist belt, a neck collar, and a small head represented on the chest. Many of these features are consistent with Early SAIS decorations on Pucara ceramics, as well as on hallucinogenic snuff paraphernalia of Atacameño origin. Although only a few Atacameño examples are known to date early enough, the Chilean images are the most similar to and consequently the best antecedents for the figures on Tiahuanaco's Kantataita lintel (Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009). But whatever the origin of the icons, the Kantataita sculpture is best understood as prototypic for SAIS Profile Attendants at Tiahuanaco. Actual attendants have not appeared, and without these icons, we must suppose that the religious ideology that seems to have emphasized a hierarchical and centralized

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.5. Gate of the Sun, Tiahuanaco, showing all the icons sculpted on its front side.

Figure 15.6. Gate of the Sun, Tiahuanaco, detail, emphasizing the Late SAIS iconic triad.

pantheon was not yet formalized either. Indeed, in Phase 1, there is no trace of the Staff God.

Phase 2 Tiahuanaco sculpture includes the Linares lintel (Figure 15.8), also with horizontal figures transitional between the Sacrificer and Profile Attendant. However, this sculpture includes a front-face Staff God, or at least the head and torso of a Staff God, placed centrally between converging processions of horizontal attendants. However, the Staff God is no larger than the attendants in size.

The axe and severed head of the Sacrificer and the staff and wings of the Attendant are all missing from the Linares lintel Profile Attendants, but this is perhaps because the lintel is so narrow. However, the chin band, teeth with crossed canines, and mouth projection are present, as is the long nose—all features best associated

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

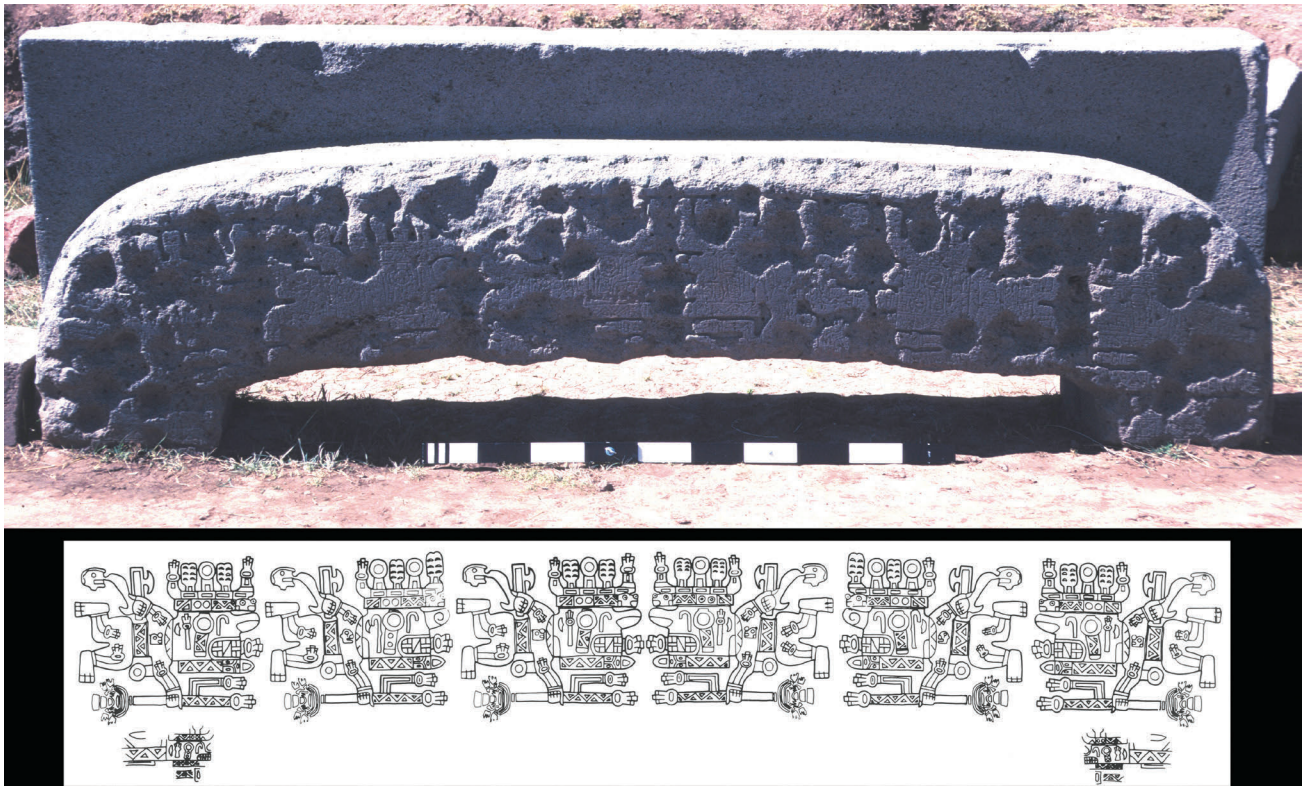


Figure 15.7. Kantataita lintel, Tiahuanaco. Drawing by William H. Isbell and Anita Cook (1987).

with the Early SAIS Sacrificer. The narrow register of the lintel makes features unclear along the top edge, but the headdress of the figures may not have been single banded.

Significantly, the Staff God, probably limited to a face with upper torso and arms, grasping two upright staffs, is depicted between two processions of two flying attendants, affirming a central position and implying the emergence of hierarchical structure in the pantheon. The representation of only the most important portion of the Staff God probably accommodated sculptural space with imagined space, but it certainly suggests that artists conceptualized this new figure as emerging from the old Rayed Head and as superior to the Profile Attendants. If so, this may represent the initial synthesis of SAIS supernaturals into a single pantheon, although it seems preliminary in comparison with some the sculptures of Phase 3.

Also included in Phase 2 are several anthropomorphic statues: El Fraile, the Flat Statue (Figure 2.7), and the small Puno statue (Posnansky 1945:Figures 105–107, 108–109, and Berenguer Rodriguez 1987:Figure 10, respectively). They lack SAIS imagery except for secondary elements, such as profile animal heads at the ends of rays, braids, and tear bands. The statues wear kilt-like skirts, but no tunic is apparent on the upper body. Agüero et al. (2003) suggest that tunics and headbands decorated with SAIS imagery were not yet the preferred dress for the beings memorialized in these statues.

Phase 3 Tiahuanaco sculpture includes several anthropomorphic statues and a stone mortar (Ponce Sanginés 1969:Figure 58, Laminas 12–14). All have at least two SAIS images—Staff God and Profile Attendants or Staff God and Rayed Head—except for the large and well-preserved Ponce monolith (Figures 15.9–11), which has the full triad. Furthermore, the Staff God is almost always centrally placed and larger than the Profile Attendants when they appear together. I believe that this documents the fully formalized SAIS pantheon, of three supernaturals, with the Staff God as its apex.

In Phase 3 Tiahuanaco sculptures, SAIS icons on anthropomorphic statues were depicted in a new manner. The distinctive figures are distributed over the back, torso, and shoulders, apparently representing imagery on elaborately decorated tunics. Curiously, important details of the garments seem to have been omitted, such as the neck slit. On the other hand, some details are apparent, such as the sleeves of the tunic worn by the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

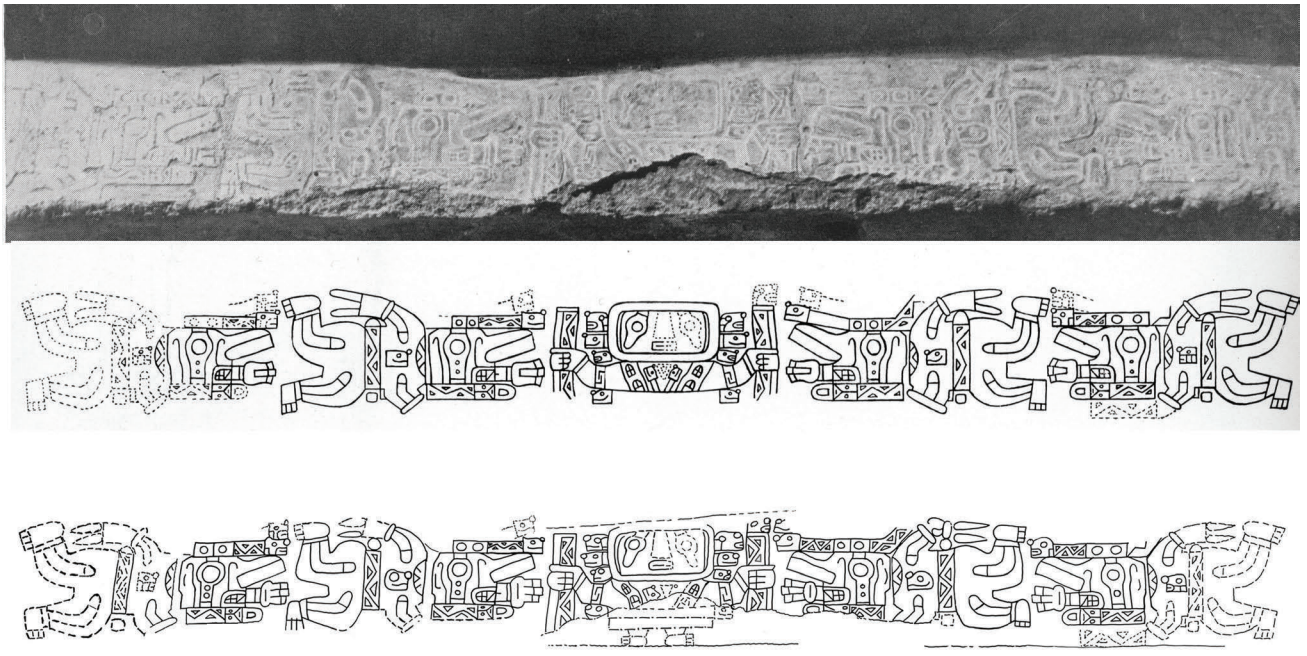


Figure 15.8. The Linares lintel is considered stylistically slightly later than the Kantataita lintel. It depicts two of the Late SAIS pantheon images, Staff God and Profile Attendants, although the attendants' formal attributes still relate very much to the early SAIS Sacrificer, and the incomplete Staff God figure might be intermediate between the Rayed Head and the Staff God. Upper photo and middle drawing from Posnansky 1945. Lower drawing by Patricia Knobloch.

Ponce monolith, as well as the Staff God depicted on its back. Additionally, Profile Attendants and the Staff God may appear in headbands worn by the men represented by these statues.

A mix of profile and front-face perspectives characterizes many of the Tiahuanaco SAIS figures in Phase 3. Staff Gods are usually illustrated with face and body in front view, but the feet appear in profile, pointing to one side or the other. Other figures sometimes have front-view body and arms but profile head and legs.

Profile Attendants of Phase 3 have features of the true Profile Attendants and lack diagnostic characteristics of the Sacrificer. They are winged and no longer have the axe and severed head, teeth with crossed canines, or mouth projection. Headdresses are single banded, waist belts are rare or absent, and the head decorating the chest has been replaced by a geometric figure. Many Profile Attendants wear a cape-like garment that hangs from the back of the neck, perhaps replacing the belt. Collars continue to be popular at the base of the neck.

The variety of Profile Attendants increased significantly, establishing the typological variation that seems to have characterized iconic alternatives in the otherwise highly formalized structure of Late SAIS imagery. In Phases 1 and 2, the profile beings had only long-nose faces, but in Phase 3, human, feline, avian, and fish faces[5] all appear, although humans predominate. A new symbol also appears, which Patricia Knobloch (2000) identified as the *Anadenanthera colubrina*[6] sign, that is so standardized that it is almost a glyph. On this basis, I suggest that symbolic communication through iconic imagery was well developed, with considerable amounts of information encoded with sufficient precision that it could almost be "read" by knowledgeable religious specialists (see Chapter 22, this volume).

The *A. colubrina* symbol appears in many contexts and was probably associated with hallucinogenic trance and shamanism. On the other hand, Tiahuanaco iconography seems more and more to represent a pantheon, with hierarchical centralization implying doctrinal religion (see Whitehouse 2004). I return to this issue toward the close of this chapter.

Phase 4 Tiahuanaco includes only two sculptures, the great Bennett monolith (Posnansky 1945:Figures 113–115) and the little Taquiri Cube (Figure 15.52; Rydén 1947:357, Figure 147). It is distinguished by Staff Gods who are not only larger than Profile Attendants but are placed on a three-step pyramid, reaffirming their

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

preeminent status in the new pantheon. Staff Gods' feet continue to appear in profile. A variety of Profile Attendant types occur, and on the Bennett monolith, burden-bearing llamas occupy positions consistent with the staff-bearing Profile Attendants. Perhaps they represent a new variety of icon within the attendant group.

Phase 5 Tiahuanaco sculpture consists of three pieces, all components of gateways: the Gate of the Sun (Figures 15.4 and 15.5), the Gate of the Moon (Figure 15.12), and the Llojeta Block (Posnansky 1945:Figures 60–61), showing a Staff God with a severely damaged face. Staff Gods are significantly larger than other images and continue to stand on pyramidal blocks, but the feet now point forward instead of to one side, as in earlier phases. Variability among Profile Attendants is reduced, and SAIS art in general is more standardized and formal, seeming to confirm the representation of a centralized and hierarchical religious pantheon. Meander bands establish patterns around rectangular panels containing Rayed Heads.

SAIS art disappeared in the altiplano after Tiahuanaco Phase 5 sculpture. Apparently, the great city collapsed, taking SAIS imagery with it. It seems profoundly significant that the complete triad of images—Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendants—vanished, along with long-popular SAIS conventions for iconic representation, like divided eyes, interior structure of limbs, and stylized heads at the end of ray-like bands, including braids of hair and tear bands. This absolute disappearance of all SAIS images, accompanied by profound changes in other domains, must be kept in mind when scholars explore analogies between the SAIS and the religion, society, and politics of the later Inca regime (for example, see Chapter 22, this volume).

The Ponce Monolith and Its SAIS Pantheon

The Ponce monolith was discovered near the center of the sunken courtyard atop Tiahuanaco's Kalasasaya platform, in excavation unit H-13, on November 8, 1957. It was named in commemoration of the new Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Tiwanaku director, Carlos Ponce Sanginés (1995:230, Figures 143, 146–148), who that year initiated a massive program of excavation and reconstruction that continued at Tiahuanaco for more than a decade. The middle of the Kalasasaya was targeted for early exploration because old photos showed a depression suggesting an earlier excavation on the spot. Furthermore, it was generally believed that Tiahuanaco architects located monolithic sculptures in the center of plazas, so this was a favored location.

Figure 15.9. The Ponce monolith, named for Bolivian archaeologist Carlos Ponce S., was discovered at Tiahuanaco by his excavation team, in fill near the center of the Kalasasaya mound, where it was probably interred by seventeenth-century extirpators of idolatries.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The 3-m-tall andesite statue was found lying on its side, 2.10 m below the modern surface. North is not indicated on the published photos and drawings, but the Kalasasaya grid indicates that the statue lay against the southern edge of the excavation with its head to the east-northeast, feet to the west-southwest, and the face of the statue directed toward the south-southeast. On its right shoulder, the statue bears a small cross, chiseled over a SAIS Profile Attendant, which was surely an act of sanctification before the heathen idol was buried by Christian extirpators of idolatries early in the seventeenth century.

Because the Ponce monolith cross-dates with the first SAIS art to appear in Ayacucho, this Tiahuanaco sculpture deserves special description. It depicts what is probably a man wearing a sleeved tunic, belt, and short skirt (Figures 15.9–15.11). Importantly, the complete Late SAIS pantheon is represented, including all three images. Their size and spatial organization confirm hierarchical structure of the triad. Although precursors expressing the structure probably appeared in Phase 2, as discussed above, clear public representation of the centralized hierarchy in the supernatural domain was quickly formalized in Phase 3 of the Agüero et al. (2003) seriation. Virtually everyone who viewed the great Ponce monolith must have appreciated this new message. Was this same imagery presented on tunics and other clothing worn by those who officiated at Tiahuanaco's ritual events and those of its peripheral centers? Other SAIS elements, but none of the key icons except for two pairs of very unusual Rayed Heads, appear in locations that do not seem to represent decorations on clothing. These were more probably body and face paintings or tattoos and jewelry on the ends of hair braids.

SAIS figures on the monolith include 14 Profile Attendants and one Staff God in the headband; 12 standard and two deviant Profile Attendants[7] surrounding a larger Staff God on the figure's back; 10 Profile Attendants on the abdomen, chest, and shoulders; plus the two pairs of unusual Rayed Heads, one set just below the ears, the other on each arm, just above the elbow.

Typical Ponce monolith Profile Attendants have a profile wing, body, and head, with no sacrificer attributes. Four kinds of heads appear—human, feline, avian, or fish—each topped with a profile crown. Legs and arms have interior structures and are shown in either the running/genuflecting position or in standing/walking position. One staff is held parallel to the torso, which terminates at top and bottom in a stylized head, except for the staffs of two small attendants with curled tails who hold a staff shaped like a large feather. An interlocking or a nested design appears on the chest of normal attendants, and the only obvious clothing is a collar and a cape-like garment hanging from the back of the neck.

Figure 15.10. The Ponce monolith was eventually placed upright near the center of the Kalasasaya platform, facing east.

The monolith's belt bears six typical Rayed Heads, separated by four and two geometric designs, for a total of 12 images. There are also two unusual Rayed Heads on the upper arms, designs on the statue's face representing "tear bands," and a skirt with 52 plus 52 circles—that alternate a vacant-center circle with a simple human-faced center (see Figure 15.11; these faces have the inverted "Y" discussed by Haeberli, Chapter 6, this volume). Below the circles is a band of interlocking frets and blank field and then a band of anthropomorphic faces with tear bands, but no rays, numbering 11 and 11. Finally, the monolith figure holds what is probably a *kero*-shaped drinking vessel in its left hand and a snuff tablet in its right, the latter terminating in profile fish heads and an *A. colubrina* sign at the bottom, below the fingers of the hand. Other details appear on the statue,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

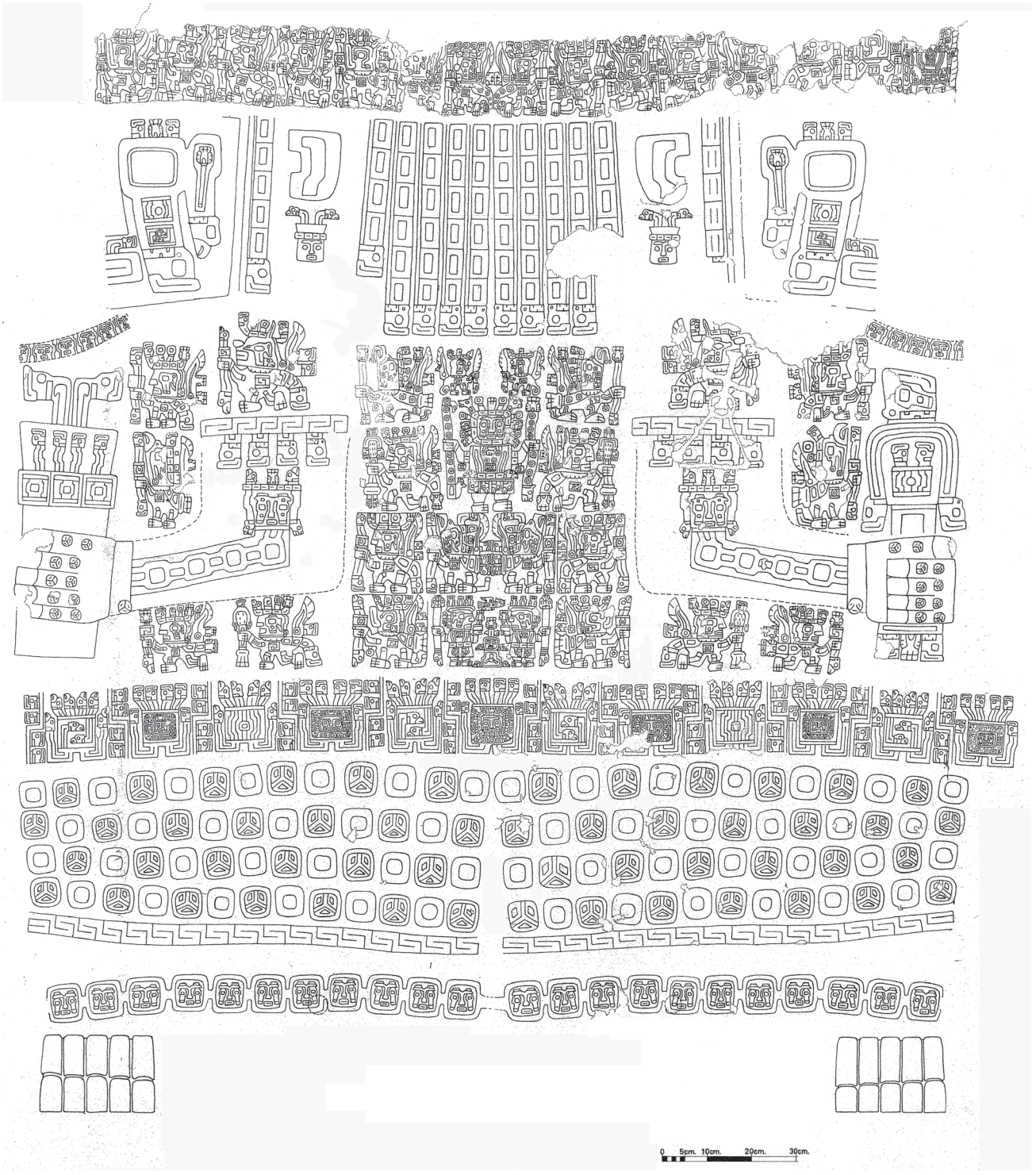


Figure 15.11. This reconstructive drawing of the imagery carved on the surface of the Ponce monolith was prepared by Amy Oakland, from rubbings and photographs (published with her permission).

including a necklace of 10 small front-view faces, many examples of the kind of profile head identified as fish, and an abundance of *A. colubrina* symbols. These almost glyphic symbols are usually small and attached or incorporated into larger and more complex motifs.

In the monolith's sculpted headband, a Staff God is central, placed over the forehead, but of the same size as Profile Attendants. Two processions of Profile Attendants, originating at the rear of the headband, march toward the front and meet on the right and left sides of the Staff God

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.12. The architrave popularly called the Gate of the Moon is assigned to Phase 5, the end of the Late SAIS stylistic seriation at Tiahuanaco, by Agüero, Uribe, and Berenguer (2003).

(Figure 15.11). Unfortunately, this Staff God is small and poorly preserved, so its details are obscured. It seems to resemble the larger Staff God on the statue's back, except for having fish heads instead of bird heads at the ends of and pendant from its belt, plus minor variations in the staffs and decorations on the chest.

Minor changes in the symbols integrated into Late SAIS icons were surely meaningful and deliberately selected to indicate a particular deity, aspect, time, or some other significance. For example, several scholars have suggested that the ethnohistorical Inca division of the social world into three statuses, *qollana* (center, first, high) *payan* (intermediate, mediary), and *kayaw* (periphery, last, low), might be symbolized in Tiahuanaco SAIS images using feline, avian, and fish faces that appear as minor appendages and elements on many sculptures (for example, see Chapter 22, this volume). Indeed, Makowski (2001) argues that many Staff Gods, not just one deity, can be identified by component attributes and symbols. I enthusiastically encourage the exploration of these productive interpretations, although they must proceed with care to avoid creating a timeless Andean past in which Cuzco and Tiahuanaco are identical. Prehistorians must be as sensitive to differences as similarities. Furthermore, inferences about the single or multiple nature of Late SAIS Staff God images on the basis of Inca analogies seem premature. We do not understand the primary Inca gods—Sun, Moon, Thunder, Rainbow—enough to determine whether they were conceptualized as one, many, or both in different contexts. The identification of MH supernaturals and their nature is unlikely to be resolved in the near future, so for the moment I postpone such discussion and focus on description of stylistic variation, chronology, contexts, and prehistoric processes. Only the most plausible interpretations are explored, and even those only briefly.

One of the ways modern investigators read Tiahuanaco SAIS sculptures is as a calendar, usually mapping a solar year of 360 regular days divided among 12 lunar-based months (Aveni 2001, 2003; Benitez 2009; Posnansky 1945; Zuidema 2009). This theory was promoted most powerfully for the Gate of the Sun, with its single Staff God and 11 Rayed Heads combined with 30 Profile Attendants in the central register of the architrave. But nothing on the Ponce monolith is so obviously calendrical. Most suggestive is the number of attendants; the Staff God carved on the back of the Ponce monolith is surrounded by four rows of Profile Attendants who face away from the deity, for a total of 12 attendants, 6 on each side. However, two deviant attendants (possibly small Staff Gods) face one another at the bottom of the register and, if added into the total, add up to 14—or 7 and 7. The shoulder and torso of the monolith front have 5 and 5 Profile Attendants. If the Profile Attendants on each side of the front and 7 attendants from each side of the back are totaled, there are 12 on the right and 12 on the left. Two totals of seven and five months might represent the wet and dry seasons of two years. But this omits the figures of the headband—another 14 attendants and one Staff God.

The Ponce monolith's belt also has 12 registers, with six Rayed Heads and two and four geometric designs. It seems unlikely that these totals are all about SAIS calendrics, although they are certainly not random. Disappointingly, my attempts to make sense of the distribution of particular kinds of attendant figures on the monolith—human, feline, avian, and fish—have yielded nothing compelling. HI suspect that would-be monolith readers can find calendrical totals, or not, depending on what they count and how. Convincing methods for counting will require confirmation through systematic similarities among several SAIS sculptures, and this has not been attempted. In the meantime, it seems clear that SAIS imagery was

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

encoding more and more information from phase to phase, especially the new triadic pantheon in Phase 3; calendrics were surely among these iconographic data. I suspect that the elaboration of iconography expressed increasing emphasis on doctrinal religion, but what and how information was represented is still a domain of confusion for scholars.

It should be pointed out that Phase 1 and 2 sculptures of the Agüero et al. (2003) seriation depict only one basic kind of Profile Attendant, a long-nosed being with Sacrificer attributes. Phase 3 statues appear to depict only one or two, except for the Ponce monolith. However, the Ponce monolith (seemingly in anticipation of the Phase 4 Bennett monolith) was decorated with a great variety of attendant types. Both the back and headband have three and three (left and right sides) human attendants, but the back has two avians on each side, while the headband has none; the back has one and one felines while the headband has two and two; and the back has one and one fish, while the headband has two and two. The shoulder and torso with five and five attendants include three humans, one feline, one avian, and no fish on each side. The only obvious regularity is bilateral symmetry.

The Staff God carved on the back of the Ponce monolith is astonishingly similar to the staff deity painted on giant jars sacrificed at Conchopata, discovered in 1977 (Figures 15.11, 15.13, and 15.14). Although executed in different media, both wear sleeved tunics and hold almost identical staffs (especially the one in the right hand, with circled dot designs and atlatl-like hooks). The headdresses, belts, pendant heads attached to the belt, chest design, rayed crown, and face with tear bands are also extremely similar. The two have the same number of rays around the head, and the space below the chin is vacant, although two ray-like objects appear at the top of the chest. Pendant heads on the Ponce monolith's belt are avian, while heads on the Conchopata jar Staff Gods are feline, but this probably should not be counted as a difference. Rather, it is evidence that both sets of artists and at least their primary public subscribed to and understood how to manipulate the same system of symbolic communication, including its variable "vocabulary." The Tiahuanaco Ponce monolith deity and the Conchopata 1977 offering deity are ascribed slightly different attributes through manipulation of minimal symbols within the same structural system. It is as though slightly different sentences were declared using the vocabulary and grammar of one language.

Chronology of SAIS Imagery in the Huari Heartland

Late in the Early Intermediate Period (EIP, generally dated approximately 200 BC–AD 650), the preferred location of Ayacucho's central settlements changed from steep-sided hilltops to intermediate elevation, flat-topped ridges next to canyons with permanent water. The sites of Huari and Conchopata are prime examples of this shift. The change was surely related to the development of extraordinary new skills in engineering and managing labor for the construction of long irrigation canals across difficult highland terrain. Residents of new ridge-top settlements had water at hand while older hilltop towns were beyond the reach of gravity hydraulics. Demographic shifts may have been motivated by little more than convenience, but they had profound effects on population distribution as people crowded into a few new settlements that rapidly became cities.

Demonstrably MH canals have not been identified in Ayacucho, although segments of sizable but poorly dated waterways descend from higher elevations above the Huari site (Pérez Calderón 2001, 2008). The sophistication of Wari's hydraulic engineers is, however, confirmed by the long canals constructed by Wari colonists around Cerro Baúl (Williams 1997), Pikillacta (McEwan 2005), and the Chicha/Soras Valley (Meddens 1991; Meddens and Branch 2008).

Conchopata, in the southern headwaters of the Ayacucho Valley, was occupied during the EIP and MH. Late in the EIP, around cal. AD 400, when Huarpa pottery was popular, several bodies were buried in a little cemetery that soon became Conchopata's plaza. The small EIP population probably resided in households and hamlets scattered about the Chakipampa plane, surely one of the flattest terrains in the Ayacucho Valley, where Conchopata is located. But until water became available, the attraction of Chakipampa was limited.

Conchopata and the Chakipampa plane are bordered on the west by the steep-sided Quebrada de Totorilla, which boasts an abundance of water. I believe that the remarkable growth of Conchopata's population around the beginning of the MH was based on successfully constructing a long canal paralleling the upper edge of the Quebrada de Totorilla, which delivered water to the archaeological site and surrounding farm lands. Indeed, it seems that the western edge of the remaining site area, closest to the probable canal route, was occupied early in the MH and that the little city grew toward the east away from its water supply, creating significant horizontal stratigraphy.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

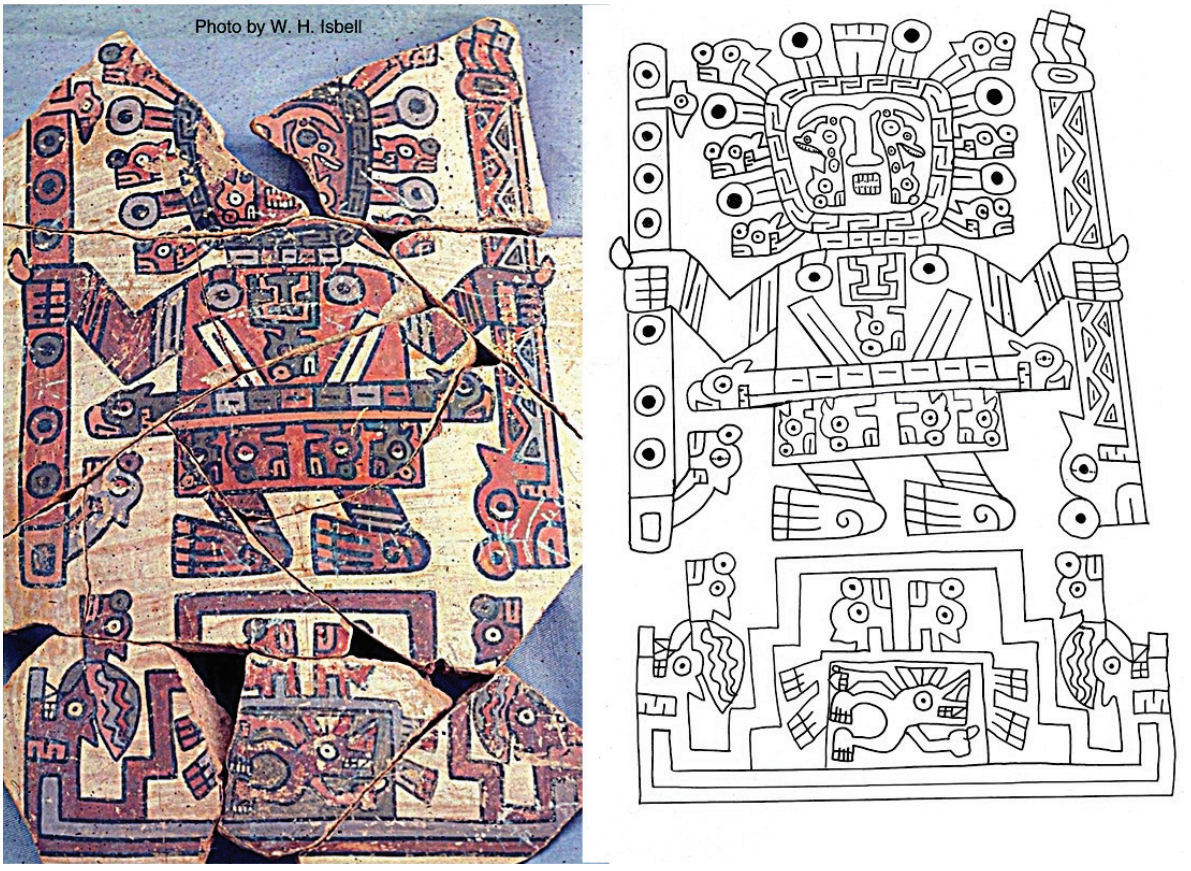


Figure 15.13. The painted Staff God from a giant jar discovered at Conchopata in 1977, with a reconstructive drawing of the image drawn by Patricia Knobloch.

In 2003, during excavations in the southwest portion of the surviving Conchopata ruins, four deliberately smashed oversize jars were discovered that represent fancy ceramic innovations at the onset of the MH, probably Epoch 1a or earliest 1b. They come from a small residence of three interconnected rooms and a patio, although no entrance could be found into the apparent patio, labeled EA-208, to securely confirm its association with adjacent rooms of the house (labeled EA-204, EA-205, and EA-206) (Figure 15.15). In the southwestern corner of the patio is a looted burial chamber with an offering house, relatively modest in size and elaboration. No grave goods were found inside the chamber, and the bones of two adult males were scattered outside the grave by the looters.

Many artifacts littered patio EA-208, but most important for this study are sherds from two large, severely smashed, but almost complete jars (Figures 15.16 and 15.17). It is likely that the jars were deliberately smashed in a sacrificial act, although contexts have been confused by looters who robbed the burial chamber. However, it seems that soon after the jars were broken and scattered over its surface, the patio and probably the entire residence were abandoned.

On the other side of patio EA-208's south wall is enclosure EA-205, where pristine conditions show that, as the room was abandoned, two great jars and numerous smaller vessels were deliberately smashed and left on the floor (Figures 15.18 and 15.19). This occurred sometime after the burial of three small children and a middle-aged woman. I believe that the ceramics belonged to this woman and represent her professional equipment—the equipment of a brewer (Isbell and Groleau 2010). Several vessel sizes appear among the confusion of fragments, probably appropriate for the different aspects of beer manufacture—preparing and cooking the ingredients, fermenting, transporting the drink, and serving. The beer was probably prepared from corn and/or *molle* seeds, both of which have been found in Conchopata's archaeological record (Green and Whitehead 2006). The large jars seem too big to have been moved, especially when full, and so were probably permanently placed

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

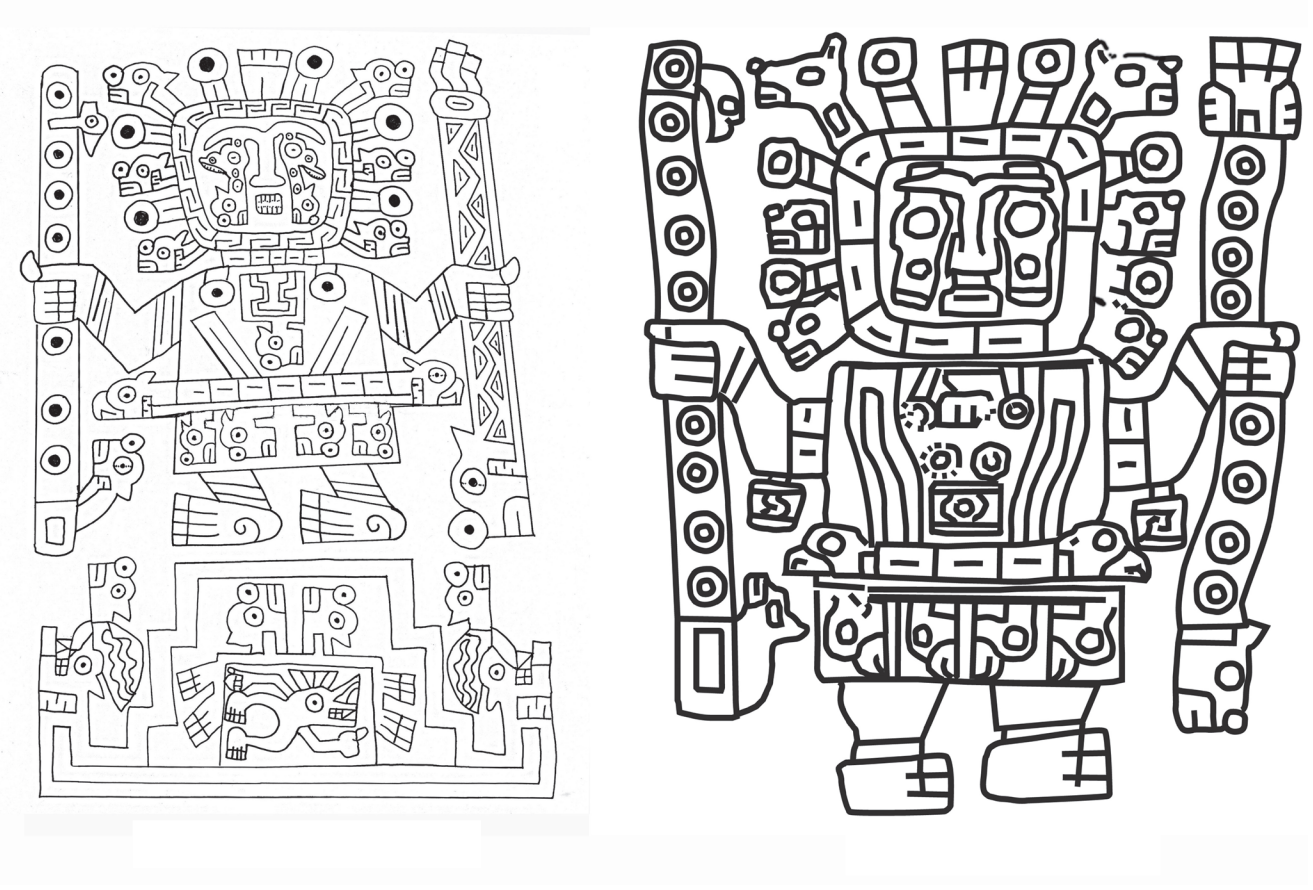


Figure 15.14. Although crafted in different media, Staff Gods from the back of the Ponce monolith and from the chest of the 1977 Conchopata effigy offering jars are remarkably similar in many details. Drawings by Patricia Knobloch and William H. Isbell.

somewhere with their conical bases set into the ground. No such holes were found in the room's floor, and in fact, the jars were too large to fit through its doorway, so brewing must have taken place elsewhere. Before the big containers were smashed on the floor, a wall seems to have been pulled down to admit the jars into the room. A concentration of rocks probably documents this event. Of the two great jars, the coarser one was probably for cooking the mix and the fancy one for fermentation and display.

The four great jars excavated in EA-205 and EA-208 in 2003 belong to the regular Chakipampa style (Figure 15.19), fancy Chakipampa style (Figures 15.16 and 15.18), and the [fancy] Ocros style (Figure 15.17) of MH 1. The Chakipampa (characterized by overall red slip) and Ocros (characterized by yellow-orange slip) styles were defined by Dorothy Menzel (1964) and assigned to MH Epoch 1, which is subdivided into Epochs 1a and 1b. They were produced in a fancy variant for special uses and a quotidian variant that was less carefully finished and decorated.

I believe that all four 2003 jars belong to a brief moment in Epoch 1a (or very early 1b) of the MH and provide a snapshot of fancy Conchopata/Huari ceramics at the beginning of the MH that helps determine a sequence of events within which the arrival and adoption of SAIS imagery played an important part.

Each of the giant 2003 jars was decorated with a human face on its shoulder; the fancier jars had a modeled and painted face-lug reminiscent of the prominent lugs of great Inca jars. The face on the shoulder of the regular Chakipampa jar is painted with simple, dark red lines. Remarkably, the face-lugs on one of the fancy Chakipampa jars and on the fancy Ocros jar are circled by a ring, or crown band, with interlocking frets. One fancy Chakipampa jar face-lug has two arching, double-band appendages emerging from the top of the head, and the face-lug of the other fancy Chakipampa jar, now broken off (but apparently without a crown band of interlocking frets), had similar head appendages. These features suggest the crown band with rays that defines SAIS Rayed Heads.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

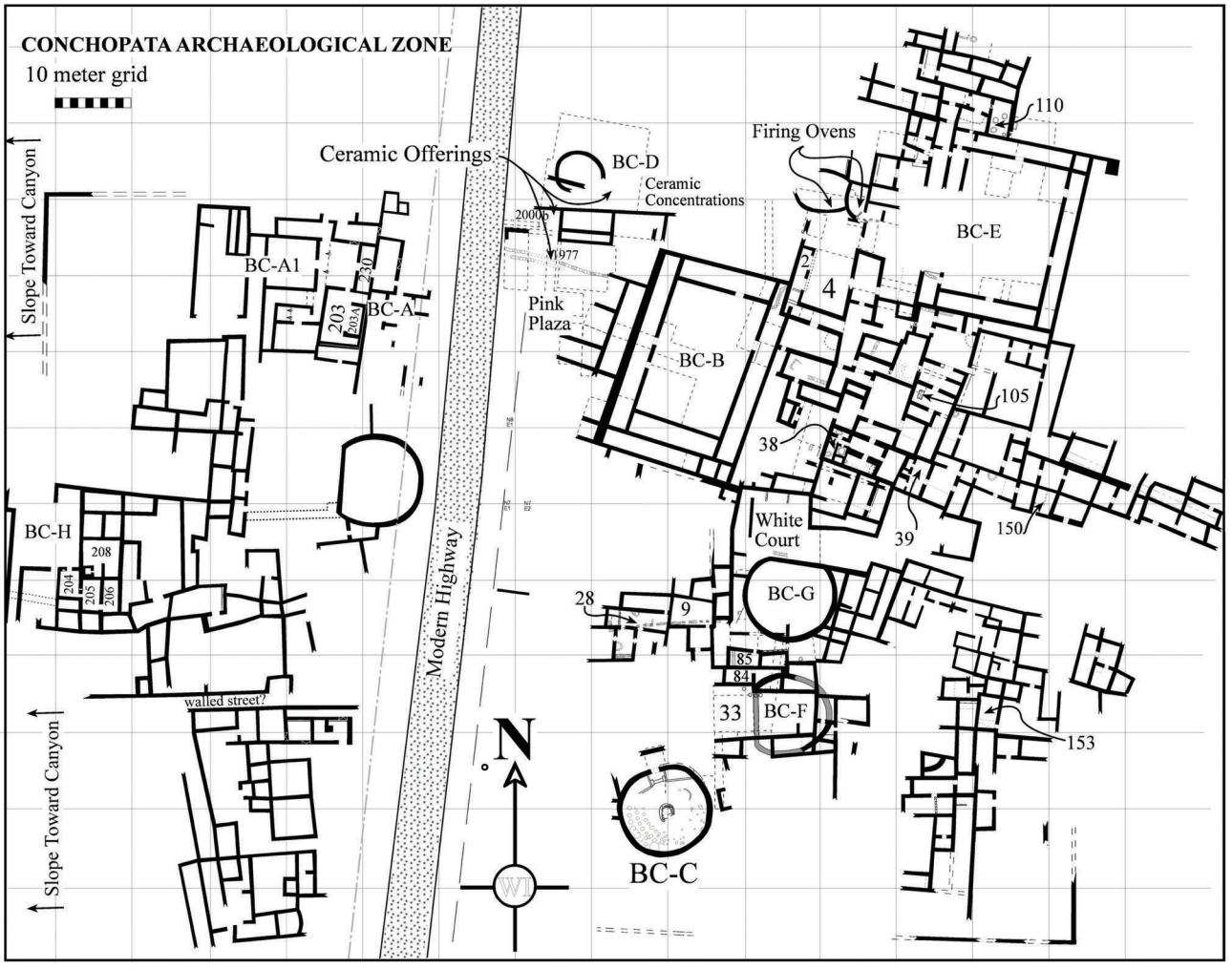


Figure 15.15. The Conchopata map shows the probable early MH residence consisting of rooms EA-204, EA-205, EA-206, and patio EA-208, in the southwestern sector of the site, next to the Quebrada de Totorilla.

Was the Rayed Head, characteristic of Early SAIS imagery, present in Ayacucho before the arrival of Tiahuanaco-infused, Late SAIS imagery, at the beginning of the MH? If so, this would imply closer relations between the Huari heartland and southern core of SAIS development, requiring some rethinking of territory, history, and processes in SAIS development. It must be remembered that the Rayed Head was probably the only Early SAIS image at Tiahuanaco. Furthermore, the Rayed Head was by far the most widely distributed icon of Early SAIS phase imagery. Variations of this image appear in the sacred art of southern cultures and styles distributed from at least altiplano Yaya-Mama sculptures to south coastal Paracas grave goods. It seems to have reached Cuzco, as documented by the Echenique Plate and other gold ornaments purchased many years ago in that city (Rowe 1977). The Rayed Head also appeared in far-off northern Chile on selected items of snuff paraphernalia, although these specimens are not well dated and may belong to Late SAIS times. Given this wide dispersal of the Early SAIS Rayed Head, we must ask if Ayacucho was really a completely new addition to the SAIS religious sphere in the MH or perhaps a long-term player with SAIS pedigree not significantly less than that of Tiahuanaco.

Given the scarcity of our currently information, I am hesitant to suppose that Early SAIS imagery, religion, or culture was very influential in Ayacucho. Rather, faces on the shoulders of Conchopata/Huari Epoch 1 jars more probably represent an independent tradition of local Huarpa origin. I have argued elsewhere (Isbell 2007 and see below) that two rays or projections on the heads of the face-lugs are female gender indicators, perhaps a pair of long braids. But gender identifications also

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.16. This giant jar from Conchopata EA-208 is missing its human face-lug, located just below the shoulder of the vessel, and from which two stylized arms spread horizontally, to turn down at the elbows, creating the effigy of a person with decorated chest.

require more extensive examination (see Chapter 20, this volume).

Huarpa is the name given to the ceramic style of EIP Ayacucho; unfortunately, it is poorly published. Late in the EIP, Huarpa came under heavy influence from Nasca, eventually adopting its polychrome technology as well as some of its imagery. This is documented by the evolution of Huarpa's buff, black-on-buff, and black-on-white ceramics into trichrome Cruz Pata pottery, with the addition of red or reddish brown and, eventually, into true polychrome ceramics of the Chakipampa and Ocros styles.

Perhaps the best definition of Ayacucho's pre-Nasca, EIP Huarpa ceramics comes from a sample collected at Huari itself and dated between cal. AD 236 and 443 (Knobloch 1976, 1989b). No Nasca influence is apparent; the sherds came from several strata probably belonging to EIP 4 through 6, so they represent a more or less local tradition not yet influenced by Nasca.

The Huarpa vessel shape inventory emphasized flaring bowls, many with concave or recurved sides. Also popular were incurving bowls, jars with tall vertical necks and a few jars with tall, flaring, conical necks. Bases were round or pointed. Decoration is primarily executed in black paint, emphasizing lines applied to a natural buff surface or over white slip. Lines are straight, wavy, zigzags, groups of parallel lines, bands, checkerboards, geometric zones, and similarly geometric layouts. However, a few representational images appear—simple line-drawn caricatures and rudimentary human faces (see Knobloch 1989b and Chapter 23, this volume).

Huarpa human faces usually combine modeling and painting, creating salient *adornos* below the rims of bowls and jars and on the shoulder of jars. None of the faces have ray appendages, crown bands, or even salient headdresses. Although the sample is small, it seems unlikely that any Huarpa ceramic faces were intended to represent the SAIS Rayed Head. Instead, I believe that Huarpa potters expressed an analogy likening a person to a ceramic container, and perhaps especially the human torso to the vessel body, by adding a face to the upper

Figure 15.17. This giant jar from Conchopata EA-208 is also missing its human face-lug located just below the shoulder of the vessel, from which stylized arms spread horizontally and turn down at the elbows, to define a human chest.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

portion of the pot. I also suggest that, at least during the MH, there were conceptual links between women and jars that probably referenced transformations associated with both brewing and pregnancy, the two of which took place within feminine bodies. Perhaps women's bodies were associated with a range of things they produced—in addition to beer, cooked food, pots, cloth, and infants. This association of pots, especially great jars, with human bodies seems to have been a long-term and deep tradition in Ayacucho but much less, if at all, a part of Tiahuanaco or of SAIS symbolism outside the Wari sphere.

Although early MH face-lugs are best understood as part of the local Ayacucho ceramic tradition and symbol system, the appearance of interlocking frets in a design so resembling the SAIS crown band should be kept in mind. Perhaps the design reveals experience with SAIS imagery and concepts before the Late SAIS triple icon package was formulated and adopted in Ayacucho.

For Dorothy Menzel (1964), MH Epoch 1a was initiated in Peru by the appearance of Tiahuanaco SAIS imagery in Ayacucho, more or less simultaneously with Wari influence in the Ica Valley and other south coast locations. The 2003 jars provide a new and different definition of MH Epoch 1a, anticipated in part by Patricia Knobloch (1983, 1989a, 2001) on the basis of stratified deposits of ceramics from Huari and by Joerg Haeberli (Chapter 6, this volume) on the basis of iconography and dates from textiles. This new evidence significantly changes the chronology and temporal processes imagined for early MH. These jars document several generations—perhaps even a century—of interaction between Nasca and Ayacucho before the adoption of SAIS iconography in Ayacucho. There seems to have been an era of pre-SAIS expansionism by Ayacucho communities who produced the first Chakipampa and Ocros ceramics, belonging to what can be called the Nasca-Ayacucho tradition. If this early Huari culture influenced the south coast, including the Ica Valley where the Peruvian master sequence is grounded, its appearance starts the new chronological period, the Peruvian MH, before the arrival of Tiahuanaco or Late SAIS images in Ayacucho or Nasca.

The four large jars excavated at Conchopata in 2003 are replete with new decorative motifs derived from Nasca themes. But they depict Ayacucho variants of the coastal designs, which were becoming as influential on Nasca art as the highland styles had been receptive to Nasca only a few generations earlier. Two of the most prominent designs are white circled dots within triple recurved ray designs of several varieties, as well as banded rectangle designs (termed pendant rectangle by Knobloch, Chapter 23, this volume). Furthermore, the 2003 jars were all human effigies, three with face-lug at the top of a rectangular panel that was usually defined by arms with hands. The rectangular area probably represented the human torso, perhaps even a torso clad in a tunic or other garment. Each of the 2003 fancy Chakipampa jars has a vertical chain, one of rectangles and the other of diamonds, below the neck of the jar's face-lug, recalling a modern necktie, dividing the torso panel into right and left halves.

Knobloch (2001:72–74, Figure 4b) compares an MH 1 jar in the Huari site museum with a face-lug, rectangular torso panel defined by stylized arms with hands and a vertical chain of elongated quadrangles, with a Nasca 8 jar from Tambo Quemado (Knobloch 2001:Figure 4a). This vessel has no face-lug but instead a face neck. Instead of a rectangular torso panel defined by arms with hands, the Nasca 8 jar employs long locks of hair dangling down the two sides of the chest. However, this panel is divided into right and left halves by a necktie-like band with a box in the middle, wavy lines inside the band, and triple recurved ray appendages emanating from both its sides. Other triple recurved rays and designs adorn the rest of the vessel, along with elongated dot space fillers, all recalling contemporary ceramic developments in Ayacucho.

The Huari site museum jar, classified as MH 1b by Knobloch, has bold polychrome zigzags around its neck, a decorative style Menzel (1964) assigned to MH 1 but that Leoni (2001, 2004, 2006, 2009) finds already at the close of the Huarpa style. The Nasca effigy jar and Huari site museum jar definitely resemble the Conchopata 2003 vessels. All seem broadly contemporary, representing the beginning of the MH. Perhaps significantly, the Tambo Quemado jar, with no arms or hands visible, is reminiscent of the bundle burials, wrapped in layers of cloth, often with a false head, that became popular on the Peruvian coast during the MH. It seems likely that similar bundles were prepared and interred in the highlands, but only skeletal remains have been recovered in the seasonally wet Ayacucho region.

In shape, the Conchopata 2003 jars of Chakipampa style probably derive from Huarpa vertical-necked jars, although all their necks have complex profiles with one or two expanded segments, even the regular Chakipampa jar. Similar necks are known on late Huarpa jars and bottles, such as the white-slipped bottle with two expanded segments in its tall neck, decorated with white circled

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

dots inside symmetrical triple recurved ray designs illustrated by Lumbreras (1974:137, Figure 147, below). This bottle is classified as the late Huarpa type known as Cruz Pata, although the white circled dots inside symmetrical triple ray designs indicate that the bottle is stylistically and probably temporally very close to the 2003 jars. All represent the EIP/MH transition.

Knobloch (2005) argues that the white circled dot within the recurved ray motif and the banded rectangle design evolved during Nasca 8 from the profile face or head of the Nasca humped animal or monkey. The white circled dot within recurved ray came from the animal's eye, with related elements. The banded rectangle motif began as the animal's mouth. Knobloch illustrates a refined series of changes she believes represents this stylistic evolution, suggesting that the separation of the old monkey face into two separate designs may have been an Ayacucho innovation that was introduced back into the late Nasca 8 design repertoire. But wherever the innovation took place, Ayacucho and Nasca renditions of these motifs are so similar that the onset of stylistic homogenization definitive of the MH should be recognized at this time. So, separation of the monkey head into triple recurved ray and banded rectangle motif is an excellent moment to begin the MH, accompanied by two fine design diagnostics. Indeed, the triple recurved ray and the banded rectangle motif are illustrated on the exterior of a vertical-sided Ayacucho bowl that Knobloch (2005:133, Figure 11) recognizes as the beginning of MH 1a (Figure 15.20).

Two radiocarbon samples of charcoal from EA-205 were sent to the Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory in New Zealand, which specializes in Southern Hemisphere dates. One sample came from the floor on which the pottery was smashed (sample NZA 32309); the second came from the fill immediately above, which contained an abundance of large and smaller sherds (sample NZA 31245). Both probably represent the final acts in the room, perhaps the last domestic activities and the destruction/abandonment, respectively. The floor sample yielded a conventional radiocarbon age of 1289 ± 30 years BP. Since the radiocarbon calibration curve is very wiggly during this time, there are multiple intersections. At 95 percent confidence, this date is cal. AD 665 to 775. The date from fill containing the oversize and regular sherds yielded a conventional radiocarbon age of 1237 ± 25 years BP, with the 95 percent confidence range of cal. AD 689 to 873. Together, the two radiocarbon dates associated with the destruction of this pottery stylistically assigned to MH 1a (or early 1b) suggest that the event took place about cal. AD 700 to 750. The giant vessels were probably manufactured somewhat earlier, so between cal. AD 650 and 700. This half-century seems a reasonable time for Epoch 1a of the MH, at least until more stylistic analysis and radiocarbon results become available.

The fancy Chakipampa jar from EA-205 (Figure 15.18) has alternating decorations on its neck sections composed of white circled dot within triple recurved ray designs and banded rectangle motifs. The triple recurved ray designs differ from those of the Epoch 1a bowl illustrated by Knobloch (2005:Figure 11) only in that the ray designs are symmetrical (a feature stratigraphically confirmed for Epoch 1a at Huari [Knobloch 1983]) and that the three rays are a bit longer and more wavy.

The MH 1a fancy Chakipampa jar is red-slipped and polished. The shoulder has a face-lug with interlocking fret crown band. Two double-band curving appendages spring from the top of the head, a feature that I suspect identifies female gender (Isbell 2007). From the sides of the head, horizontal arms emerge, turn vertically

Figure 15.18. This fancy Chakipampa-style giant jar from Conchopata EA-205 includes the human face-lug that helps transform the vessel body into a person's chest. The pair of arches from the top of the head probably indicates female gender.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

down, horizontally back in, and end in downwardly facing hands simplified to four geometricized fingers, each ending in a small rectangle with a dot to indicate the nail. However, decorations are not limited to the rectangular area so defined but appear all over the vessel body. Conversely, the center of the torso panel is marked by a chain of three rectangles pendant from the face-lug, which ends in a triangular feather motif.

The most frequent motif on the EA-205 fancy Chakipampa jar is the circled white dot within a recurved ray motif, but these examples differ from those of the jar neck. In one axis, long and wavy triple rays have recurved tips. In the other axis, the rays are also long and wavy but branching and multiple, although recurved at the ends. White dot space fillers appear between the ends of many of the rays.

An uncommon design on the EA-205 fancy Chakipampa jar is a white circled dot within a recurved ray motif that has only four short rays oriented cardinally and reminiscent of a swastika. White dot space fillers appear between the ray ends. Another rare motif is a short outlined band with recurved tips reminiscent of an "S" or backward "S."

The second jar from EA-205 is unslipped and coarsely finished, regular Chakipampa ceramics, although the neck has an expanded segment below its flaring lip (Figure 15.19). Decoration is crudely painted, with dark red lines representing a rectangle that probably indicates the torso and where most of the painting is concentrated. This consists of a hastily applied rectangular face near the top center, vertical wavy lines, and groups of three or four short lines or dabs.

The huge fancy Chakipampa jar from EA-208 is also a human effigy (Figure 15.16). Its face-lug is broken off, but two double-banded appendages emerge from the top of this head. There is no hint of a crown band encircling the face. Arms extend horizontally from the sides of the face-lug, turn vertically down, and end in simple, stylized hands with three fingers. Like other examples, this rectangle seems to define a clad torso, although on this jar painted decoration is not concentrated exclusively in the rectangular area enclosed by the arms. The center of the panel is marked by a vertical chain of diamonds defined by outlined bands of several colors and pendant from the neck of the face-lug, like a necktie.

White circled dots within ray designs on this fancy Chakipampa jar from EA-208 are somewhat different from those on the fancy Chakipampa jar from EA-205. Although these ray designs are symmetrical and have recurved rays, they are not consistently triple but have

Figure 15.19. This regular Chakipampa-style giant jar from Conchopata EA-205 has a painted face with a hastily decorated rectangular panel that probably represents a simplified human effigy like those outlined on other giant jars from EA-205 and 208.

a triple pair in one axis and multiple recurved rays in the other. Furthermore, the rays are very long and wavy. White dot space fillers appear among the symmetrical ray motifs, as do chevron bands on the neck, and simple wavy bands with recurved ends. The neck decoration alternates a white circled dot inside a triple recurved ray design with a vertical band of chevrons.

The second 2003 jar from EA-208 has the yellow-orange slip of the Ocros style (Figure 15.17). Its shape probably derives from Huarpa jars with a tall, flaring, conical neck, and both its body and neck differ from those of the other 2003 jars. Unfortunately, the rim is missing, but the long parallel vertical lines on the neck would qualify as a Huarpa design if they were on a buff or white-slip background instead of the orange Ocros surface.

This large jar had a face-lug, now broken off, with interlocking fret crown band but no double bands on the top of the head. It does have black-outlined, white arms that end in carefully illustrated hands with thumb and four fingers with nails. Almost like rays, the arms emerge horizontally from the side of the head, turn vertically

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.20. This bowl from Ayacucho is decorated with the triple recurved ray motif (a) and the banded rectangle motif (b), probably derived from Nasca's Humped Animal or Monkey theme (Knobloch 2005:133, Figure 11).

down and then horizontally inward, to define a panel where decoration is concentrated, seeming to represent the clad human torso.

Below the modeled face-lug is a rectangular register with two simple variants of the banded rectangle design. To the left and right, below the upper arms, are 18 white circled dots within symmetrical triple recurved ray motifs with short cardinally oriented ray groups. They are organized into two groups of three by three, for a total of nine design units on each side. Circles appear as space fillers. A diamond-shaped variant of the symmetrical ray design appears between the white hands (this variant resembles the diamond-shaped motifs on the body of the large jar in the Huari site museum, discussed above). A horizontal chain of similar diamond-shaped figures appears above the face-lug, below the jar neck, each with two triple recurved ray appendages, one oriented up and the other down.

The 2003 jars represent a moment very early in the MH, when Nasca-influenced polychrome ceramics had gained popularity, replacing Huarpa styles. But SAIS iconography was nowhere apparent, except perhaps for the interlocking fret crown band around fancy Chakipampa jar face-lugs. Be that as it may, the SAIS triad was soon to make a very clear appearance, but first we will examine a set of oversize Chakipampa and Ocros jars from a public offering context.

Pre-SAIS Fancy Chakipampa Jars from a Public Offering

The four Conchopata 2003 jars seem to represent private offerings, perhaps accompanying a death ritual, early in the MH—probably late Epoch 1a. When this pottery was smashed in EA-205 and EA-208, an elite residence, a feasting hall, and several round or "D"-shaped ceremonial buildings enclosed a plaza of pinkish sand about 60 m north northeast of the house (Figure 15.15). This space, superimposed on the earlier Huarpa cemetery mentioned above, appears to have been a central ceremonial area early in Conchopata's history, and a great many fancy ritual ceramics have been discovered there, despite the damage it has suffered from a paved road (Avenida del Ejercito) and other modern activities. The plaza was probably used during feasting events, especially for the production and distribution of *chicha* made from corn and/or *molle* seeds (Isbell 2001).

Early in the history of the plaza, a circular hole about 2 m in diameter was excavated through the pinkish sand, and the fragments of some 27 large face neck jars, as well as some 73 small jars (Cook and Benco 2001:500), probably all deliberately smashed,[8] were placed into the pit before it was covered and the sand plaza surfacing was carefully replaced. Registered as the Conchopata 2000b ceramic offering, this burial event was temporally quite close to the smashing of the 2003 jars in EA-205 and EA-208, although stratigraphy does not link the two locations. However, the large 2000b jars are stylistically more advanced than the 2003 vessels, implying that this offering represents a moment somewhat later in time.

A radiocarbon sample from the 2000b offering pit was dated by Beta Analytic. It corrects at 1 sigma to cal. AD 690 to 851, meaning that the pit could not have been closed later than this time. If the EA-205 jars were manufactured between cal. AD 650 and 700 and smashed between cal. AD 700 and 750, then it seems most likely that the 2000b offering pottery was produced and sacrificed between cal. AD 750 and 775.

An obvious feature that distinguishes the two sets of jars is the disappearance of the face-lug (apparently

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.21. Two views of a fancy Chakipampa giant jar from ceramic offering 2000b, excavated at Conchopata.

never to be seen again in Huari ceramics) and its replacement by a face neck (Figures 15.21 and 15.22). Face neck jars characterize Wari ceramic shapes throughout the remainder of the MH, so the form is a progressive feature distinguishing the 2000b jars as later in time, probably MH 1b as suggested above.

Other stylistically progressive features are simplification of the arms and hands as definers of the rectangular torso panel and probably also the limitation of body decoration to inside the torso panel, more consistent with decorated clothing on an effigy vessel. Like later MH face neck jars, the torso panel is defined by bands, not arms, and decoration on the vessel body is limited to the torso panel. However, the torso panel of these jars still has two recognizable hands, pointing upward from the bottom outline band, implying an evolution from stylized arms like those of the 2003 jars. Indeed, the pair of hands almost always has five fingers that end in a rectangle with dot, indicating the nail, as on some 2003 jars (Figure 15.18). The two hands separate the torso panel into three sections.

Face necks of the 2000b jars have nose, mouth (with hint of a chin), eyebrows, and the tops of the ears modeled in low relief. The eyes are painted and eyebrows have black lines suggestive of hair. Black bangs hang over the tops of the ears. Cheeks have the banded rectangle motif (or pendant rectangle of Knobloch, Chapter 23, this volume) as face paint, oriented vertically except for very scarce diagonal examples (Figure 15.23). The rim of the jar is decorated with chevrons, identifying this effigy vessel as Knobloch's (Chapter 23, this volume) Agent 102. A forehead band above the eyebrows but below the chevron rim consists of three white circled dots within triple recurved ray motifs, although the rays in the vertical axis of some vessels are only double. Circled white dot fillers appear between ray tips.

The 2000b jars' torso panels were decorated in two modes; one mode was painted with concentric circles of different colors with long, wavy, radiating rays with recurved tips (Figure 15.21); white dot space fillers appear frequently between the ends of these ray tips. Decoration is very consistent, except for a jar with a face neck that has the banded rectangle cheek design diagonally oriented (Figure 15.23). It also has an unusual white circled dot within a recurved ray design in the center of the torso panel, between the two hands.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.22. Two modes of body decoration on giant face-neck human effigy jars found in the 2000b smashed offering at Conchopata.

The second torso panel mode (Figure 15.22) has, in addition to circles with rays, a large bird, standing frontally, with an "S" on its chest, that we enjoy calling "Super Pajaro." Two Super Pajaros appear in each torso panel, one in the right and the other in the left third of the panel, which is divided into three by upward-projecting hands. The birds stand upright with both wings spread, except that the wings are more like curving tentacles decorated with double recurved ray appendages. There is more variation in the concentric circle motifs on Super Pajaro jars than the other decorative mode. Some have typical concentric circles with long wavy recurved rays, but others have concentric circle motifs with straight rays and squared recurving tips. Concentric circles with four triple recurved rays cardinally oriented also appear. Space fillers include white dots as well as white "S" shapes.

The 2000b jars are best classified as fancy Chakipampa, but some have a base color that is more orange and reminiscent of Ocros pottery. Indeed, small jars from the same offering are consistent with Ocros. On the other hand, the 2000b pottery is not particularly well made, and the often almost intermediate color between Chakipampa and Ocros may be the result of casual control of firing (compare the background colors of the vessels in Figures 15.21–15.23). Be that as it may, the 2000b offering is probably the best corpus of sacrificial pottery representing the immediately pre-SAIS moment in Ayacucho.

Intrusion of SAIS Iconography into Ayacucho

A Staff God image from Conchopata, probably the earliest documented in Ayacucho, is remarkably similar to the Staff God on the back of the Tiahuanaco Ponce monolith, discussed above (Figures 15.13 and 15.14). However, contemporary and slightly later SAIS iconography from Conchopata suggests continued and broad contacts throughout the southern SAIS sphere, not just Tiahuanaco. The relevant materials are discussed below.

A second ceramic offering was discovered under the sand of Conchopata's Pink Plaza, encountered accidentally by workmen in 1977 (Cook 1987, 1994; Isbell 1987; Isbell and Cook 1987). This offering also consists of oversize face neck jars, but they are superior in workmanship to the 2000b vessels—enough to suggest production by specialists. Much like 2000b, the 1977

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.23. This variant of the fancy Chakipampa giant face-neck jar from ceramic offering 2000b differs from the other examples in having a diagonally placed banded rectangle design on its cheek and a divergent white dot and recurved rays design between the stylized hands.

offering contained 22 to 25 oversize jars, although no smaller vessels were found, except what were probably accidental inclusions of sherds from the sacrificial activity area(s). Among these were two fragments with iconography consistent with 2000b imagery (Figure 15.24), helping to confirm the temporal priority of that ceramic smash. Today we know that the two offerings were buried only 5.5 m apart.

The 2000b jar collection consisted of two decorative modes, and the 1977 offering also contains two major modes, with considerable variation in the more popular of the two (Cook 1987, 1994). A small number, probably only two vessels of the 1977 jars, has decoration belonging exclusively to the Nasca-Ayacucho design tradition. Icons on a white-slipped background depict a ventrally extended animal with severed heads, as well as a "D"-shaped design with circled dots (Figures 15.25 and 15.26). Neither of the vessels of this mode was reconstructed completely enough to confirm the same kind of face neck as the other mode, but this similarity has been assumed since no alternative neck type was identified. On the other hand, the paste and vessel thickness of this ceramic is distinctive, suggesting different artisans or workshop.

The more prevalent 1977 offering mode, decorating more than 20 jars, belongs to the SAIS. However, this SAIS iconography appears alongside imagery of the Nasca-Ayacucho tradition of decoration. All the giant jars are human effigies representing a male dressed in a fancy tunic adorned with an image of the Staff God accompanied by smaller Profile Attendants to the right and left (Figures 15.27, 15.28, and 15.35–15.40).

Unlike the earlier oversize jars described for Conchopata, the body design of the 1977 jars does not employ a rectangular torso panel. Below the beautifully modeled and painted face neck, the body of these vessels is divided into three horizontal segments, each circling the entire pot (Figure 15.27, upper left). The shoulder area is marked at the top by a painted design representing the neck slit of a man's tunic and at the bottom by a broad black band. The middle or body section is marked at the top by the same broad black band and at the bottom by another thick black line that separates the decorated torso from the basal segment, a plain conical jar base.

There are intentional variations in the 1977 SAIS-decorated effigy jars, although all seem minor and were probably intended to express social differences within the group of men depicted. This internal variation may relate to relative status, possibly representing age grades or something similar—although there is nothing obviously indicative of age difference among the faces except that some have beards and/or mustaches, and others do not (Figures 15.27, 15.29, and 15.31; see Cook 1987, 1994).

The shoulder area of the 1977 effigy jars is most variable, with design options including a pair of large humped animals (Figures 15.27 and 15.29), a field of smaller humped animals with triple recurved rays on their bodies (Figures 15.30), a pair of checkered hands (Figure 15.31, 15.32, and 15.40), and plain areas alternating with many vertical parallel lines. The first two of these design themes, which surely represent decorations on the upper portion of the tunic worn by the individual, are definitely of Nasca-Ayacucho origins.

The main body design is uniform among all of the 1977 jars of the popular mode: the Staff God with Profile Attendants. Variations are negligible and were probably unintentional. The principal and central image, placed in the front center of the vessel body, is a Staff God standing on a three-step pyramid (Figures 15.13, 15.27, 15.28, and 15.33–40). This being has a crown band with interlocking frets and 13 ray appendages that include circled dots, animal heads, and what are probably feather bunches. No rays emerge from the bottom of the head, accounting for the uneven number of rays. Down the nose, around the eyes, and across the eyebrows is a facial design of two winged animals in profile, although the image may imply a single animal opened up to view

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.24. Two decorated sherds included in the 1977 offering are consistent with design details on vessels from the 2000b offering, located only about 5.5 m away, and cut through Conchopata's Pink Plaza.

both profiles at once. The eyes are circled white dots with central black spot, not the divided eye so favored in SAIS art.

The Staff God wears what is best understood as a sleeved tunic that reaches the knees, with a segmented belt that has avian heads at both ends and from which four feline heads dangle. A similar feline head hangs from an "I"-shaped pendant within a box, which appears to be suspended from a segmented band around the Staff God's neck. Two white bands or "suspenders" ascend from the belt toward the shoulders but end before reaching them. Above each of these "suspenders" bands is a circled dot attached to a rectangle, which resembles a crown ray that fell from the head onto the shoulder. Perhaps the two were intended as crown rays or perhaps as *tupo* pins.[9] The feet of the Staff God have ankle bands and appear in profile, directed right, with the heel marked with a spiral or a circled dot.

The Staff God's hands, replete with wrist bands, have either five or six fingers, counting the thumb. Each grasps a vertical staff. The right hand holds a staff decorated with circled dots, which has hook-like projections reminiscent of an atlatl, except that they appear at the top and bottom. The left hand holds a staff partitioned into nested triangles that form a zigzag pattern. The bottom has a feline head, while the top is decorated with a bulb-based three-fillet wavy tuft.

Under the feet of the Staff God is a three-step pyramid with projections from both sides that end in a long-nosed human head with crossed canines and headdress of a strange animal with zigzags in its body. The pyramid has a design in its interior that shows a box containing a horizontal being with crossed canines and triangular nose impossible to identify but rather suggestive of the Profile Attendants from these same offering vessels. On top of the box, two feline heads, placed side by side, face upward (Figures 15.13, 15.27, 15.28, and 15.33–15.36).

Profile Attendants are arranged in two rows to the right and left of the Staff God (Figures 15.27, 15.28, and 15.35–15.40). The upper row faces away while the lower row faces toward the deity. Although no vessel has been reconstructed completely, it seems that the processions of attendants circled the jar to meet at the rear, the upper row face to face (Figure 15.37) and the lower row back to back.

The 1977 offering Profile Attendants are the strangest in the entire repertoire of SAIS profile beings. Other Profile Attendants, including antecedent forms like Pucara Sacrificers or feline men, combine animal attributes in ways that do not occur in nature, but the class of being is always fairly clear—a feline, a human, a bird, or a fish. But these vaguely anthropomorphic beings are not obviously inspired by any class of real animal. Furthermore, some of their elements violate rules of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.25. The 1977 Conchopata ceramic offering included giant jars decorated in two distinct modes.

Figure 15.26. The less popular mode of 1977 offering jars from Conchopata also depicts a half-circle or D-shaped figure with columns of circled white dots inside.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

SAIS imagery, although other features demonstrate that painters were strongly grounded in the rules of the iconography. For example, even though greatly simplified, the legs are shown in the characteristic running or genuflecting position. On the other hand, the headdress floats in the air above and never touches the head. In fact, the being's pointed head simply continues the outline of the body, with no distinguishable neck. The face is identifiable only by a prominent snout with toothy mouth exhibiting crossed canines and a huge triangular nose. However, a circled dot eye is complete with a tear band and a double fillet band descending from the peak of the pointed head, down the back, probably representing hair, which is a common feature of profile SAIS images. Furthermore, a typical Profile Attendant collar is represented, but since the being has no neck, the collar looks like a pocket on the side of the body.

The 1977 Profile Attendants have wings, a feature that appeared in Phase 3 Tiahuanaco Profile Attendants of the Ponce monolith (Agüero et al. 2003), as Profile Attendants separated from Sacrificers. However, the wings of these Ayacucho attendants are scrawny and distinctive in shape. They wear a belt with embedded triangles, and many have a tail-like projection ending in a bulb-base feather tuft. This may imply the sash worn by many Profile Attendants from the south, although at Tiahuanaco, the sash never appears in combination with a belt. The single arm of the 1977 attendant is extended in front of the body in a manner suggesting a bent elbow, holding a staff in a five- or six-fingered hand with prominent thumb and nail. The staff is segmented, with a bulb-based feather tuft at the top and a profile animal head—probably feline—at the bottom.

These Profile Attendants were so unusual that Dorothy Menzel (personal communication, 1978) judged the entire 1977 offering tangential to the development of Huari religious art. She also dated the offering to MH Epoch 1b, well after the intrusion of what she considered the earliest and most authentic Tiahuanaco imagery, the 1942 ceramic offering discovered at Conchopata by Julio Tello (1942; see Menzel 1964, 1977). In light of the new discoveries, Menzel's inferences must be revised, although she was certainly correct that the 1977 Profile Attendants are innovative and deviant within SAIS iconography.

Some scholars suggest that artists such as the painters of the 1977 jars were illustrating icons they had never seen based on verbal descriptions and that this may account for the significant deviations. I believe that similarities between the Staff Gods of the Ponce monolith and the

Figure 15.27. Decoration on the popular mode of 1977 offering jars from Conchopata depicts SAIS iconography, although not exclusively.

Conchopata 1977 jars strongly imply that visual models, and probably the same visual models, were consulted by the artists in both locations. As it is now possible to show, fragments of a Profile Attendant from another jar found in a different but probably contemporary context at Conchopata reveal Profile Attendants that were much more like altiplano iconography, although not exactly the attendants at Tiahuanaco and on the Ponce monolith. What is suggested is a process that, despite models defining orthodoxy, seems to have included an emphasis on innovation and perhaps even distinction in at least some examples of sacrificial art, including such probably public art as the 1977 Conchopata jars.

At more or less the same time that the innovative Profile Attendants were painted on the 1977 jars, other Profile Attendants were also being represented at Conchopata that were much more consistent with southern SAIS standards, although not exactly with the attendants of the Ponce monolith. Apparently, as Conchopata—and perhaps the entire Huari sphere of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.28. Details of the Staff God, its pyramidal pedestal, and Profile Attendants from a 1977 offering jar.

Figure 15.29. Variations among the face necks of male effigies on the 1977 offering jars include clean faces as well as faces with beard and mustache.

MH Epoch 1b—began representing SAIS imagery, artists sometimes experimented with deviant images of the religious themes. Were there different versions, perhaps even competing versions, in circulation at the same time? Why were some images so precisely replicated, like the 1977 Staff God, while others were so innovative, like the 1977 Profile Attendant icons? We cannot answer this question without a great deal more knowledge about chronology, regional styles, and formal variation in SAIS iconography—issues that archaeologists are only beginning to address in, for example, this book. However, some interesting hints in the experimentation seem to characterize SAIS art at Conchopata and probably elsewhere in the vast sphere of interaction participating in the MH.

I will show below that Conchopata's Epoch 1b SAIS icons include features from all of the phases of SAIS art at Tiahuanaco, including Agüero et al.'s (2003) Phases 1 and 2, Phase 3, and Phases 4 and 5. Furthermore, some features are more consistent with Atacameño SAIS imagery and even Early SAIS Provincial Pucara than with

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

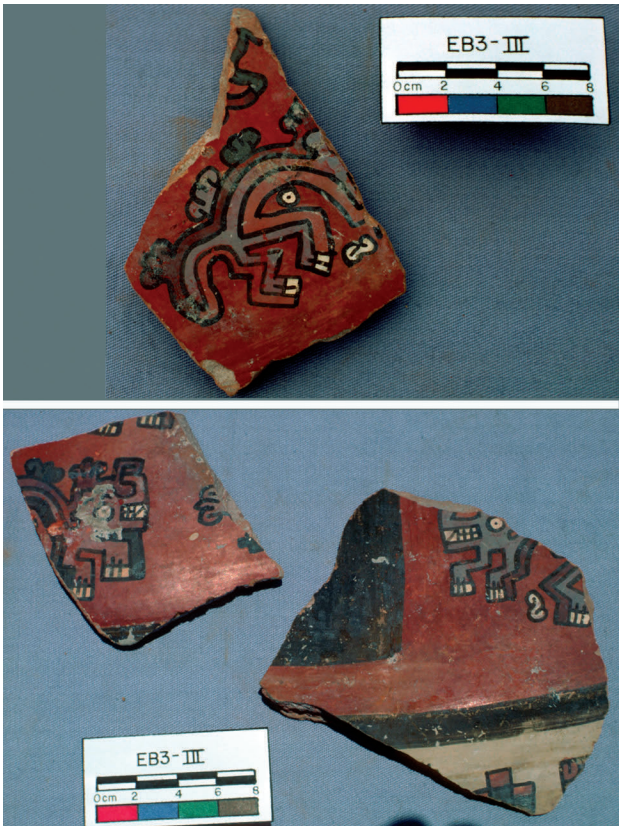


Figure 15.30. This shoulder of a 1977 offering jar shows an alternative design theme for that area, a field of small humped animals, apparently of the Nasca-Ayacucho tradition.

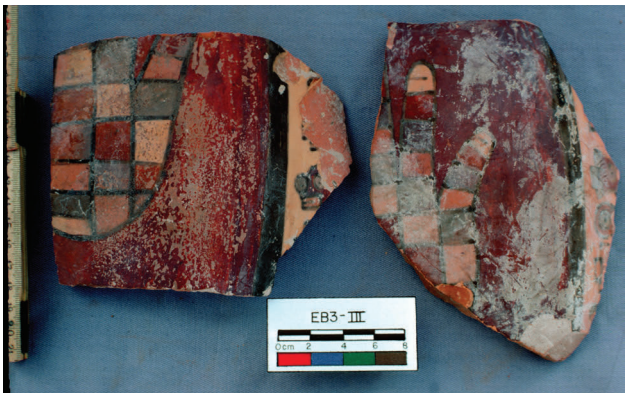


Figure 15.32. Checkered hands from the shoulder section of 1977 giant offering jars. Photo by William H. Isbell.

Figure 15.33. The 1977 offering Staff God stands on a pyramidal pedestal with three steps.

Figure 15.31. A fragment of a face-neck jar from the 1977 Conchopata offering shows the elaborately painted cheek decoration (unfortunately the nose, with its painted decoration, is broken off) that appears along with small beard and mustache.

Figure 15.34. Details of the pyramidal pedestal on which the 1977 offering Staff God stands, showing the long-nosed head with toothy mouth and N-shaped canines who appears on the expanded and upturned lowest step of the pedestal.

Tiahuanaco sculptural representations. Indeed, I have the impression that Conchopata and Huari religious experts participated in a reevaluation of SAIS imagery and its meanings that involved religious traditions and experts from throughout the southern Andean world. New religious practices and new orthodoxies were apparently negotiated by expects familiar with centuries of divergent variations of SAIS imagery and meanings.

Unfortunately, no radiocarbon dates are available for the 1977 Conchopata offering. Based on dates associated

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

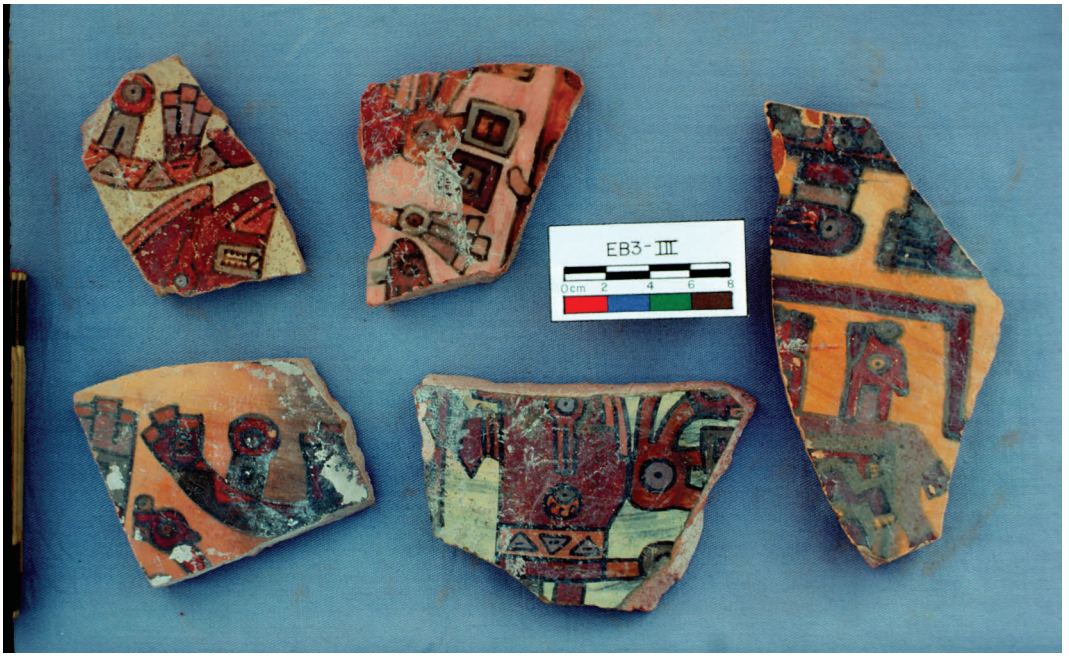


Figure 15.35. Details of the pyramidal pedestal (far right) showing feline heads rising from the center box, as well as Staff God feet with circled dot in heel.

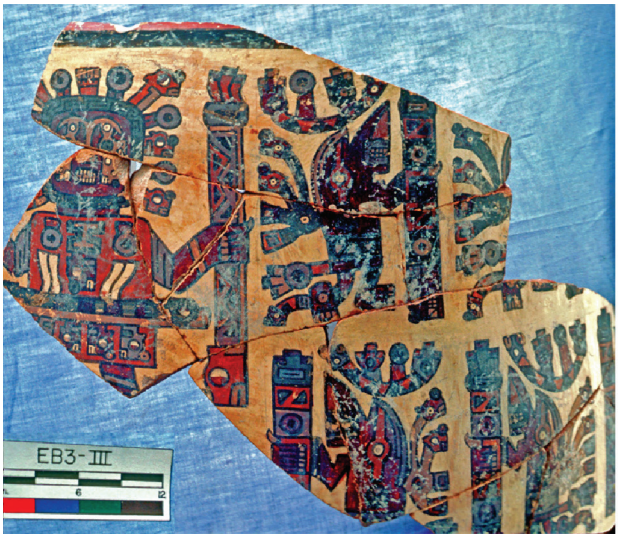


Figure 15.36. Two rows of Profile Attendants accompanying the Staff God on the giant face-neck jars from the Conchopata 1977 offering.

Figure 15.37. Reconstruction (drawn by William H. Isbell) and details of a Profile Attendant from a giant face-neck jar from the Conchopata 1977 offering.

with material stylistically somewhat earlier and somewhat later, it seems likely that these jars were manufactured and smashed between approximately cal. AD 775 and 825.

Alternative Images, Conchopata 2003 Profile Attendants

In 2003, six decorated sherds, probably all from the same large jar (Figures 15.41 and 15.42), were discovered with other fragments in a sealed context below strata disturbed by several episodes of construction at Conchopata, both ancient and modern. It is likely that the context was broadly contemporaneous with the 1977 offering, and perhaps slightly earlier, as a fragment with face and nose consistent with the 2003 attendants was found among the 1977 offering sherds, suggesting an accidental inclusion from the surface (Figure 15.43). Unfortunately, the modern highway and other construction have made it impossible to trace stratigraphy between the finds.

The 2003 fragments partially illustrate a scene of a Staff God accompanied by Profile Attendants, like that appearing on the popular mode 1977 jars. Indeed, one

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.38. This lower procession of Profile Attendants facing toward the Staff God shows some of the variation occurring among the vessels, including the hands of different artists, but perhaps also the use of different paints and other materials.

Figure 15.40. Details of shoulder area decorated with the checkered hand motif are located above the body section decorated with Profile Attendants on a 1977 Conchopata offering jar.

Figure 15.39. Processions of Profile Attendants were painted continuously over the handles of the giant 1977 effigy jars.

sherd shows part of the Staff God, the torso with one raised arm (Figure 15.41d). What appears of this Staff God is almost identical to the 1977 Staff God image (compare Figure 15.41d with the belt area of Figures 15.13 and 15.28), except that the profile animal heads on the chest and the ends of the belt have divided eyes in the 2003 Staff God and circle-and-dot eyes on the 1977 Staff God. An enigmatic triangular sherd (Figure 15.41e) may represent part of the crown of a Staff God or perhaps the headdress of a Profile Attendant. This fragment is especially interesting because it shows a severed head, inverted and in profile rather than in front view, similar to the headdress of a more complete 2003 Profile Attendant. In general, this imagery is remarkably "altiplano" in form.

The remaining sherds are decorated with Profile Attendant icons—not the idiosyncratic attendants of 1977 but attendants that resemble those of Tiahuanaco, as well as some SAIS Atacameño art from Chilean snuff paraphernalia. Indeed, these Profile Attendants have N-shaped canines, a decorated chin band or bar, embedded limb bands, a short tufted projection from the mouth, legs in the running or genuflecting position, and a crown that consists of two bands. Some of these elements only appear in Tiahuanaco sculptures after Phase 1, according to Agüero et al. (2003).

The crown is firmly placed on the head of the Conchopata 2003 attendants, not floating above as in the 1977 figures, and it has rays that include severed heads, upside-down and in front view. The attendant's head is thrown back so the face looks straight up, and it has a feline snout with circled dot for a nose. These attributes,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.41. Sherds discovered in 2003 with Staff God image (D), almost identical to the 1977 offering Staff God, but Profile Attendants, although fragmentary, more consistent with southern SAIS imagery from Tiahuanaco and northern Chile.

plus the staff with zigzag nested triangles and tear bands, are shared with Atacameño sacrificer attendants (Torres 2002:Figure 8b,e; Uhle 1912:Figure 4; Wassén 1972:65, Figure 5). At Tiahuanaco, many of the same attributes occur on the Kantatayita and Calle Linares lintels' Profile Attendants/Sacrificers, although the Tiahuanaco figures are wingless and have a second arm with hand grasping an axe and severed head.

Figure 15.42 attempts to reconstruct the 2003 Profile Attendant, showing that it probably did not have a second arm or hand grasping an axe and severed head but instead had a wing on its back, like Tiahuanaco Profile Attendants on monoliths of Phase 3 (Agüero et al. 2003), the Ponce monolith (Figures 15.11 and 15.51), and the Kochamama monolith (Posnansky 1945:Figures 99–102a). Significantly, the wing of the 2003 Conchopata icons differs considerably from wings of the 1977 Conchopata attendants, resembling instead the wings of Tiahuanaco Phase 3 Profile Attendants. On the other hand, the 2003 Conchopata Profile Attendants have heads thrown back to face upward, with a projection from the mouth, as in Tiahuanaco Phases 1and 2 and in Atacameño hallucinogenic art. But unlike snuff paraphernalia that usually shows a single icon, there were apparently at least two rows of the Profile Attendants, one above the other, on the 2003 Conchopata vessel. I believe these Profile Attendants were arranged to the right and left of the Staff God, although both types of figures were probably of similar height. These Conchopata remains represent early steps in the formalization of the Late SAIS triadic pantheon, which also took place during Phase 3 of the Agüero et al. seriation at Tiahuanaco.

The 2003 vessel(s) was probably a jar. It was not as well made as the 1977 jars and resembles the 2000 jars in quality and colors. Its background is light in color, of a yellowish-orange hue generally associated with Ocros-style ceramics.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.42. Drawing of details of the 2003 Profile Attendant showing its N-shaped canines, a decorated chin band or bar, embedded limb bands, a short tufted ray at the mouth, what is apparently a belt, legs in the running or genuflecting position, a crown that consists of two bands, and a wing similar to those of Phase 3 sculptures from Tiahuanaco. Drawing by William H. Isbell.

The Conchopata 1942/1999 Ceramic Offering Iconography

Almost 50 years ago, Dorothy Menzel (1964) argued that MH iconography in Ayacucho began with the appearance of Tiahuanaco SAIS images at the Conchopata site, where they were represented on deliberately smashed offering vessels discovered in 1942 by Julio C. Tello. For Menzel, these ceramics initiated MH 1a. Naming the offering ceramics the "Conchopata style," she studied Tello's collection and identified the following images: one Staff God; five varieties of Profile Attendants, which included two upright—one running or genuflecting and one walking—and three in horizontal position as if flying; and one Disembodied Profile Head, abstracted from a Profile Attendant and illustrated in large size. These icons appeared on oversize urns, not jars, with painted decoration limited to a wide band at the exterior top that covered about a third of the vessel's height. Backgrounds were consistently slipped dark red.

Figure 15.43. A single sherd from the 1977 Conchopata offering pit is decorated with a Profile Attendant consistent with 2003 imagery.

Patricia Knobloch (1983) raised questions about Menzel's temporal assignment of the elaborate Conchopata style, suggesting an MH 1b date for these ceramics. She grounded her argument on comparisons with stratified deposits excavated at Huari. Nonetheless, Menzel's seriationally based conclusions became the standard chronology for the MH. Conchopata-style iconography, from the Conchopata site, has represented the introduction of Tiahuanaco imagery and the onset of MH 1a from 1964 until now.

In 1999, new examples of offerings in the same style discovered by Tello were unearthed at Conchopata (Isbell 2001; Isbell and Cook 2002). They provide enhanced information about variation in iconography, as well as radiocarbon dates associated with offering ceramics. Indeed, Conchopata dates, stratigraphy, and other considerations (Ketteman 2002) suggest that this pottery was being smashed around cal. AD 825 to 925 and perhaps later. This is clearly too late for Epoch 1a and the beginning of the MH, making it increasingly apparent that the style Menzel named "Conchopata" does not date to MH 1a but to Epoch 1b and later, including MH 2. Furthermore, Conchopata-style iconography does not represent the pure and original SAIS iconography brought from Tiahuanaco to Ayacucho but an Ayacucho variant developed at Conchopata and perhaps more widely throughout the Huari heartland.

The 1942/1999 "Conchopata-style" Staff God is consistently represented with a unique crown band

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.44. Conchopata 1942/1999 Staff God and Profile Attendants.

around only three sides of the face (Figure 15.44). At the bottom, the band turns out over the deity's shoulders to end in feline heads. Two avian heads protrude from the upper corners of this crown band, but otherwise the rays seem to be bunches of feathers rather than circled dots.[10] The staff in the right hand is segmented below the five-fingered hand with prominent thumb and nail. Above it is a narrow band ending in a bulb-based feather tuft. The bottom of the staff has an animal head—probably feline—with a symbol dangling from the "N"-shaped canine-equipped mouth that is probably the lungs and heart of a human. The staff in the left hand is segmented and terminates in a bulb-based feather tuft at the top, but a captive human, surely a male, is attached by the top of his head to the bottom of the staff. The man's hands are bound behind his back. The Staff God's face has divided eyes, thin tear bands, and a toothy mouth with prominent canines that overlap the lips like daggers. He wears a very obviously sleeved tunic with two vertical stripes decorated with interlocking frets. These stripes have replaced the "suspenders" of the Staff Gods discussed above. Around the neck is a three-band collar, with no pendants, leaving the chest vacant. The deity has wrist and ankle bands, and its two feet point outward. Their heels are decorated with a chevron and central dot.

The Staff God is accompanied by Profile Attendants to its left and right, although all seem to run in the same direction, from the Staff God's right to left (Figure 15.44). Furthermore, the Staff God and Profile Attendants are the same size as the Staff God and they almost surely alternated with one another around the entire urn, so neither size nor centrality imply hierarchy.

Profile attendants have toothy mouths with canines similar to Staff Gods but a curious nose that does not resemble any animal. The eye is divided and has a tear band, and a segmented headdress has feline heads at both ends, with a central ray that is probably an *A. colubrina* symbol, discussed below. Attendants are not shown with clothing; instead, the limbs have interior structure. There is a segmented belt and a collar much like that worn by other SAIS attendants. One hand grasps a zigzag, segmented staff in front of the body, with a bulb-base feather tuft on top and a profile severed head at the bottom. Three cervical vertebrae appear below its mandible. The Profile Attendant is winged, but unlike other SAIS winged attendants, the wing is placed very high, actually on the back of the head, leaving space for a second arm with a hand holding an axe with an extremely recurved handle. The wing is a more robust version of the scrawny wing of Conchopata's 1977 attendants and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.45. Horizontal winged Profile Attendants, apparently flying, that have feline or human faces were named Angel C by Menzel (1964, 1977).

is one of several features that distinguish Conchopata/Huari SAIS attendants from Tiahuanaco SAIS attendants in diverse media, including textile imagery.

The Profile Attendant described above (Figure 15.44) who appears with the Staff God was named Angel A by Menzel (1964:20, Figure 13). Another kind of Profile Attendant, a standing or walking version, was named Angel B (Menzel 1964:20, 1977:Figure 66). They are very curious in that they include some details from the older Sacrificer and others from Profile Attendants—for example, axe, severed head, and perhaps the long nose (although significantly different in form and concept) of the Sacrificer. On the other hand, they lack chin bars, possess wings, and carry staffs. Apparently, after the first consensus of centralized and hierarchical SAIS iconography in the two centers, Huari and Conchopata experimented with—or were exposed to—imagery that expressed some features more at home in old SAIS representations.

Some 1942/1999 offering vessels are decorated with floating or horizontally oriented attendants, named Angel C and Angel D (Figures 15.45 and 15.46, respectively; see also Menzel 1964:20–21, 1977:Figure 91, left with feline head and right with avian head, respectively). A third floating attendant lacks tail feathers or wing but has ray-like appendages on its back (Figure 15.47; see also Menzel 1977:Figure 63 upper left). This completes the Late SAIS imagery of Menzel's Conchopata style, and interestingly, none have features of the old SAIS Sacrificer, except for mouth projections.

The three types of floating Profile Attendants appear in horizontal processions, probably flying, and always proceeding from right to left, in broad bands at the exterior top of giant urns. The kinds Menzel called Angel C and D alternate with one another, at least on some urns, but the third type seems to appear in processions exclusively of its own kind. Each holds a staff parallel to and below its body. Except for the avian-headed flyers, toothy mouths include crossed canines and a forward protrusion from between the teeth that ends in a stylized head. Sometimes the horizontal flyers have a tongue as well.

Front-face Rayed Heads have not been identified as part of Conchopata-style imagery, although they do appear at the Conchopata site (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2001:Figure 8), some with faces very similar to the Conchopata-style Staff God. Perhaps further research will add this image to the iconic inventory of the Conchopata style. Rayed Heads are probably more common in later Huari iconography, especially Menzel's Epoch 2 style named Viñaque.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.46. Winged horizontal Profile Attendants with avian faces were also classified as Angel C by Menzel (1964, 1977).

The final image belonging to the Conchopata-style SAIS inventory, which Menzel (1964:20) could not reconstruct entirely, is a "large bodiless angel head that covers the full width of the design band, with headdress adorning both the top and back of the head. Stylistically modified heads of this type are a relatively common design in the Huari styles of Epoch 2." Innovatively, this head is shown in profile. Several examples of Disembodied Profile Heads are preserved in the 1999-style excavation sample (Figures 15.48 and 15.49; see also Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2001:Figure 7) showing that different variants were popular. These include a feline or human head that may have "N"-shaped crossed canines or large peg teeth, as well as an avian-faced profile head. Like several other SAIS designs at Conchopata, the Disembodied Profile Head seems to be an Ayacucho innovation, unknown in Tiahuanaco or other southern SAIS styles.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, a variety of new styles of elaborate offering ceramics were discovered at Conchopata. Most of these are like the 1942/1999 offering, painted on giant urns, not jars. In some cases, decoration is limited to the upper half or third of the exterior but sometimes covers the entire exterior. The interiors of some urns were also decorated, including several that are so reminiscent of the Robles Moqo style from Pacheco, in the Nasca Valley, that they should probably be classified as belonging to that style. Indeed, if the Robles Moqo style was intrusive onto the south coast, as Menzel (1964) affirmed, Conchopata is the most likely place of origin for the colonists and their ceramics.

It seems that the giant jar was the appropriate shape for offering pottery at the onset of the MH. Furthermore, these vessels were effigies, symbolically representing humans. They probably began as face-lug jars before the adoption of SAIS iconography, but that form was replaced by face neck jars as SAIS imagery began its appearance. Subsequently, however, offering jars were discarded in favor of oversize urns as the preferred ceramic shape to be smashed and interred in pits and other contexts. However, it seems that throughout the MH, regular-size vessels, probably for serving the contents of the giant pots, also appeared in offering contexts.

Both large jars and large urns are shapes best suited for preparing and serving brewed beverages, most probably corn and *molle* beer, known as *chicha*. A large undecorated urn set into the floor just inside the entrance to a large patio, accompanied by sherds of fine serving

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.47. Horizontal Profile Attendants with feline or human faces, lacking wings but with distinct projections from the back, were named Angel D by Menzel (1964, 1977).

vessels on the floor about it, seems to confirm ceremonial drinking as a key activity in this space, tentatively identified as a "feasting hall." Perhaps guests were served as they entered the enclosure.

At Conchopata, ritual spaces defined by "D"-shaped or circular enclosures are sometimes associated with large vessels and apparently with ceremonial drinking. Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero (2001) found the conical bases and smashed sides of giant jars in a row of holes against the west wall of building BC-G (Figure 15.15). One of the jars was decorated with realistic images of a plant identified by Patricia Knobloch (2000) as the hallucinogen *A. colubrina*. Although smashed jars were not present, three rows of round holes were found in the floor on the west side of circular building BC-C (Figure 15.15). They are best explained as stands for large brewing jars with pointed bases. SAIS iconography seems then to be associated with ritual drinking and perhaps with altered states of consciousness, involving alcoholic beverages, hallucinogenic substances, or both. However, as discussed below, the evidence for hallucinogenic plant imagery associated with SAIS iconography at Conchopata and at Tiahuanaco requires careful and nuanced interpretation.

Understanding the SAIS Iconography of Tiahuanaco and Huari/Conchopata

The earliest oversize ceramic offering identified at Conchopata seems to have been private, marking the death of a brewer woman and the closing of her home, probably in MH 1a. The deaths of several men, interred in a looted mortuary building located in the adjoining patio, may also have been related to the smashing of jars and closure of rooms, but the disturbed archaeological remains confuse interpretations. Giant effigy jars with modeled face-lugs and Nasca-Ayacucho–style painted body decorations were the vessels employed for this sacrifice, although the face on the coarsest jar was only painted. SAIS iconography was lacking except for crown bands with interlocking frets around several face-lugs that may or may not have referenced SAIS.

Subsequently, fancy oversize Chakipampa face neck jars were smashed and buried below the floor of a public space, the Pink Plaza, to be discovered in 2000. Iconography continued to emphasize triple recurved rays of the Nasca-Ayacucho tradition, although new designs include the "Super Pajaro" and concentric circles with wavy rays that look like sunbursts. SAIS imagery is

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.48. This giant Conchopata urn is decorated with disembodied mythical profile heads that probably derived from Profile Attendants.

lacking. Like the earlier jars, these offering vessels were human effigies, with the head becoming increasingly prominent as stylistic preference shifted from the face-lug to the face neck.

Probably only slightly later and more stylistically advanced than the 2000 offering, another set of oversize face neck effigy jars was smashed and buried below the Pink Plaza, to be discovered by workmen in 1977. The more popular vessel type, of two modes, was decorated with an image of the SAIS Staff God, accompanied by Profile Attendants. This imagery was placed to represent a decorated tunic worn by the elite male effigy, with SAIS iconography on his chest but Nasca-Ayacucho imagery on his shoulders. Deviant Profile Attendants apparently coexisted with other images, discovered in 2003, that were more consistent with southern SAIS icons, both from Tiahuanaco and from northern Chile. These 2003 images were almost surely somewhat earlier at Conchopata than the 1977 offering iconography, although recognizing slight differences in chronology is probably less relevant than appreciating the kinds of variation and experimentation that took place as SAIS religion and its iconography were adopted by the people of Conchopata/Huari.

Still later in time, oversize urns replaced giant effigy jars as the preferred vessels for ceramic sacrifices, as well as for representing SAIS iconography. The 1942/1999 offering urns are no longer human effigies but instead directly depict a whole pantheon of mythical beings, including a new image unique to Conchopata/Huari SAIS, the large, Disembodied Profile Head.

To the degree that this sequence of offering styles represents real time, SAIS iconography appeared at Conchopata with the imagery on the 1977 jars, with the Staff God and Profile Attendants depicted as though they were decorations on a man's tunic.

Comparison of the Conchopata 1977 SAIS iconography with Tiahuanaco SAIS sculpture has revealed the formal correlation discussed above. The Staff God on the chest of the 1977 ceramic effigies is almost identical to the Staff God on the back of the Ponce monolith, especially if one allows for difference in media—painted pottery versus carved stone—although both probably imitated textile art. This establishes the first precise cross-dating between the Tiahuanaco and Huari sequences. The Conchopata 1977 jars must have been painted at more or less the same time that the Ponce monolith was carved. Indeed, I am inclined to believe that artists from the two areas consulted the same pattern or model as they developed their images. When the chronological positions of the two are convincingly worked out in their respective areas, the Tiahuanaco and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 15.49. This giant urn from Conchopata is decorated with variations of the disembodied mythical profile head, including feline/human-faced and avian-faced heads.

Huari sequences will be synchronized—although in the meantime, it seems that late MH 1b at Conchopata was contemporary with Phase 3 of the Agüero et al. (2003) seriation of Tiahuanaco stone sculpture—that probably belongs to middle Tiwanaku 1 in Janusek's (2008) new chronology, since seriational Phases 1 and 2 were probably brief. Indeed, the phases consist of very few sculptures and may have been almost contemporary with one another. The Ponce monolith cross-dates with the Conchopata 1977 ceramic offering, suggesting it was carved between approximately cal. AD 750 and 775.

Valuable new understandings of the Staff God icon may be achieved through comparisons of the apparently contemporary Ponce and Conchopata 1977 images, whose many similarities and few differences may be very revealing. Examination of this variation convinces me that the deity icon is composed of portions that constitute relatively independent statements of meaning. Each portion, or unit, consists of several symbols structured in specific ways that surely interacted with one another to convey meaning. Some elements of each unit seem to have been rigidly determined while others were variable, apparently within a "vocabulary" of defined alternatives.

As a preliminary step toward better understandings of these symbol systems, I discuss 10 systems of meaning, or themes, in terms of the similarities and differences that appear on the contemporary Ponce and Conchopata 1977 Staff Gods (Figures 15.11, 15.13, and 15.14). Similar themes include the tunic, belt, face, rayed crown, chest design, feet, and staffs—right and left, respectively. Themes not shared by both deities but exclusive to one or the other include the geometric figures suspended from the elbows (elbow pendants), as well as a pyramid pedestal on which one of the deities stands. Finally, curious distributional differences of symbols for the hallucinogenic *Anadenanthera colubrina* plant, originally identified by Patricia Knobloch (2000) from realistic representations at Conchopata, are also discussed for the two Staff Gods, as well as for Tiahuanaco and Conchopata/Huari iconography more generally.

Both the Ponce monolith and the Conchopata 1977 Staff Gods wear a tunic, which was almost surely a sleeved garment, belted at the waist, that reached the knees or slightly below. There are some differences in the way the shoulders are represented and the sleeves decorated, but these Staff Gods seem to wear the same kind of garment. Furthermore, both tunics compare with adult male Inca costume, except for the sleeves and belts.

The belt or waistband worn by the two deities is very similar. Both are segmented, with each unit containing a simple space filler. At each end of the belt, an avian head projects, in profile. Pendant from the belt are four more

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

profile heads—in the Ponce figure, also avian, but on the Conchopata deity, feline. This seems a compelling case of shared structure that permitted alternative "vocabulary" elements in acceptable places, in this case different kinds of profile heads.

The faces of the two Staff Gods are very similar, emphasizing nose and eyebrows as one element, de-emphasizing the mouth, and featuring elaborated tear bands that display circular eyes with one or more circles below. The eyes are not divided. Conchopata's tear band terminates with an animal head that has its own circular eye. These details are lacking on the Ponce image, but such meticulous detail may not have been possible given the relatively rough stone of the great monolith and the small size of the Staff God image.

Another probable system of meaning is the deity's rayed crown surrounding its face. The Conchopata 1977 deity has interlocking frets in the crown band, as do later Staff Gods at Tiahuanaco, but the Ponce monolith's crown band segments have simple space fillers. Again, this difference may be due to resolution in carving stone. Significantly, there is an irregularity in the interlocking frets in the lower left side of the Conchopata deity's crown band. Was this an error or deliberate discrepancy? The number, orientation, and kind of rays projecting from the two deities' crown bands are virtually identical, except that different animal heads may be represented—although such detail may also exceed what can be determined from the rough surface of the Ponce monolith.

Another group of symbols that probably worked together to communicate a particular message was chest imagery. The Conchopata 1977 and Ponce monolith chest areas have much similar imagery and probably shared the same structure, but differences occur as well. Both have a pair of bands that are somewhat diagonal, which I have called "suspenders" as a neutral, preliminary term. Between the suspenders are two circled dots on short rays descending from the shoulders and a central pendant, seemingly suspended from a collar in the case of the Conchopata figure. The two images differ in this final pendant element, that is, a set of concentric capital "I" shapes, with a profile feline head below for Conchopata but different geometric shapes for the Ponce deity. Still, similarities are sufficient for us to ask why the Ponce geometric shapes substitute for the Conchopata "I" and profile feline head. How were these images alternatives for one another, and what differences did they convey to sophisticated participants in Staff God religion?

Chest designs on later Tiahuanaco sculpture Staff Gods, including the central deity on the Gate of the Sun, are similar enough to the Ponce and Conchopata 1977 themes to suggest that structure and contents of this system of meaning remained little changed. Conversely, the chest of Conchopata's later Staff God, painted on the 1942/1999 offerings (Figure 15.44), as well as the Pacheco male deity, is empty (Lavalle 1984:136, 137). Chest images have disappeared, and even the curious "suspenders" have been replaced by what seem to be vertical textile stripes containing interlocking fret elements. The deity of Menzel's Conchopata style does wear a multistrand necklace or collar, but it is not equivalent to the chest decoration discussed above. The Pacheco male deity[11] wears no chest symbols, although the female deity's chest is decorated in what appears to be a related but structurally somewhat different system, which displays two rows of three symbols on the front of her garment (Lyon 1978:Figure 14). Indeed, it seems that whatever was symbolized by Staff God chest designs at the moment of Tiahuanaco-Ayacucho contact, this symbolic system changed quickly and completely in the Huari sphere. Perhaps some of this change relates to the representation of gender on the cosmic stage, although MH examples of the female deity are currently limited to Staff God imagery from Pacheco. In Tiahuanaco sculpture, by contrast, the chest design symbolic system remained quite stable.

The feet of both Staff Deities are shown in profile, pointing to one side—Ponce to the image's left, Conchopata 1977 to his right. Both wear ankle bands. One shows three toes, the other four, but this may be an issue of resolution. More significantly, the Conchopata Staff God has heel decorations, lacking in Tiahuanaco sculpture. The more popular mode is a spiral, but circled dots also occur (Figures 15.13, 15.14, 15.28, and 15.35, far right sherd). Later in the MH, Wari Staff Gods are frequently characterized by a chevron and dot marking the heel. Examples include the Conchopata 1942/1999 offerings (Figure 15.44) as well as the Staff Gods on the Pacheco urns—both male and female (Lavalle 1984:136–137; Lyon 1978:Figure 14).

Staffs in the right and the left hand of these Staff God images differ. Each of the staffs of the two deities is grasped in a single hand that is marked by a wrist band and displays a prominent thumb and thumb nail. Conchopata deities have, additionally, four or five fingers while the Ponce image reveals but three.

The right staff held by the two deities is almost identical, decorated with circled dots and a base cap with

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

rectangle. A projection that resembles an atlatl hook appears at each end of the staff, on the inner side, toward the deity. It is not clear whether the animal heads constituting the hooks represent the same type of creature, although they may. The lower seems most probably feline, while the upper appears avian. However, even if they represent the same variety of animal, the conventions differ. The upper head of the Conchopata 1977 figure is quite atypical for SAIS imagery.

The left hand of the Conchopata image holds a staff partitioned into two rows of triangles with simple internal space fillers. A zigzag line separates the two rows (in this case the outline for a colored band on which one row of triangles is painted), creating a distinctive design that appears on other SAIS art, especially from the southern Andes. Compare, for example, this design with the staff designs that appear between single or paired circles and the design in the chin bar of the Niño Korin Sacrificer snuff tablet (Wassén 1972:65, Figure 5). The bottom of the 1977 staff has a profile feline head, while the top is decorated with a bulb-based three-fillet wavy tuft.

The distinctive zigzag band from the left-hand 1977 staff, although apparently traditional in SAIS art, was not employed on the left-hand staff of the Ponce deity. Instead, this rod is also decorated with circled dots, like the staff in this deity's other hand. However, an animal head appears at the bottom, probably a feline, and at the top is an *A. colubrina* symbol (Knobloch 2000). These similarities and differences also provoke questions, as in the case of chest imagery.

The *A. colubrina* plant symbol has not been identified in the Conchopata 1977 offering iconography. This stands in sharp contrast with the abundance of *A. colubrina* plant symbols on the Ponce monolith. Among the Staff God's attributes, only one *A. colubrina* appears atop one staff, in the deity's left hand. But among the Profile Attendants of the Ponce monolith and on the human depicted by the statue itself, *A. colubrina* symbols are frequent (Figure 15.51). This puzzling issue receives more attention below.

Two themes seem to be restricted to one of the deities alone, suggesting symbolic domains that were not shared by Tiahuanaco and Conchopata/Huari, at least at the time of early contact involving the two great centers. The first is a rectangular or circular object suspended below the elbow of the Ponce deity, perhaps a carrying bag of some kind, which is usually decorated with a geometric image, such as a circle or interlocking frets. This theme will be referred to as the elbow pendant.

The Staff God's elbow pendants may be a domain of communication that distinguishes or tends to distinguish Tiahuanaco SAIS from Huari SAIS iconography. Tiahuanaco's Ponce monolith Staff God has elbow pendants (Figures 15.11 and 15.14) as does the Staff God on the chest of the "Sun Idol" (Posnansky 1945:Figures 132–133), the "Kochamama" statue (Posnansky 1945:Figures 99–102), the back of the Bennett monolith (Posnansky 1945:Figures 113–116), the Gate of the Sun (Posnansky 1945:Plates XLV–LXIV), and the Taquiri Cube (Figure 15.52; Ryden 1947:Figure 147). Even the Linares lintel Staff God may have had elbow pendants, although the illustration is not conclusive (Posnansky 1945:Figure 140A). The Pariti *kero* Staff Gods definitely have elbow pendants (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:32–33) (see Chapter 6, this volume, for information on elbow pendants in other southern imagery, especially textiles).

Conchopata/Huari Staff Gods from the 1977 and the 1942/1999 offering vessels do not have elbow pendants. Pacheco Staff Gods, both male and female, also lack them (Lyon 1978:Figure 14; Lavalle 1984:136–137). Other Staff Gods and Staff God-like images from Conchopata and the Huari sphere seem to omit them as well. Textiles may not follow the same rules, but in general, Staff God elbow pendants seem to be Tiahuanaco and not Huari. This issue merits future study; it may hold surprisingly important information.

The second theme that is not shared by the Ponce and the Conchopata 1977 deities is the pyramidal pedestal on which the Conchopata supernatural stands. However, its history is more complex than that of elbow pendants.

The three-step pyramidal pedestal placed under the feet of Staff Gods is well known at Tiahuanaco, appearing on the Bennett monolith, the Gate of the Sun, and the Taquiri Cube found in the Tiahuanaco hinterland (Figures 15.5 and 15.52). Agüero et al. (2003) seriate all the figures with pedestal into the fourth and fifth phases of their Tiahuanaco sculptural chronology, so later than the Ponce monolith, and Linares lintel Staff Gods, who do not stand on pyramidal pedestals. To the degree that this seriation is correct and to the degree that the Conchopata 1977 offerings cross-date with the Ponce monolith, the three-step pyramid, as well as the religious knowledge it encoded, was first developed in Late SAIS iconography in Ayacucho. Only subsequently was the pyramid pedestal under the feet of the Staff God adopted at Tiahuanaco. Consequently, Ayacucho seems to have been as much a contributor as a recipient in SAIS ideological and iconographic evolution, with at

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

least some Conchopata/Huari innovations diffusing to Tiahuanaco.

Conchopata/Huari did not invent the pyramidal pedestal that appears below the 1977 Staff God. It was an Early SAIS image associated with the Rayed Head in Provincial Pucara imagery (Haeberli 2002 and Chapter 6, this volume). Significantly, this was the first SAIS iconography to represent thematic complexity involving a central image with a set of attendants shown in profile to the right and left of the primary supernatural (Isbell and Knobloch 2009). Also significantly, radiocarbon dates make it clear that this Provincial Pucara theme had not been produced for several centuries when the pedestal reappeared in Conchopata art, provoking new questions about this apparent temporal hiatus. Of course, deliberate archaism has been reported in other traditions of Andean imagery (Rowe 1971).

Given their similarities, the Conchopata 1977 pyramidal pedestal must have been inspired by Provincial Pucara pedestals. Provincial Pucara pedestals also have three steps, but the Rayed Head hovers above, not the Staff God. Rays from the chin of the Rayed Head seem to touch the top of the pedestal, as though supporting the face. The lowest step of the pedestal terminates in profile heads on both sides. In Provincial Pucara A imagery (Haeberli, Chapter 6, this volume: Figure 6.12), another front-face head with two braids or locks of hair appears at the center of the pedestal. In Provincial Pucara B imagery (Haeberli, Chapter 6, this volume: Figures 6.13 and 6.14), the pyramid contains a cross-like, three-fillet band with concentric rectangle at the center that connects the Rayed Head, the two profile heads, and the base of the pyramid, which may represent the surface of the Earth.

The Conchopata 1977 Staff God pedestal (Figures 15.28 and 15.33–15.35) has a rectangular box within it, which contains a strange animal oriented horizontally, seeming to make a "thumbs up" gesture. It also has two projections from the top with upward-facing feline profile heads and stylized feathers emanating from the sides. Below the lowest step, the pyramid expands and turns up on both sides to terminate in a head with a long-nosed profile, a toothy mouth that has "N"-shaped canines, and a prominent animal headdress. Most likely derived from the heads at the ends of the first step of the Provincial Pucara pyramidal pedestal, this expanded and upturned bottom on Conchopata 1977 pedestals seems a significant innovation. And indeed, it is the standard form for all Tiahuanaco Staff God pyramidal pedestals, except those on the little Taquiri Cube (Figure 15.52).

As may be expected, in SAIS, iconographic interactions seem never to be simply dyadic, and iconic relationships are never simple. Atacameño hallucinogenic imagery also has three-step pyramidal pedestals under various mythical beings, not just Staff Gods. Some have upturned ends, and some do not. Indeed, it could have been from San Pedro de Atacama and other northern Chilean oases that Conchopata learned of the ancient Provincial Pucara pedestal. Torres (2002:Figure 13) illustrates a snuff tablet with a three-dimensional human figure resembling a Pucara Feline Man, with all the attributes of a Sacrificer, who stands on a pedestal with bottom step that expands and turns up to end in profile heads. However, this little pyramid has only two steps.

Tiahuanaco's Gate of the Sun Staff God's pedestal (Figure 15.5) has an expanded base with upturned ends that terminate in crowned profile heads. Within the pyramid is a box containing a crescent-bodied snake-like figure with whiskers, and from the perimeter of the box are projections terminating in animal heads. Four feline heads face upward, while avian heads cap the projections to the right and left and below. Rayed Heads at the bottom of the register on this same architrave also have pedestals with expanded bases that terminate in upturned ends with stylized heads, either feline or avian.

The Bennett monolith Staff God's pyramidal pedestal has an expanded base as well. The ends are decorated with feline heads. On the other hand, the pedestal bases for Staff Gods carved on the Taquiri Cube (Figure 15.52) simply have profile heads at the ends of the bottom step, although most are too damaged for the type to be identified.

If the Agüero et al. (2003) seriation is correct, the Staff God's pyramidal pedestal, so popular in late Tiahuanaco religious art, was a Conchopata innovation—although perhaps inspired by Atacameño snuffing art and, more surely, by Provincial Pucara imagery. However, the pedestal does not seem to have remained popular in Conchopata/Huari SAIS iconography. Staff gods on the 1942/1999 offering urns and from the Pacheco offerings were not placed on pyramidal pedestals. The innovative theme seems to have disappeared from the Peruvian SAIS inventory, along with other themes like complex chest decorations, which were also perpetuated in Tiahuanaco SAIS art.

Anadenanthera colubrina: Internal Religious Conflict

Unlike the elbow pendant, the pyramidal pedestal, and, to a lesser degree, chest decoration, the distribution of *A. colubrina* is not a Tiahuanaco versus Conchopata/

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Huari issue. The *A. colubrina* symbol occurs in the art of both centers, but in some compositions, it is rare or absent, while in others it is frequent to ubiquitous. What was communicated by this hallucinogenic plant symbol, and why was an alternative sign, such as the bulb-based three-fillet feather tuft or an ear of corn motif sometimes represented instead? As with pendant profile heads—feline, avian, fish—alternatives seem to substitute for one another, promoting significant changes in meaning.[12]

I believe that hallucinogenic *A. colubrina* symbols relate to altered states of consciousness and to shamanic experience of SAIS religion, an inference supported by the snuffing paraphernalia preserved in northern Chilean graves. Furthermore, it seems that the *A. colubrina* motif provides an important insight into processes driving religious and social change following the adoption of a uniform Late SAIS religion by Tiahuanaco, Huari/Conchopata, and probably other early MH cultures. The religious uniformity expressed by the Ponce monolith and Conchopata 1977 offering did not last long. Numerous conflicts and processes were probably involved in these subsequent changes, but one that has left evidence in the archaeological record involves modes of religiosity represented by *A. colubrina* symbols.

Harvey Whitehouse (2004), in a study of modes of religiosity, refers to a small group, intense, and highly individualized spiritual experience of the supernatural as *imagistic* religion, which I identify with shamanism. He describes the opposite extreme of the spectrum as *doctrinal* religion, which emphasizes precise repetition in ritual, potentially involving groups of limitless size, and sober, distant experience of the supernatural guided by authoritative priests enunciating esoteric texts. Interestingly, there is debate among cognitive psychologists involved in this research whether writing is necessary for the precision in dogma required, although I suspect that the researchers have not investigated alternative ways of ensuring precise repetition, such as elaborate iconography like that developed by SAIS religious practitioners. Be that as it may, I suspect that predilections for and against representations of the hallucinogenic *A. colubrina* plant relate to preference for type of religious experience. Patrons favoring doctrinal religion commissioned art with few or no *A. colubrina* plant symbols, while those devoted to imagistic shamanism commissioned art replete with *A. colubrina* glyphs. There were surely also various degrees in between.

The complete absence of *A. colubrina* plant symbols among the religious symbols of the Conchopata 1977 offering suggests a preference for doctrinal worship. This contrasts with the abundance of *A. colubrina* symbols on the Ponce monolith, although only one symbol is associated directly with the Staff God. Greater popularity of shamanic religious performances is implied, although perhaps we should distinguish the different beings and their possible religious and social roles, Staff God, various Profile Attendants, the Rayed Head, as well as the person represented by the Ponce statue itself. If frequency of *A. colubrina* symbols correlated with imagistic religious practice, the abundance of the symbols decorating the monolith itself suggests that the statue might represent a powerful shaman. *A. colubrina* symbols appear in four locations on the face, two locations on the arms, and one of the objects held in the hands, for a total of seven symbols, on the male depicted by the statue. This compares with one associated with the Staff God on the statue's back and zero to four associated with different Profile Attendants distributed over his tunic. Finally, the Rayed Heads on his belt are bereft of *A. colubrina* symbols (although one *A. colubrina* appears on each Rayed Head on the statues two arms) (Figure 15.51).

As stated above, frequency of *A. colubrina* plant symbols does not distinguish Conchopata from Tiahuanaco. Comparing two of Conchopata's giant urns decorated with Disembodied Profile Heads that belong to the 1942/1999 style, one lacks *A. colubrina* glyphs entirely (Figure 15.48), while a second has two of the symbols in the headdress of every profile head (Figure 15.49). The Profile Attendant (named Angel A by Menzel 1964) who accompanies the Staff God on oversize urns of this same style has a single figure in the center of its headdress that is probably an *A. colubrina* symbol, although this identification is less secure than some others (Figure 15.44).

At Tiahuanaco, besides the Ponce monolith, the *A. colubrina* symbol appears as part of the eye markings or tear band of the avian Profile Attendants on the Gate of the Sun (Figures 15.5 and 15.50). This Attendant is repeated five times in the processions to the right and to the left of the Staff God, for a total of 10 *A. colubrina* symbols on the architrave (six unfinished avian attendants lack fine details that would probably have included the *A. colubrina* eye symbol). But this seems a modest number when compared with the frequency of the symbols on the Ponce monolith. A stone bowl or mortar from Tiahuanaco's monumental Semisubterranean Temple, perhaps used to grind hallucinogenic snuff, has dozens of *A. colubrina* symbols (Ponce Sanginés 1969:Figure 58, Laminas 12–14) while the Staff Gods on the little Taquiri Cube (Figure 15.52) seem also to be loaded with

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

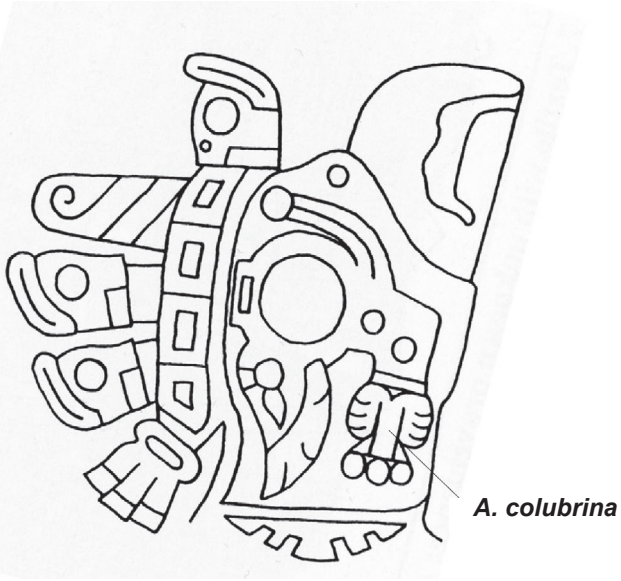


Figure 15.50. The eye of the avian-faced Profile Attendant on Tiahuanaco's Gate of the Sun has an *Anadenanthera colubrina* symbol attached. Drawing by Patricia Knobloch.

the glyphs. Conversely, the immense Bennett monolith (Posnansky 1945:Figures 113–116; see also Knobloch 2000:Figure 9d) appears to have but one *A. colubrina*, on its chest, and this is an unusual representation. Finally, I have not been able to identify any *A. colubrina* symbols on Tiahuanaco's "Sun Idol" (Posnansky 1945:Figures 132–133) or "Kochamama" statue (Posnansky 1945:Figures 99–102), although both are incompletely preserved.

It would appear that among some worshippers in both the Tiahuanaco and Huari realms, *A. colubrina* was a popular and important symbol of the shamanic experience of the SAIS cosmos, which provided personal access to the supernatural. For others, *A. colubrina* was less popular or avoided entirely. I suspect that the elaboration of iconography as a means of fixing precise information in both cultural centers, as well as their peripheries, implies that doctrinal religion was becoming an increasingly important alternative and perhaps complement to shamanism in the official cosmology shared by the two great MH states. I believe that some patrons of religious arts affirmed the prominence of *A. colubrina* and their predilection for imagistic experience of the supernatural. They commissioned (or were responsible for, in whatever manner public religious art was produced) the sculptures at Tiahuanaco, or the giant offering ceramics at Conchopata, that depict numerous *A. colubrina* signs. Other patrons were not attracted to religious experiences based on *A. colubrina* and hallucinogenic trance. They commissioned art with few or none of the symbols and promoted the development of iconography as a mnemonic device for doctrinal recitations of liturgy by priestly clergy. Indeed, the elaborate calendrics Zuidema (2009) reads from the Bennett monolith and a Conchopata/Huari textile (stylistically very close to Conchopata's 1942/1999 ceramic offerings), as well as the systematic iconographic complexity discussed by Martti Pärssinen (Chapter 22, this volume) for late Tiwanaku ceramics from Pariti, testifies to increasing iconic infrastructure consistent with doctrinal religion in the two spheres.

In general, *A. colubrina* symbols seem to have been more popular in Tiahuanaco sculpture (Figures 15.50–15.51) than in Conchopata/Huari ceramic art (Figure 15.49). However, it seems that the *A. colubrina* symbol most popular in Ayacucho was more like the symbol known from SAIS Atacameño snuff paraphernalia than like the images on Tiahuanaco sculpture. In Tiahuanaco sculpture, the *A. colubrina* plant is consistently represented with three spherical flowers; Conchopata/Huari *A. colubrina* images show only two spherical flowers. The two-flower *A. colubrina* image also appears on SAIS Atacameño snuff paraphernalia (Young-Sanchez 2004b:21, Figure 1.12; compare the *A. colubrina* symbols of this snuff tablet with the *A. colubrina* symbols from a Conchopata jar, Figure 15.49). Was the shamanism of northern Chile adopted by Conchopata/Huari? If so, interaction and cultural influences in the central Andes during the MH were surprisingly multiethnic and regionally diverse, provoking cultural processes that require careful reconsideration and new examinations of the archaeological records.

Summary and Conclusions: The Late SAIS Phase

SAIS iconography—Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant—was formalized in Late SAIS times when Tiahuanaco and Conchopata/Huari became the primary centers for its expression. With the popularity of the highly standardized SAIS triad, it seems that a centralized and hierarchical pantheon of supernaturals was established, which was recognized in both centers as well as throughout their respective spheres of influence. Indeed, it also seems appropriate to initiate the late phase of SAIS iconography at the moment that both Tiahuanaco and Huari accepted and propagated identical SAIS imagery. As I argue below, this was probably instigated by deliberate constitution of the new SAIS religion in a southern Andean version of an ecumenical council.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

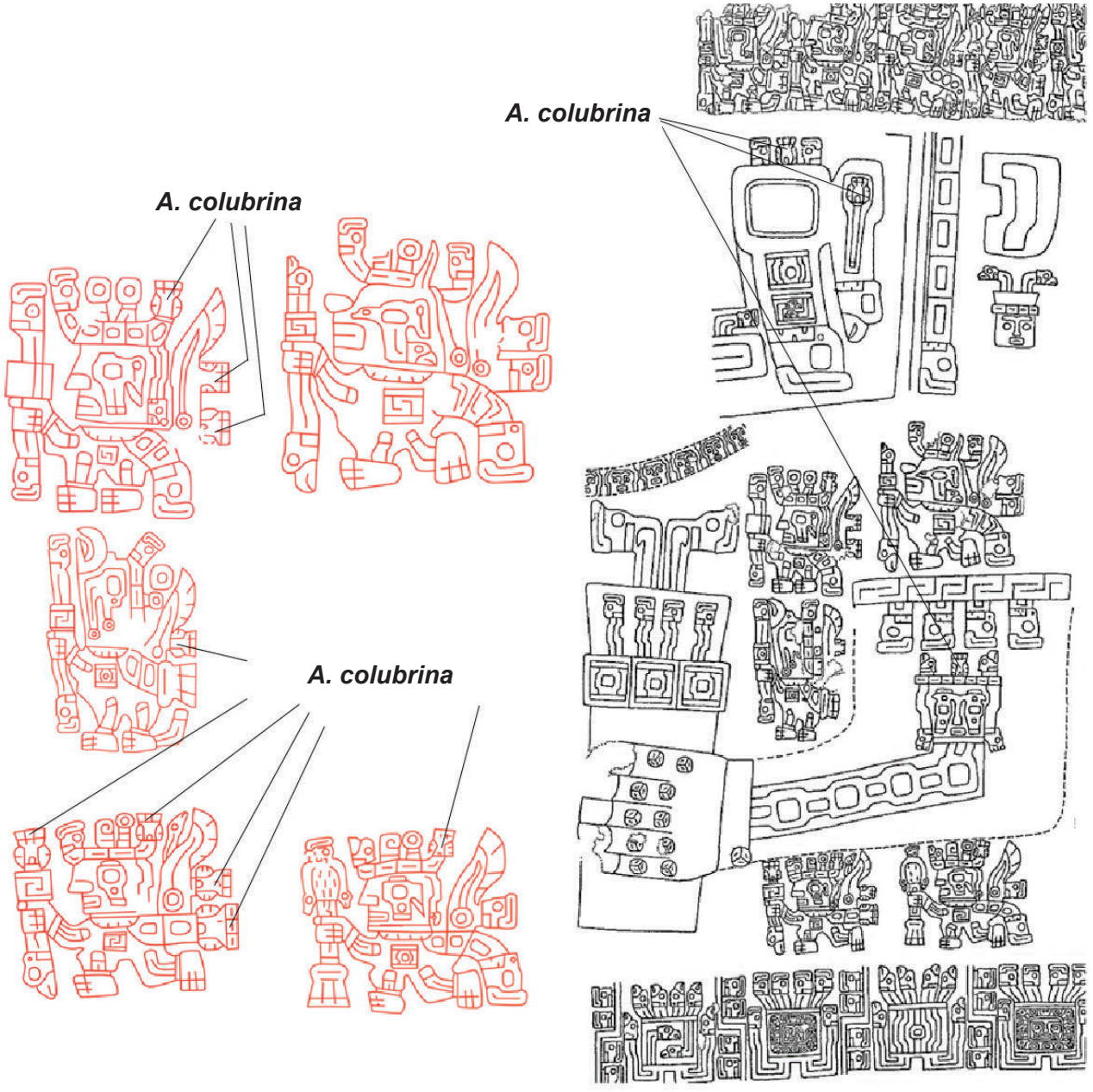


Figure 15.51. These details from the left upper portion of the Ponce monolith are replete with *Anadenanthera colubrina* symbols, as is the entire statue and many other Tiahuanaco religious sculptures. Drawing by Amy Oakland, enlarged figures in red redrawn by William H. Isbell.

After a century of archaeological confusion, the SAIS chronology of Tiahuanaco is finally synchronized with the SAIS chronology of the Huari realm—although internal issues continue to plague both sequences. Generalizing the synchronization to their greater cultural spheres depends on the accuracy of the Agüero et al. (2003) seriation, as it also does on a new chronology for Conchopata/Huari. This chronology places the Conchopata 1977 offering iconography in middle to late MH 1b, best dated AD 775 and 825 in calibrated years. This intrusion of SAIS iconography followed MH Epoch 1a when Nasca-Ayacucho effigy jars were popular, with their face-lugs, torso panel outlined by stylized arms and hands, and decorations that emphasized the white circled dot within triple recurved ray motif, as well as the banded rectangle design (Knobloch 2005). Oversize jars of this style, from two rooms of a residence, were probably manufactured between about cal. AD 650 and 700 and smashed between about cal. AD 700 and 750.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

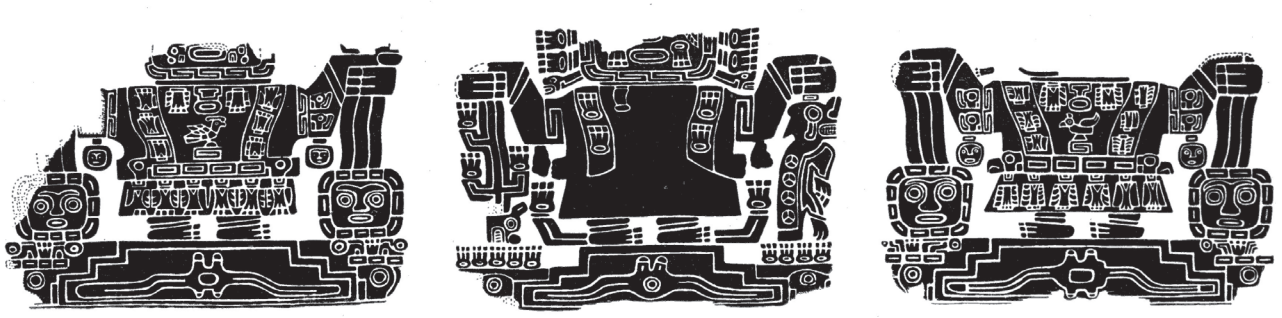


Figure 15.52. *Anadenanthera colubrina* symbols appear abundantly in the imagery on the Late SAIS Tiwanaku Phase 5 Taquiri Cube. Illustration based on Ryden (1947:357, Figure 147).

Stylistically more advanced but immediately pre-SAIS Epoch 1b Nasca-Ayacucho fancy pottery is probably best represented by the 2000b offering, consisting of face neck effigy jars that represent a torso panel with stylized hands but on which face-lug and stylized arms have disappeared. White circled dot within triple recurved ray motifs and banded rectangle designs were still popular, but new themes include chevron bands on face neck rims, concentric circles with wavy or straight recurved rays, and the "Super Pajaro" theme. Best dating is probably about cal. AD 750 to 775.

The earliest SAIS art to appear at Conchopata is represented by the 1977 offering face neck effigy jars, as well as the 2003 alternative Profile Attendants, which demonstrate that the idiosyncratic attendants of the 1977 jars were not the only type of attendant images being represented at Conchopata at the time. The 1977 effigy jars represent men who were differentiated, perhaps in age and status, by facial features such as beard and mustache, cheek and nose paint, and designs depicted on the upper part of the tunic (Cook 1987, 1994). One of the upper tunic options is a pair of realistic hands, recalling earlier Nasca-Ayacucho emphasis on arms and hands, but otherwise the torso panel with stylized hands of pre-SAIS offering jars has disappeared. The primary design on all the SAIS mode 1977 jars is consistent: Staff God, depicted in the same manner, with two processions of idiosyncratic Profile Attendants to the left and right, who run or kneel toward, or away from, the Staff God. This offering has no absolute dates but can be estimated to have occurred between about cal. AD 775 and 825.

The 1977 Conchopata Staff God cross-dates with Tiahuanaco's Ponce monolith Staff God, of Agüero et al.'s (2003) Phase 3 sculptures. The two deities are so similar they must have been drawn from the same pattern. However, there are differences, including Conchopata's rejection of elbow pendants and *A. colubrina* plant symbols, as well as the selection of some different symbols for chest decoration and the innovative addition of a stepped pedestal at Conchopata. Significantly, these differences actually highlight the shared structure in Staff God representation and other icons. Structural uniformity—appropriate locations for iconic symbols and how symbols combine with and oppose one another—implies that a similar if not identical system of symbolic communication was employed by Tiahuanaco and Conchopata/Huari artists and their educated viewers, who can almost be designated "readers."

Conchopata/Huari seems to have been innovative almost from the moment SAIS iconography was codified. Idiosyncratic Profile Attendants were not the only novelty, as the stepped pyramid seemed to be reintroduced into Late SAIS imagery by Conchopata, with certain new features such as the upturned base that terminates in upward-facing stylized heads. This element would become the new standard for Tiahuanaco Staff Gods in SAIS sculpture of Phases 4 and 5 of the Agüero et al. (2003) seriation.

With the Conchopata 1977 Staff God cross-dated with the Ponce monolith, it is possible for the first time to appreciate eclecticism in early Conchopata SAIS imagery as decision makers formally referenced iconography from different places and moments throughout the SAIS sphere. In the 1977 offerings and the 2003 alternative Profile Attendants, we see design elements that were popular on sculptures like the Kantatayita and Linares lintels of Phases 1 and 2 and the Ponce monolith of Phase 3 of the Tiahuanaco sculpture seriation (Agüero et al. 2003). There are also elements that would not become popular at Tiahuanaco until Phases 4 and 5.

Of course, sculptures remained visible at Tiahuanaco for centuries, so although the Kantatayita lintel was probably carved in Phase 1, its icons and their messages were probably still transmitting in Phase 3 and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

later. On the other hand, the stepped pyramidal pedestal seems not to have existed at Tiahuanaco prior to Phase 4. Rather, its origin is best traced to Provincial Pucara textiles. Were such antiquities available to Conchopata artists and their patrons, to be contemplated in the process that produced Late SAIS art and its curious variations? Or might the stepped pedestal have been inspired by decorations on intermediate-dating Atacameño snuff paraphernalia?

Whatever the sources and influences available to designers of Conchopata SAIS iconography, the process was not so simple as imagined by MH scholars of the recent past—imagery remembered or brought back on portable objects like textiles by pilgrims returning from a visit to Tiahuanaco (Lumbreras 1974b; Menzel 1964). The Late SAIS at Conchopata represents a creative synthesis that employed archaism, eclecticism, and innovation, as well as precise repetition of some images, elements, and their interrelationships. Significantly, the iconographic structure of the art in both of the great SAIS centers seems to have been almost identical—although perhaps only for a short time. This could not have been the result of an unconscious process, such as Huari heartland artists copying images brought back by pilgrims. The process must have been carefully deliberated and persuasively maintained, with a great deal of attention to ensure that both Late SAIS centers represented the same orthodoxy. The structure and elements of tunics, staffs, crown bands, facial decoration, belts, chest designs, and other features of the Staff God could not have been so consistent at Tiahuanaco and Conchopata without significant effort. I suspect that, sometime between about cal. AD 765 and 800, religious specialists from throughout the SAIS sphere, but especially Tiahuanaco and Conchopata/Huari, met and hammered out a new doctrine, which nonetheless drew heavily on knowledge about ancient southern religious traditions—especially Early SAIS. They updated imagery, formalizing the Staff God at the apex of a hierarchical structure that included Profile Attendants (but probably not Sacrificers—although some Sacrificer elements continued to be popular in at least some art) and Rayed Heads. They surely also invented orthodox ritual practices, as well as mythology for a more united Andean world, which became the MH.

Late SAIS orthodoxy does not seem to have lasted long. The pyramidal pedestal, which may have been part of the new orthodoxy, was innovated at Conchopata and resoundingly embraced at Tiahuanaco but quickly dismissed throughout Conchopata/Huari imagery. Whatever message was communicated by chest designs was also discarded in Conchopata/Huari SAIS, and elbow pendants never became shared paraphernalia. The 1942/1999 offering Staff God from Conchopata and the Pacheco male and female Staff Gods of more or less the same era have been compared with Tiahuanaco's Gate of the Sun Staff God for decades, but they are really not that similar when one examines each design area as a system of symbols carrying specific kinds of messages.

These iconic differences distinguish Tiahuanaco from Huari/Conchopata and imply distinct meanings coded in specific sets of images, as well as associated ritual practices. However, internal religious conflicts appear to have been rife in both spheres as well. This is most obviously documented in the archaeological record by the relative frequencies of *A. colubrina* plant icons. Their popularity, or unpopularity, was not a Tiahuanaco versus Conchopata/Huari distinction; both centers produced art with and without *A. colubrina* imagery—or with many versus few of the plant symbols. I argued above that *A. colubrina* images in spiritual art affirm religious practices and experiences that emphasized altered states of consciousness, personal participation in the cosmic realm, and shamanism. South America is well known for this kind of religions activity, in which a shaman leads a small set of "pilgrims" on a spiritual excursion into the supernatural domain (see Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971; Sharon 2006). On the other hand, I believe that such remarkable development of complex religious iconography in contemporary Late SAIS centers must have been associated with religious practices and experiences emphasizing precise repetition of solemn liturgy. These rituals were guided by doctrine that was the specialized domain of authoritative priests schooled in appropriate practice that could be "read" from information-laden iconography. Probably resembling "religion of the book," which characterizes most great modern religions, this was "religion of the images." I suspect that the Late SAIS was primarily this doctrinal type of religion but that it never entirely escaped its shamanic roots and ecstatic experience of the supernatural. Although archaeologists have emphasized Late SAIS as a religion of state, playing an important role in legitimizing the expansive political powers of Huari and Tiahuanaco, I believe the archaeological record reveals religious struggle. Long-enduring differences in frequency, including complete absence of the *A. colubrina* glyph, imply unresolved negotiation between shamanic promoters of imagistic religion and priestly devotees of doctrinal religion. The fortunes of each were probably

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

opportunistic and irregular, surely modifying preferences for religious imagery, ritual practices, mythology and beliefs, political organization, and probably even the organization and experience of space in different state strongholds and peripheries. Of course, mode of religiosity was probably only one of many conflicts and negotiations that promoted change in the Tiahuanaco and the Huari/Conchopata spheres, but it is one that has left observable traces in the archaeological record. Prehistorians who have sought explanations for the failure of the two great Middle Horizon polities in external factors such as climate change must reexamine internal conflicts, including the struggle of shamanism versus doctrinal religion. What is, however, apparent is the importance of new understandings and dialogues with the ancient peoples of the southern Andes provided by recognition and study of the SAIS.

Notes

1 Tiahuanaco is also spelled Tiwanaku, as well as several less popular alternatives. Since the culture is called by the same name as the type site, I advocate using the older spelling, Tiahuanaco, for the site (and objects from the type site) and the more recent spelling, Tiwanaku, for the widespread culture, as well as objects from the hinterland and periphery.

2 Huari is also spelled Wari. Since the culture is called by the same name as the type site, I advocate using the traditional spelling, Huari, for the site (and objects from the type site) and the more recent spelling, Wari, for the widespread culture, as well as objects from the hinterland and periphery.

3 Some scholars argue that textiles, snuff paraphernalia, and other artifacts decorated with SAIS iconography were common at Tiahuanaco, but poor conditions for preservation resulted in their scarcity or absence except for stone sculpture. This may be true for some media, but a vast abundance of Tiwanaku-style pottery from the heartland demonstrates that SAIS iconography was rarely employed to decorate ceramics. This paradoxical popularity of SAIS imagery in some media but apparent avoidance in other materials requires better understanding and explanations.

4 Late SAIS iconography focused on a set of three images, Staff God (Figure 15.5, upper center), Rayed Head (Figure 15.5, lower band), and Profile Attendant (Figure 15.5, three rows of images to right and left of Staff God), that appear to have constituted a religious pantheon. Each image had its own history, but the Profile Attendant seems to have originated in Early SAIS times in a figure called the "Sacrificer" (Figure 15.6, see also Chávez 2004:Figures 3.24b, 3.25, 3.27a,c) best known in Pucara art. Sacrificers are running male images distinguished by numerous attributes, but most diagnostically they grasp an axe or knife and a severed human head (or several) in one hand and a staff in the other. There are sculptures in the round of Sacrificers, but most images are represented in two-dimensional techniques that show the Sacrificer in profile, like the Pucara Feline Man (Chávez 2002, 2004). Profile Attendants have a staff held in front of the body, but instead of a second hand holding an axe and severed head, they have wings on their back. However, some SAIS images mix Sacrificer and Attendant attributes, such as Conchopata's running or genuflecting attendant, who has an axe and severed head, as well as a wing and staff (Figure 15.44, left and right images). These Sacrificer and Profile Attendant icons constitute a continuum, but the Sacrificer is best associated with Early SAIS while the Profile Attendant is best associated with Late SAIS.

5 Fish faces are identified by an "L"-shaped mouth that, although very consistent across numerous regional SAIS variants, cannot be shown definitively to represent a fish.

6 *Anadenanthera colubrina* is a tree with spherical white flowers and bean-like seed pods from which hallucinogenic snuff was produced.

7 A pair of deviant attendants has features of the Staff God, especially the clothing (belt, suspenders, short skirt), orientation of the body, and raised arms. However, the head is shown in profile. It is unclear whether they are best classified as Profile Attendants of small Staff Gods. Provisionally I have included them with Profile Attendants.

8 One or two small vessels were discovered complete in the offering pit, suggesting they might have been thrown into the pit but failed to break. On the other hand, many of the large face neck jars are missing pieces, suggesting they were not broken in the pit but elsewhere, with the fragments subsequently collected and placed in the pit.

9 If the designs represent *tupos* holding the garment together, then the garment is probably not a tunic but a women's dress, suggesting female gender for the staff being. However, the neck slit of the tunic is clearly shown, seeming to confirm the type of garment represented, as well as male gender. Beards and mustaches are also male diagnostics.

10 The formal features of Conchopata-style Staff God crown rays look more as though they were derived from Provincial Pucara A imagery (Haeberli 2002:Figure 30) than from Tiahuanaco sculptures such as the Ponce monolith, on which Staff God crown rays relate to the Provincial Pucara B tradition of circled dots at the tip of rays. This is yet another example of the curious eclecticism in the Early SAIS imagery at the Conchopata site that seems to have had the iconographic repertoire of 300 or 400 years of SAIS and numerous styles to select from and manipulate.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

11 The Staff God representation on great urns from Pacheco, Nasca Valley, is unique among SAIS imagery in depicting two slightly different Staff Gods side by side. One has been identified as male, the other female by Menzel (1964) and by Lyon (1978). While this gendered pair is unique in SAIS art, it is reminiscent of old sexual dualism in the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition (Chávez and Chavez 1976) that was carried on in Pucara art with the Feline Man paired with the Camelid Woman (Chávez 2002).

12 Rebecca Stone (2011:176–182) has interpreted the images I refer to as a bulb-based three-fillet feather tuft (that appears in straight and wavy fillet variants) as representations of the flower of the San Pedro cactus (*Echinopsis pachanoi* or *Trichocereus pachanoi*), another hallucinogenic plant that grows in the Andean region. If she is correct, the representation of hallucinogens and the preference for shamanic religious experiences by Wari and Tiwanaku people must have been greater than I have inferred on the basis of *A. colubrina* symbols alone. However, I am not convinced that bulb-based three-fillet feather tufts in Wari and Tiwanaku art represent flowers of the San Pedro cactus. I anticipate future discussions of this fascinating issue.

References

Agüero Piwonka, Carolina, Mauricio Uribe Rodriguez, and José Berenguer Rodriguez
2003 La iconografia Tiwanaku: El caso de la escultura lítica. *Textos Antropológicos* 14(2):47–82.

Aveni, Anthony F.
2001 *Skywatchers*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2003 Archaeoastronomy in the Ancient Americas. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 11(2):149–191.

Bawden, Garth, and Geoffrey Conrad
1982 *The Andean Heritage*. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Benitez, Leonardo
2009 Descendants of the Sun: Calendars, Myths, and the Tiwanaku State. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 49–82. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver.

Bennett, Wendell C.
1934 Excavations at Tiahuanaco. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 35(4):329–507.
1953 *Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 49. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Berenguer Rodriguez, José
1987 Consumo nasal de alucinógenos en Tiwanaku: una aproximacion iconografica. *Boletin del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 2:33–53.
2000 *Tiwanaku: Lords of the Sacred Lake*. Banco Santiago in Association with the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Impresion Morgan Impresiores, Santiago de Chile.

Chávez, Sergio Jorge
2002 The Identification of the Camelid Woman and the Feline Man: Themes, Motifs, and Designs in Pucara Style Pottery. In *Andean Archaeology Vol. II: Art, Landscape and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 35–69. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.
2004 The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 70–75, 81–85, 90–93. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Chávez, Sergio Jorge, and Karen Lynne Mohr Chávez
1976 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno, Peru, and the Definition of an Early Style of Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:45–83.

Conklin, William J.
1991 Tiwanaku and Huari: Architectural Comparisons and Implications. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, pp. 281–291. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Cook, Anita G.
1987 The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:49–90.
1994 *Wari y Tiwanaku: Entre el estilo y la imagen*. Pontifica Universidad Catolica, Lima.

Cook, Anita G., and Nancy Benco
2001 Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama: producción artesanal en un centro urbano Huari. *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 4:489–504.

Demarest, Arthur A.
1981 *Viracocha: The Nature and Antiquity of the Andean High God*. Peabody Museum Monographs No. 6. Harvard University, Cambridge.

Green, Kelsey, and William Whitehead
2006 Domesticated Plant Resources at Conchopata, a Wari Site in the Ayacucho Valley, Peru. Poster presented at the 71st annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Puerto Rico.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Haeberli, Joerg
2002 Tiempo y tradición en Arequipa, Perú, y el surgimiento de la cronología del tema de la deidad central. *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 5:89–137.

Isbell, William H.
1987 Conchopata: Ideological Innovator in Middle Horizon Ia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:91–126.
2001 Repensando el Horizonte Medio: El caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Perú. In *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 4:9–68.
2008 Wari and Tiwanaku: International Identities in the Central Andean Middle Horizon. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 731–760. Springer, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Anita G. Cook
1987 Ideological Origins of an Andean Conquest State. *Archaeology* 40(4):27–33.
2002 A New Perspective on Conchopata and the Andean Middle Horizon. In *Andean Archaeology: Vol. II. Art, Landscape and Society*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 249–305. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology Vol. III: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.
2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 163–210. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver.

Janusek, John Wayne
2008 *Ancient Tiwanaku*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ketteman, William Gregory
2002 New Dates from the Huari Empire: Chronometric Dating of the Prehistoric Occupation of Conchopata, Ayacucho, Peru. MA thesis, SUNY-Binghamton.

Knobloch, Patricia J.
1976 A Study of the Huarpa Ceramic Style of the Andean Early Intermediate Period. MA thesis, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton.
1983 The Study of Andean Huari Ceramics from the Early Intermediate Period to the Middle Horizon Epoch 1. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton.
1989a Artisans of the Realm. In *Ancient Art of the Andean World*, edited by Shozo Masuda and Izumi Shimada, pp. 107–123. Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo. (English translation: http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~bharley/ArtisansoftheRealm.html)
1989b *An Early Intermediate Period Deposit of Huarpa Style Ceramics from the Site of Huari*. Department of Ayacucho, Peru. http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~bharley/WWWVitae.html
2000 Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata: An Interpretation of Anadenanthera Colubrina Iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(4):387–402.
2001 Cronología del contacto y encuentros cercanos de Wari. *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 5:69–87.
2005 Monkey Saw, Monkey Did: A Stylization Model for Correlating Nasca and Wari Chronology. *Andean Past* 7:111–134.

Kolata, Alan Lewis
1993 *The Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization*. Blackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Kolata, Alan, and Carlos Ponce Sanginés
1992 Tiwanaku: The City at the Center. In *The Ancient Americas*, edited by Richard F. Townsend, pp. 317–333. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.

Korpisaari, Antti, and Martti Pärssinen (editors)
2005 *Pariti: Isla, Misterio y poder: el tesoro cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*. CIMA Producciones, La Paz.

Lavalle, José Antonio de
1984 *Culturas precolombinas: Huari*. Banco de Credito del Peru, Lima.

Leoni, Juan Bautista
2001 Reinvestigando Ñawimpukyio: Nuevos aportes al estudio de la cultura Huarpa y el Periodo Intermedio Temprano en el valle de Ayacucho. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:631–640.
2004 Ritual, Place and Memory in the Construction of Community Identity: A Diachronic View from Ñawinpukyo, Ayacucho, Peru. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton.
2006 Ritual and Society in Early Intermediate Period Ayacucho: A View from the Site of Ñawinpukyo. In *Andean Archaeology Iii: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 279–306. Springer, New York.
2009 *Archaeological Investigations in Ñawinpukyo: Change and Continuity in an Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon Community in Ayacucho, Peru*. Archaeopress, BAR International Series 1991, Oxford.

Lumbreras, Luis G.
1960 La cultura Wari, Ayacucho. *Etnología y arqueología* 1(1):130–226.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1969 *De los pueblos, las culturas y las artes del antiguo Peru*. Francisco Moncloa Editores, Lima.

1974a *Las fundaciones de Huamanga: Hacia una prehistoria de Ayacucho*. Editorial Nueva Educacion, Lima.

1974b *The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Lyon, Patricia J.

1978 Female Supernaturals in Ancient Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 16:95–144.

Makowski Hanula, Krzysztof

2001 El panteón Tiahuanaco y las diedades con báculos. In *Los dioses del antiguo Peru: Tomo 2*, edited by Krzystof Makowski Hanula, pp. 67–107. Coleccion arte y tesoros del Peru, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

2002 Los personajes frontales de báculos en la iconografía Tiahuanacoy Huari: ¿Tema o convención? *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 5:337–374.

McEwan, Gordon F. (editor)

2005 *Pikillacta: The Wari Empire in Cuzco*. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Means, Philip Ainsworth

1931 *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*. Scribner's, New York.

Meddens, Frank M.

1991 A Provincial Perspective on Huari Organization Viewed from the Chicha/Soras Valley. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, pp. 215–231. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Meddens, Frank M., and Nick Branch

2008 The Huari State, Its Use of Ancestors, Rural Hinterland and Agricultural Infrastructure. Presented at SAA Symposium "Beyond Wari Walls: Exploring the Nature of Middle Horizon Peru away from Wari Centers." March 28, 2008. Vancouver.

Menzel, Dorothy

1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–106.

1968 New Data on Middle Horizon Epoch 2a. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:47–114.

1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Ochatoma Paravicino, José, and Martha Cabrera Romero

2001 Arquitectura y areas de actividad en Conchopata. *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 4:449–488.

Pérez Calderón, Ismael

2001 Investigaciones en la periferia del complejo Huari. In *XII Congreso peruano del hombre y la cultura andina, Tomo II*, edited by I. Pérez, W. Aguilar, and M. Purizaga, pp. 246–270. Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Ayacucho.

2008 Qochas, puquiales, canales y reservorios que abastecieron a la metropoli Wari. *Investigación (Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Vicerrectorado Académico, Ofecina de Investigación e Innovacion, Ayacucho, Peru)* 16(2):50–58.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos

1969 *Descripción sumaria del templete semisubterranel de Tiwanaku*. Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Tiwanaku, No. 2, La Paz.

1976 *Tiwanaku: Espacio, tiempo y cultura*. Ediciones Pumapunku, La Paz.

1985 *Panorama de la arqueologia Boliviana*. Libreria y Editorial "Juventud," La Paz.

1995 Tiwanaku: 200 años de investigaciones arqueológicas. La Paz: Producciones CIMA.

Portugal Ortiz, Max

1981 Expansión Del Estilo Escultórico Pa-Ajanau. *Arte y Arqueología* 7:149–159.

1998 *Escultura Prehispánica Boliviana*. Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, La Paz.

Posnansky, Arthur

1945 *Tihuanacu—The Cradle of American Man*. Vols. I and II. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

1957 *Tihuanacu—The Cradle of American Man*. Vols. III and IV. Minesterio de Educación, La Paz.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo

1971 *Amazonian Cosmos; the Sexual and Religious Symbolism of the Tukano Indians*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Renfrew, Colin

1986 Introduction: Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change. In *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, edited by C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry, pp. 1–18. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rowe, John H.

1971 The Influence of Chavín Art on Later Styles. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Chavín*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, pp. 101–124. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C.

1977 El arte religioso del Cuzco en el Horizonte Temprano. *Ñawpa Pacha* 14:1–20.

Rydén, Stig

1947 *Archaeological Researches in the Highlands of Bolivia*. Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, Goteborg.

Sharon, Douglas (editor)

2006 *Mesas & cosmologies in the central Andes*. Papers 44, 2. San Diego Museum, San Diego.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Stone, Rebecca
2011 *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Tello, Julio C.
1942 Disertación del Dr. Julio C. Tello, Por Mibe. *Huamanga* VIII(48):62–63.

Torres, Constantino Manuel
1987 *The Iconography of South American Snuff Trays and Related Paraphernalia*. Etnologiska Studier 37, Goteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Goteborg.
2002 Iconografía Tiwanaku en la parafernalia inhalatoria de los Andes Centro-Sur. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:427–454.

Uhle, Max
1903 *Pachacamac: Report of the William Pepper, M.D.L.L.D. Peruvian Expedition of 1896*. Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
1912 Arqueología sudamericana. *Revista Chilena de historia y geografía* 4:411–425.

Urban, Greg
2010 Objects, Social Relations, and Cultural Motion. In *Social Archaeologies of Trade and Exchange Exploring Relationships among People, Places, and Things*, edited by A. A. Bauer and A. Agbe-Davies, pp. 207–225. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Wassén, S. Henry
1972 *A Medicine-Man's Implements and Plants in a Tiahuanacoid Tomb in Highland Bolivia*. Ethnologiska Studier 32, Etnografiska Museum, Goteborg.

Whitehouse, Harvey
2004 *Modes of Religiosity: A Cognitive Theory of Religious Transmission*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Williams, Patrick Ryan
1997 The Role of Disaster in the Development of Agriculture and the Evolution of Social Complexity in the South-Central Andes. PhD dissertation, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret
2004a Art of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 24–40, 44–45, 53–69. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
2004b Introduction. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 10–23. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Zuidema, R. Tom
2009 Tiwanaku Iconography and the Calendar. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 83–100. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver.

Zuidema, R. Tom, and Edward De Bock
1990 Cohérence mathematique le L' art andin, Vers un modele global por l' iconographie andine. In *Inca-Pérou: 3000 Ans d'histoire*, edited by Sergio Purin. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, Inshoot nitgevers.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 16: Introduction

Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes

William H. Isbell

In the 1950s, when Andean archaeologists developed sufficient sophistication in ceramic style to distinguish Tiwanaku from Wari pottery, it was at first determined that the two styles distributed into nonoverlapping spheres with a no man's land separating them. On this basis, two separate and independent polities were inferred, each with its respective capital. More detailed research, however, shows that the frontiers of Wari and Tiwanaku were not sharply and permanently marked across southern Peru in territories that avoided one another. Rather, they were interdigitated and overlapping, at least at certain places and times, although chronological boundaries are still more difficult to determine than cultural affiliations across space.

The first area where it became clear that Tiwanaku and Wari had both settled was the Moquegua Valley, with a Wari center at upper valley Cerro Baúl and Tiwanaku settlements at middle valley Omo, Chen Chen, and other settlements (Moseley et al. 1991; see also Chapter 9, this volume). Subsequently, Moquegua became a research center for exploring Wari and Tiwanaku interactions in frontier contexts, and international scholars like Paul Goldstein, Bruce Owen, Ryan Williams, and Donna Nash have devoted years of research to the region and its issues. However, it seems that Moquegua was not unique for Justin Jennings is finding Wari-Tiwanaku interaction in the Cotahuasi Valley (Upper Ocoña River) and Julinho Zapata has collected convincingly Tiwanaku pottery from a site in the Huaro area of Cusco. But Moquegua still provides the most detailed investigations of Wari and Tiwanaku in a face-to-face borderland.

In Chapter 16, Donna Nash seeks deeper understandings of Wari—and to a lesser degree Tiwanaku—by interrogating variations in ceramic style during the Middle Horizon. How should objects like hybrid pottery vessels be understood? Taking up the challenge, Nash observes that there are no standard answers. She goes on to argue in favor of greater systematization in descriptions and interpretations of style, rather than the highly individualistic and case-based studies that have characterized most Southern Andean Iconographic Series and Middle Horizon research. However, she also realizes that stylistic variation cannot be interpreted by itself, and her discussion of the Moquegua Valley Middle Horizon asserts that more nuanced readings of ceramic remains will be achieved by considering production, use, and deposition, along with style.

Indeed, as Nash points out, discussion of ceramic production, deposition, and use, especially description of deliberate smashing and ceremonial interment of oversized vessels assumed to have been used in feasting, constitutes a significant portion of the Middle Horizon literature. And this, in turn, provides a strong comparative background against which to explore similarities and differences between Cerro Baúl and other Wari offerings and contexts.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

At least some ceramic-making activities were carried out on the Cerro Baúl mesa top, although perhaps not all stages of production—so far, no evidence has been found for firing. Potting was associated spatially with what has been interpreted as an elite residence or palace. As at Conchopata, this may indicate that potters resided in palaces and may have been opportunistic artisans, perhaps secondary wives and women of elite households, manufacturing vessels for specific events.

Nash discusses issues of meaning in iconographically sophisticated ceramics and the complex kinds of knowledge required to "read" such vessels. Certainly, at least as much knowledge would have been necessary among the potters manufacturing special ceramics. Would Middle Horizon elites have maintained control over this production? Furthermore, Nash suggests that some ceramic variations were associated with state power, but some may have been related to individuals and personal power. What kinds of negotiations went on when elites assembled to eat and drink from specially prepared containers carrying such a variety of symbolic assertions? What other activities contributed to this social production of ceramics?

On the floor of a typical Wari patio group within the Cerro Baúl palace, Nash recovered more than 60 deliberately smashed vessels, affirming a definitive event at the closure of this building complex. All vessels showed evidence of use and some extensively. Furthermore, these were not oversize or elaborately painted ceramics but consisted of a wide variety of regular-size shapes with relatively little decoration. Nash argues that the assemblage probably does not represent a feasting event but more likely a sample of the entire inventory of pottery present in the household at the time of abandonment. However, and surely significantly, the frequency of open bowl forms shows that palace residents were well prepared to host a large number of guests.

Readers are reminded that Nash focuses her discussion on the Wari occupation of the Upper Moquegua Valley. The Tiwanaku occupation of the Middle Moquegua Valley is the focus of Chapter 9, by Paul Goldstein, and although separated in the organization of this volume, readers may want to read the two chapters together.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

Reference

Moseley, Michael, Robert Feldman, Paul Goldstein, and Luis Watanabe
1991 Colonies and Conquest: Tiahuanaco and Huari in Moquegua. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon McEwan, pp. 121–140. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 16

Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes

Donna J. Nash

All archaeological cultures are defined by their material assemblage: the patterned coassociation of architecture, artifacts, and other material evidence associated with a particular region and period in history (Phillips and Willey 1953:617). Yet, when faced with shared attributes in adjacent or far-flung regions, it is difficult archaeologically to distinguish between down-the-line arrivals—often glossed as influence, the sharing of style through direct interaction, or, in the case of expansive polities, specific evidence of economic or political control.

Both Wari and Tiwanaku were cosmopolitan polities with styles exhibiting emblematic icons and great contextual variation in the ways icons were executed, combined, and emphasized on portable media (Cook 2004). The material assemblage attributed to Wari society is highly variable between sites and provinces. This variation may be linked to different types of relationships that personnel at the center of the Wari polity had with local groups from region to region (Schreiber 1992, 2001). Some groups appear to have been directly controlled with personnel from the Wari heartland migrating to inhabit provincial centers (e.g., Pikillacta: McEwan 2005; Cerro Baúl: Nash and Williams 2005, 2009). Some areas, those without typical Wari-style architecture, may have been indirectly controlled through local leadership (Schreiber 2001:86, 89), where local leaders became clients of Wari officials in the center and regularly interacted with Wari officials to learn and carry out the Wari agenda in their respective region (e.g., for the importance of meetings to Inka governance, see Betanzos 1996 [1576]:64–65; Rose 1996). Other groups, of course, were not subject to Wari control—the Wari did not conquer all areas of their known world. Some powerful groups, like Tiwanaku, may have sent regular emissaries, arranged exchange agreements, formed alliances, maintained peace through elite intermarriage, or quarreled over frontier territories just as many neighboring polities in other regions of the world did through time (e.g., Rome with Egypt before 30 BC, Potter 2009:85,154; France and England during the reigns of Charles IV and Edward II, Hollister 1988; or the often complex relations between Maya kingdoms, Martin and Grube 2000:21). Still other groups may have valued Wari-style goods and obtained them through long-distance exchange networks or trade intermediaries, acquired derived materials produced in a Wari province, or copied one or more elements from goods they encountered on trade ventures, having had little direct contact or never laying eyes on a person from the Wari center or an object made in the heartland.

In general, as a complex society, Wari should have a set of assemblages, each associated with the diverse groups participating in the society. The polity was so large and incorporated such diversity that a single assemblage cannot be identified for the larger whole. Instead, there are

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

several vectors of variation when one looks at the society as a whole. Materials may vary between neighborhoods of large sites based on class, faction, occupation, or other factors (see Bawden 1990; Brumfiel and Fox 1994). At the same time, different assemblages may be associated with the urban and rural members of the larger Wari society (see Janusek 1999, 2004 for a description of Tiwanaku in these terms and Dillehay 2001:268 for the Zaña Valley Moche). It is also possible that icons may be linked to different events in the ritual calendar (e.g., bunnies and Easter, pumpkins and Halloween, etc.) that may be celebrated in different locales. In particular, empires with different types of relationships exhibit great material diversity outside their respective heartlands, making them a great archaeological challenge in the absence of historical documents (Schreiber 2001). All of these factors make it incredibly difficult to base interpretations of how people interacted on the styles of their artifacts alone.

Nevertheless, if archaeologists think about empires as polities with centralized governments and in terms of people interacting within the institutions of the polity, we can construct models using historically known states and empires to outline expectations for the kinds of material remains that would correspond to different types of sociopolitical relationships. For instance, in the passages above, I outlined four potential types of relationships. The first two correspond with people who were participating in the Wari polity, either because they originated in the center and migrated to a province to directly control it for the empire or because they were a local leader that joined the polity through diplomacy or conquest who followed directives from the central Wari leadership (whether they followed them or not is a matter for another publication). These two types of relationships correspond to direct and indirect "control," and Schreiber (2001) has already described how this distinction might have affected the way that Wari material remains are manifested in different regions. The latter two relationships I briefly outlined correspond to "interaction" and "influence." These relationships are equally important. In many areas under study, scholars dispute whether Wari "controlled" a region or merely exerted its "influence" (e.g., on the central coast). I suggest that this dichotomy is too simplistic and ignores the complex array of potential relationships at work. The word "influence" de-emphasizes the role of human interaction, which would have been crucial on all Wari frontiers and where Wari chose to obtain resources from regions beyond their control. One cannot ignore neighbors, especially when sharing a hydraulic regime (e.g., Williams 2001), or obtaining resources from unconquered trade partners (e.g., *Spondylus* sp. from Ecuador). To distinguish between control, interaction, and influence, it is important to surmise the types and frequencies of interactions characteristic of these differing sociopolitical relations and also assess the requirements of government administration versus foreign relations and long-distance exchange.

I assert that the requirements of a centralized government are very different from those necessary to establish interaction resulting from frontier relations, trade agreements, or indirect trade, although some elements may overlap (e.g., feasting, gift exchange). Despite stylistic variations, if Wari was an expansive state—and evidence in several regions supports that it was (McEwan 2005; Nash and Williams 2009; Schreiber 1992)—archaeologists should expect to find patterned material markers that can be affiliated with state activities or, more specifically, the material evidence of repetitive activities that can be linked to the state's administration. These patterns, however, may only be observed in the activities of the elite and may only be present at the higher levels of the administration (see Nash and Williams 2009), especially in areas under indirect control. I suggest that to determine if an area is under imperial control, attention should be focused on the largest sites in the region and the highest level of the local hierarchy to examine the institutions of centralized governance and the personnel linking regional resources and local peoples to that centralized government.

If we consider the requirements of a large polity, we should expect there to be consistency in the manner that state officials interact with one another, the way information is presented to upper levels of administration, the facilities established to house state activities, and standardized ceremonial behavior, and we should expect to see a set of broadly shared symbols of power and legitimacy. If Norman Yoffee is correct, the state would institutionalize or routinize certain political, economic, and social processes and seek to "simplify" (Yoffee 2005) or render "legible" (Scott 1998) the salient activities associated with the state's political economy. It is this simplification that facilitates centralization and also allows archaeologists to recognize centralized political relationships between sites and regions. Furthermore, it is out of shared practice, characterized by mutual intelligibility (Barnes 2000:64–66, 2001:24; Giddens 1984:71, 83; Owoc 2005:262), that state institutions develop. It is also through practice that new members of the government first experience and learn state institutions.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

New ideas may be introduced at any time and lead to small transitions or large transformations depending on who introduced them (e.g., a divine king, Akhenaten of Egypt; Kemp 2006), the need for crisis resolution, and so on (see Morrison 2001; Sinopoli 2001).

Many of the artifacts we associate with the Wari style were likely used as part of salient state institutions and carry symbols of power and legitimacy. I assert that examining where and how certain objects were made, used, and deposited, in addition to the details of their style, can provide important lines of evidence to distinguish between different kinds of sociopolitical relationships (control, interaction, or influence) and help determine if stylistic diversity is present as a result of state institutions or is observed because of broad-scale interpolity relations (see also Cook 2004). Basing the distinction on activity and style rather than on style alone is important precisely because of the similarities seen in the Middle Horizon between Wari and Tiwanaku—two groups engaged in "interaction" because of frontier relations. These interactions may have resulted in the shared elements of iconography used by both polities (Cook 2004) or from long-shared Andean traditions that originated far in the past (Moseley 2001). In either case, important differences in the manner of display, use, and deposition of materials carrying these common icons allow us to distinguish between these two polities, and I hope comparisons along these lines of material evidence will prove useful for understanding the degree of interaction between them as research moves forward. This chapter, however, is limited to an exploration of Wari intrapolity relations.

In this chapter, I examine elite[1] activities and associated Wari-style ceramic vessels uncovered at Cerro Baúl and Cerro Mejía, sites in the Moquegua Valley. The Moquegua Valley has been interpreted as an area directly colonized by people from the Wari heartland (Moseley et al. 1991) or, more recently, as an area under direct Wari control with Wari officials living at the provincial center of Cerro Baúl and a conquered non-Wari population living at the secondary center of Cerro Mejía (Nash and Barrionuevo 2009). I highlight how elite activities in Moquegua exhibit commonalities with practices in the Wari heartland and outline elite activities and the use of Wari-style ceramic vessels in Moquegua as a case study to establish expectations for a relationship of "control" against which patterned activities and the use of Wari-style objects in other regions can be compared. By providing details of Wari-related practices in Moquegua, I want to contribute to the growing corpus of patterned activities that may be linked to Wari state institutions, which is needed to understand the types of relationship elites in different areas[2] had with state personnel in the Wari center.

Wari Style

The Wari cultural complex has been described as an empire (e.g., McEwan 1987, 2005; Schreiber 1992) or an expansive state (Isbell 1991:294; Stanish 2003) by some and as a group of interacting middle range societies by others (Jennings 2006; Shady-Solis 1988; Topic 1991; Topic and Topic 2000). It may seem to be a semantic distinction to argue over the differences between an empire and expansive state or a state and a large complex chiefdom, but it is impossible to study an archaeological phenomenon like Wari without determining whether it was a "group of interacting autonomous polities" or a "centralized and integrated political entity." Thus, it becomes important to find ways to differentiate between "interaction" and "control" using archaeological evidence.

A complex polity such as Wari certainly had both types of relationships at the same time. A centralized polity expanding out of Ayacucho in the Middle Horizon could have "controlled" the Sondondo Valley (Schreiber 1992) while engaging in peer-polity "interaction" with an autonomous polity centered at Marka Huamanchuco (Topic and Topic 2000; cf. Schreiber 2001). It is important for scholars in each respective region to assess the relationship that elites in Ayacucho had with local elite groups in a particular area. In many regions, this relationship remains highly contested and uncertain, hampering our understanding of the period from AD 600 to 1000.

For the most part, Andean archaeologists have not established what one might expect to find in a "controlled" region versus one that was "engaged in interaction" or "experiencing mere influence." Schreiber's (1992) work has demonstrated the types of changes archaeologists would expect to see based on survey data, but most scholars who doubt Wari control are not basing conclusions on survey data but rather are drawing inferences on the basis of limited excavations and the quality of Wari-related "styles" or the quantity of "Wari-style" materials present. Such stylistic assessments are typically based on ceramic remains. A comparative approach to assessing the material aspects of these different kinds of relationships remains unexplored, and various degrees of stylistic variation are often used to support or dismiss the existence of some kind of political, economic, or social

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

relationship between groups. For example, consider the objects in Figure 16.1. What sort of sociopolitical relationships can be inferred from these hybrid vessels?

Despite many recent ethnoarchaeological explorations of the correlations between material culture and political boundaries or shared stylistic characteristics and political affiliation (e.g., Dietler and Herbich 1998; Gosselain 2000; Stark 1998), many archaeologists have not revised their perspective or reevaluated the way style is associated with an archaeological culture. In light of these studies, as well as mounting archaeological evidence for the different ways style might be associated with polities, regions, classes, or ethnic affiliations (e.g., Janusek 1999), archaeologists may need to examine how style was used as a tool by those controlling production. It may also be important to consider that as a tool, style may be used differently through time and in different contexts (Morris 1995).

If "style" is to be cited by Andean archaeologists as a material correlate of "Wari" control, interaction, or influence, it is necessary to understand how agents of the Wari state used style in their political, economic, social, or religious interactions and explore how the use of Wari style differed between regions. Such a study of the use of style is no simple task, especially since style is everywhere and in everything; however, some scholars have been working on this important theme (e.g., Cook 2004; Cook and Glowacki 2003).

In this chapter, I highlight the importance of symbols and icons as communicative elements of style; however, following Sackett (1982), I view style more broadly as isochrestic variation that includes both conscious choices and unconscious ways of doing, as a facet of formal variation, both complementary and intertwined with function. I focus on ceramic vessels as a medium for carrying communicative style but

Figure 16.1. Left, an example of a Wari hybrid vessel from the Cañete Valley, courtesy of The Field Museum, Cat. No. 170243, photograph by Donna Nash. Right, an example of a Wari hybrid vessel (Wari Norteño) from the San Jose site of the Lambayeque Valley. Courtesy of The Field Museum, Cat. No. 171668, photograph by Donna Nash.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

emphasize the importance of noncommunicative elements exemplified by the production, use, and deposition of ceramic vessels in Moquegua, Peru (Figure 16.2). I assert that the isochrestic style exhibited by the production, use, and deposition of decorated pottery provides as much (and perhaps more) information about the Wari state as the iconographic style carried by the artifacts themselves. Thus, this chapter examines the Wari style of making and using decorated ceramic vessels, which includes a consideration of how ceramic vessels may have functioned as valuable prestige goods in the state's political economy, as essential ingredients in salient ritual practice, or as popular media through which groups could assert agendas, negotiate their status, or make claims to power. I highlight what we currently know about the production, use, and deposition of Wari-style pottery in the heartland and in Moquegua.

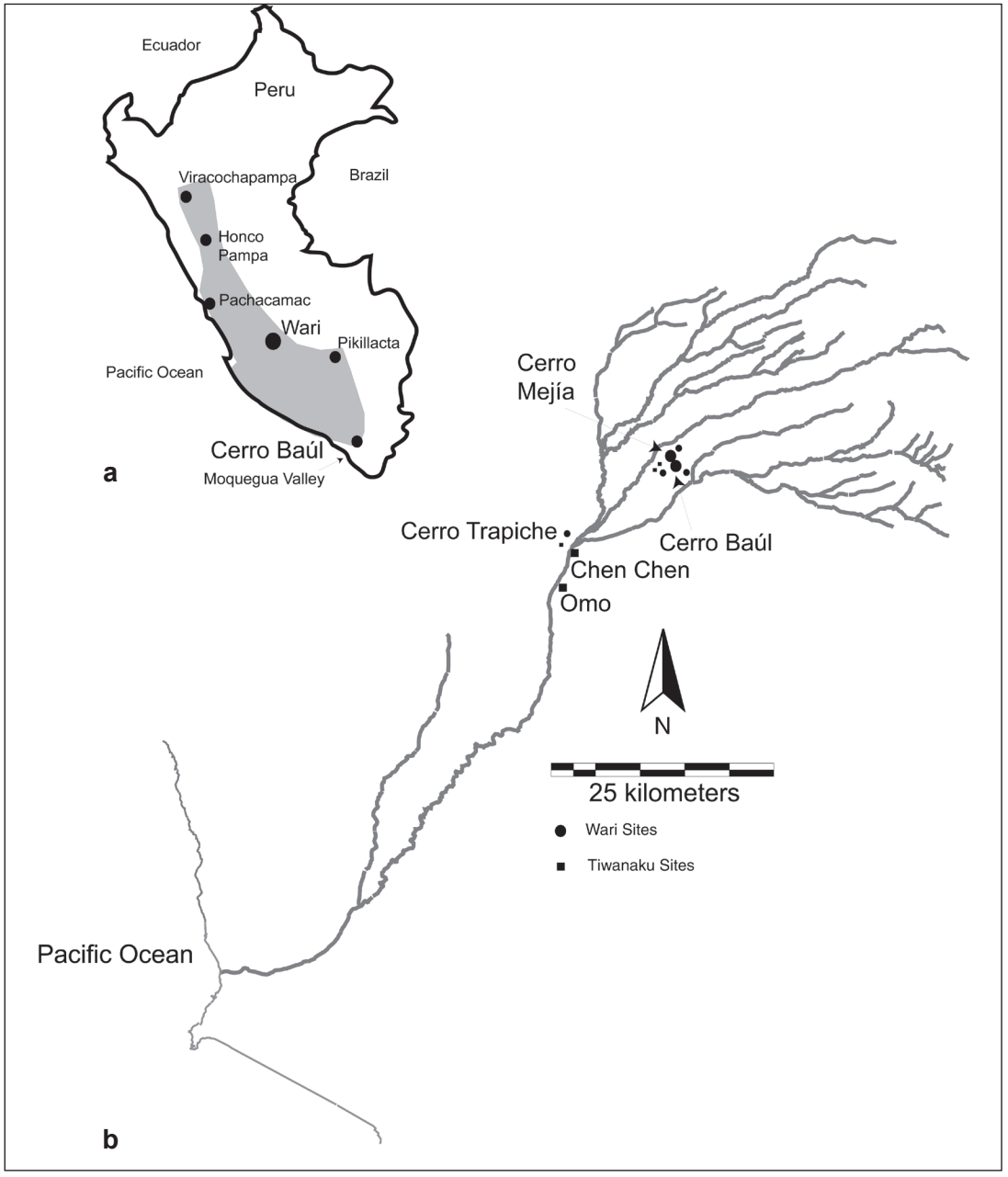


Figure 16.2. (a) The Moquegua Valley is located in southern Peru (the area of probable Wari influence is shaded). (b) The Moquegua Drainage is roughly divided into the Middle Valley, which is the area dominated by Tiwanaku settlements, and the steeper upper drainages, which are dominated by Wari-related sites.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Producing Wari Style

Many archaeologists have recognized the value of prestige goods and the power that can be derived from the knowledge of how to produce items with prestige value in complex societies (e.g., Lechtman 1993). Prestige goods or wealth items are often an integral part of the political economy (D'Altroy and Earle 1985). As Mary Helms (1988, 1993) has described, the knowledge and means necessary to produce particular types of highly valued luxury goods can be an important source of power because such items can be worn, displayed, given, or exchanged. Gift exchange is an important part of interactions between groups at many scales, from households in communities to large polities, such as Wari and Tiwanaku (Figure 16.3). The exchange of prestige goods between elites is particularly important because it is an aspect of political relations that may set the stage for further interactions with broader implications, including the trade of large quantities of important resources, cooperation in defense or offense, and the centralization of regional economies, such as sharing irrigation water in the Moquegua Drainage (see Williams 2001 for a discussion of how Wari and Tiwanaku shared water in Moquegua).

Many kinds of craft goods can be produced by individuals who have obtained the necessary technological knowledge and have acquired the manual skill through practice. For instance, beads can convey different status associations based on their raw material, but the basic technology for producing a stone bead regardless of the value of the raw material is generally the same. In contrast, items conveying specific meanings through the appropriate combination of icons and composition require basic skills as well as a large body of additional knowledge. In several early states, only elite members of society were educated in this manner. In societies that developed early writing systems, those with the ability to read and write obtained some degree of power (e.g., early Chinese states: Lewis 1999; Classic Maya polities: Johnston 2000).

I am suggesting that we might consider a complex system of iconography in a similar manner (see also

Figure 16.3. There is some evidence of exchange of ceramic vessels between Wari and Tiwanku colonists. Left, this Wari cup was found in a burial from the Middle Valley Tiwanaku cemetery at Chen Chen (photo courtesy of Nicola Sherratt). Right, pottery fragments from the Wari patio group (Unit 9) on the summit of Cerro Baúl. Photo courtesy of Ryan Williams.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Cook 2004). Thus, people with the knowledge to correctly illustrate significant ritual and political themes had a type of power comparable to that of literate elites in societies with writing systems. In a competitive atmosphere, the knowledge of how to create goods appropriate for exchange with desired trade partners or for use on particular ritual occasions could have been a source of power (see Webster and Inomata 2004). Thus, the production of such goods, which are integral to interactions between elites, may have been closely supervised by elites or fabricated or elaborated by members of elite enclaves.

Recent research in the Wari heartland has revealed some clues as to the production of the most prestigious and elaborately made decorated ceramics in the Wari empire. Excavations at Conchopata have uncovered a number of offerings of smashed pottery and evidence suggesting how this pottery was produced (e.g., Cook 2004; Isbell 2007; Ochatoma Paravicino 2007). The scale of pottery production at Conchopata far exceeds that recovered in Moquegua; however, there are some similarities, particularly with regard to production context and the likely identity of the producers.

Conchopata has long been identified as a center for ceramic production (Pozzi-Escot 1985, 1991, 1993), but rescue operations at the site over the past two decades have opened large areas and changed interpretations of the site from a community of potters to a special elite zone where ceremonial vessels were produced, used, and then ritually disposed (Cook and Benco 2000; Isbell 2007). Isbell (2007:73) has associated the production of large elaborate urns with "elite palace complexes, within which the wives and concubines appear to have labored in crafts and services to create social events of aggrandizement for lords sponsoring competitive and status-building feasts, parties, and drinking bouts." This interpretation builds on Cook's (2004; Cook and Benco 2000) earlier suggestions that ceramics were being produced in the residential compounds of competing elite enclaves and that women may have been involved in the decoration of vessels at Conchopata, given the elaboration of the tombs of some elite women.

At Conchopata, the activities of ceramic production are divided between several residential rooms, and the tools for ceramic production co-occur with elite domestic activity and goods presumably consumed by Wari's upper class, rather than middle-class artisans (Isbell 2007; Ochotoma 2007; cf. Isbell and Groleau 2010). Offerings of large, elaborately smashed urns and jars are located near concentrations of ceramic production tools and features used to fire the vessels. In fact, the coassociation of these materials has led to the hypothesis that not all pot smashes were offerings but that some might be areas where imperfect vessels were discarded (Cook and Benco 2000; Isbell 2007). In addition, not all pot smashes at the site contain the finest wares. More modest vessels and those coated with soot from brewing or cooking were also used in some offering contexts (Isbell 2000; Isbell and Groleau 2010). Vessels presumably produced, used, and discarded at Conchopata varied in their iconographic content and the quality of their production. These differences may be related to the time frame of their production as well as the intended uses of the vessels (Cook 2004; Isbell 2007).

The excavations at Cerro Baúl have not been as extensive as those at Conchopata, and the current data set does not permit an evaluation of changes in pottery production or iconographic content through time. Nevertheless, the current sample from Cerro Baúl reveals important similarities in the setting, tools, and personnel involved in pottery production to those at Conchopata. There are, however, some notable differences. At Conchopata, Isbell has inferred two or more palace complexes, which may have been occupied in sequence through time. At Cerro Baúl, thus far, only one palatial complex has been identified (Figures 16.4 and 16.5).

The palace on Cerro Baúl is approximately 2,060 m², 627 m² of which have been excavated. Palace excavations were supervised by the author over the course of four seasons (2001, 2002, 2004, and 2007). Thus far, an entrance hall (Unit 25), a ceramic production area (Unit 40A), a narrow hallway (Unit 40B), a Wari-style patio group (Unit 9A–G), a modest food preparation and storage area (Unit 41A–C), portions of a garden space (Unit 40C), multipurpose production area (Unit 41E), and narrow terrace (Unit 41D) have been excavated (Figure 16.5). Ceramic production activities are concentrated in Unit 40A; however, tools and related activities are spread throughout the excavated spaces.

Unit 40A is a plaza workplace where clay and temper were ground together, and vessels were possibly formed, shaped, and burnished. Shallow pit features of different kinds were used for the storage of materials associated with these activities. A large, deep oval pit contained a large quantity of raw clay. Stone tools for burnishing and shaping vessels were found in clusters in two areas of the floor. A large rhyolite block, scarred with percussion marks, may have been used to break up large chunks of temper into smaller fragments.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

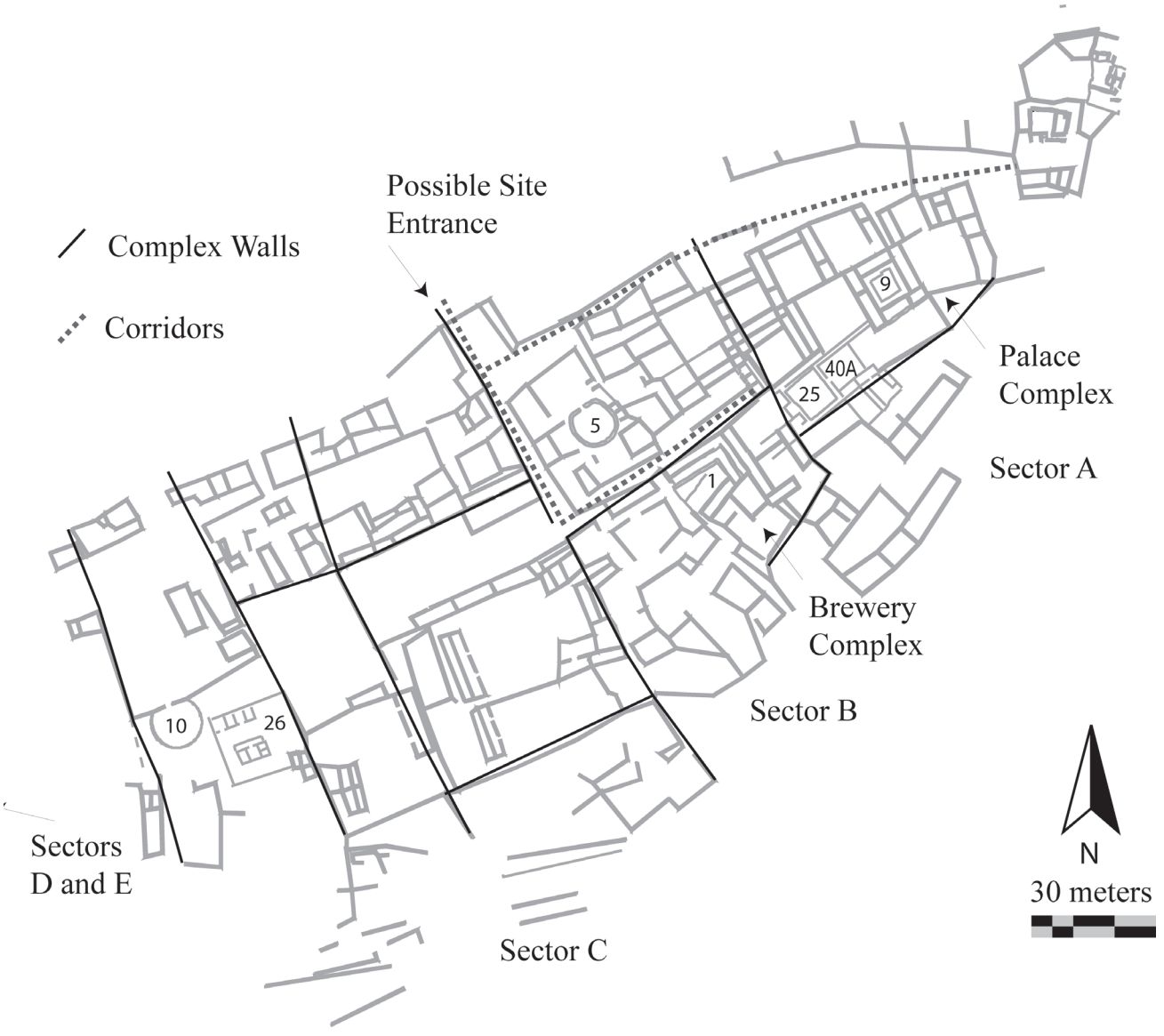


Figure 16.4. The summit of Cerro Baúl is the location of the most monumental Wari site in the Moquegua region. The map shows sectors A, B, and C (Williams 2001).

At least two different kinds of volcanic tuff were collected in chunks and stored in the plaza (Unit 40A). It appears the tuff was broken into small gravel-sized fragments, mixed with dry clay pieces, and ground together into a powder. Medium-sized jars, now fragmented, may have contained water to mix with the clay. The volcanic tuff contains high quantities of mica, the most numerous type of which is a light shade of pink. Sand, sandstone, and a white chalky mineral were also found in the plaza and may have been added to the ceramic paste of some vessels.

Several ash features were present in the plaza workspace, but these are associated with temporary garbage disposal or the remnants of burnt offerings rather than ceramic production. None of these ash features represents a hearth that could be associated with the firing of these vessels. In addition, we found no indications that the vessels were slipped or decorated in this context. Excavations in 2007 in an adjacent plaza identified the grinding of another tempering material that contained high quantities of biotite mica and the storage of pigments, which also may be related to pottery production. Analyses of artifacts from the various rooms constituting Unit 9 have identified numerous wasters and a possible vessel mold coated in unfired clay. Thus, it would appear that steps in the ceramic process were spread over several rooms in the complex.

Since the workspace was built with high-quality masonry, the walls were decorated with orange plaster,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

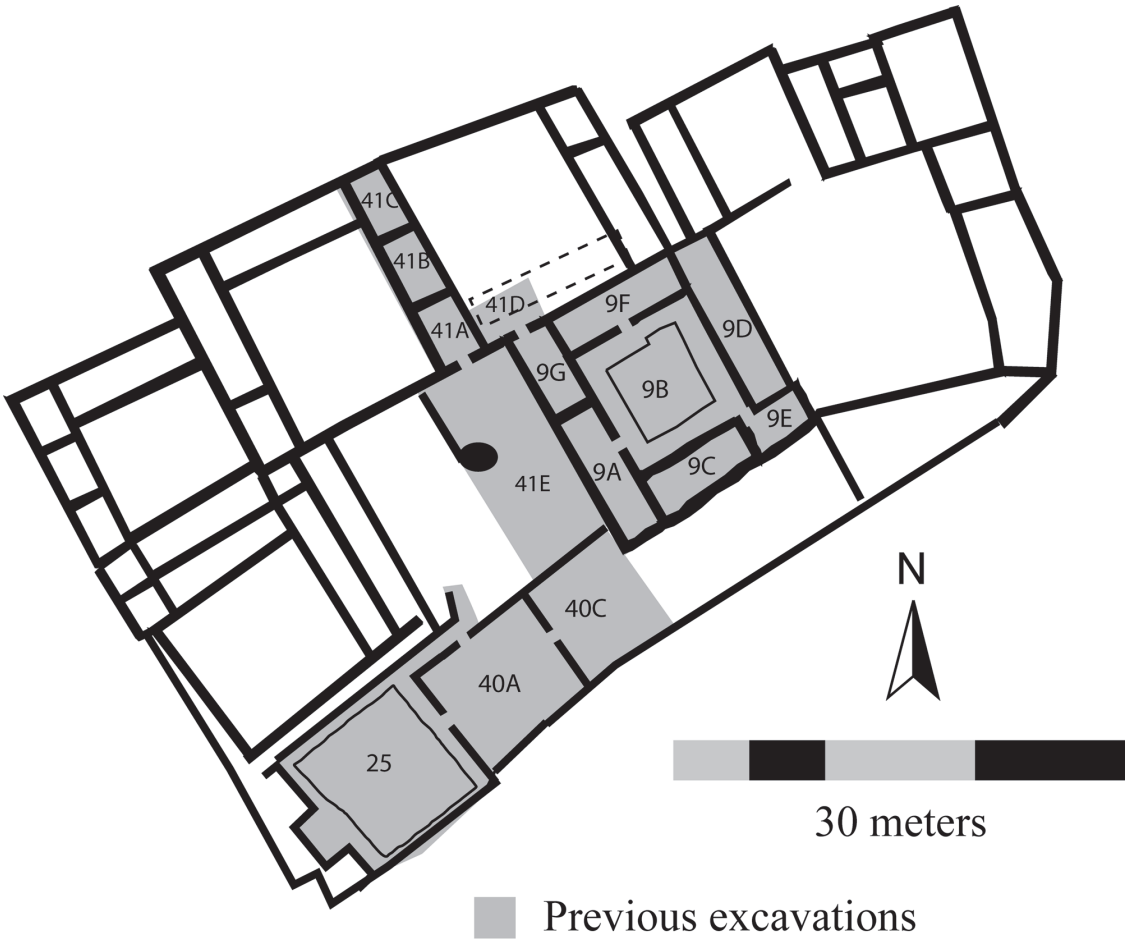


Figure 16.5. An elite residential compound or palace has been identified on the summit of Cerro Baúl in Sector A. The shaded areas were excavated over four field seasons from 2001 to 2007.

and the plaza was located among larger monumental spaces, it seems more appropriate to suggest that it is an elite activity area than the workplace of lower-status service personnel. This plaza was located near the "front" of the structure, whereas lower-quality, smaller spaces toward the "back" and outside of the compound's monumental walls were used to prepare food and conduct lapidary work. These nonmonumental workspaces are more characteristic of lower-status support personnel and contrast with the more elaborate context of ceramic production. In contrast to workshops on the north coast, such as Cerro Mayal (Russell and Jackson 2001), the ceramic production on Cerro Baúl does not appear particularly intensive, nor was it located in a complex far from the center of religious and administrative activity. The location of the ceramic workshop in an elite residential compound, the high-quality construction of the plaza, and the presence of ceramic production tools in Unit 9 (the Wari patio group) support the hypothesis that tenants of the elite residential complex fabricated these vessels.

Ceramic production, in general, may have been a typical household activity in the Wari-affiliated communities of Moquegua. The variety of vessel forms and paste recipes represented on Cerro Mejía provides evidence that many households produced their own wares. It is possible that the ceramic production context in the elite residence on Cerro Baúl is merely household production writ large. Yet, the use of particular ceramic vessels in elite contexts and ritual offerings suggests that they held a high value in the political economy. Given the general rarity of decorated vessels, the use of decorated vessels in most contexts may have carried special meanings or supernatural significance. The fact that the production of some ceramic vessels took place in the palace on Cerro Baúl supports the idea that certain ceramic vessels may have held a high value, and these items may have had significant uses.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Using Wari Style

Wari-style ceramic vessels, both decorated and high-quality plainwares,[3] were used in a number of contexts. They have been found smashed in offering pits and across floor surfaces, deposited on the floor above tombs, located in burial cysts with human remains, deposited in hearths with animal remains, embedded in the floor of ceremonial spaces, and discarded in middens (Cook 2004; Glowacki 2005; Isbell 2000, 2007; Isbell and Groleau 2010; Nash 2010). Although decorated pottery varies a great deal with regard to style and quality of production, in general, its use is assumed to have related to the serving and consumption of *chicha*, and it is interpreted as the material marker of feasting and politically salient commensal politics (Cook and Glowacki 2003).

Vessels of different size and form are associated with distinct uses; however, at the present time, residue analysis has not been used to verify these interpretations. Instead, correlations are based on modern or ethnographic observations, documented Inka practices, and contextual association, such as the presence of soot on cooking vessels. Early analyses were centered on the style of vessels rather than the forms associated with different uses, although more recent work has started to consider the uses of decorated vessels (Cook and Glowacki 2003). Nevertheless, one potential flaw may lie in associating decorated vessels with special or elite events (i.e., large neck jars or urns with serving *chicha*), whereas undecorated vessels of a similar form are associated with more mundane or quotidian activities (i.e., large neck jars or urns with storage or portage). This type of division may be appropriate at a site like Conchopata where sufficient quantities of decorated vessels are present, but the association of decoration to function may not be appropriate in all Wari settings.

If we return to the Wari occupation in Moquegua, there is clear evidence for large-scale production of *chicha* on Cerro Baúl, with a smaller quantity being made on the summit of Cerro Mejía (Moseley et al. 2005; Nash 2010), yet these contexts and the associated consumption zones contain very few fragments of decorated jars. Face neck jars are present on Cerro Baúl, but most are small, with larger examples exhibiting only red-slipped exteriors or no slip at all (Figure 16.6). On Cerro Baúl, decorated vessels are typically small, with cups and bowls being the most common forms. Since *chicha* production zones have been identified at Baúl, future analyses of vessel use in Moquegua will focus on brewing to identify the different ceramic types used throughout the beer production process and will hopefully provide a clear connection between vessel form and the stages of *chicha* manufacture, short-term storage, and service.

Disposing Wari Style

If I had to select one activity to associate with Wari state practices and Wari-style objects, I would choose the practice of smashing pottery. In fact, pottery smashing is so widespread at Wari sites that it has been identified as a type of offering (Cook 2001) and is perhaps the primary context from which Wari-style pottery has been recovered at highland Wari sites. Based on data from Conchopata, Isbell (2000) has created a typology that describes the general vessel forms found in different pot smashes, their context, and relative quality. These descriptions emphasize the forms of the largest vessels implicated in serving but are not specific with regard to the quantities or quality of vessel forms implicated in consumption, such as cups and bowls. Unfortunately, this makes it difficult to apply this typology to the sample from Cerro Baúl, where the large vessels used to make and serve beer are typically not decorated and have not been reconstructed, and the range of forms remains unclear. Several areas of Cerro Baúl were the scene of sacrificial deposits and ritual closure (Moseley et al. 2005), and most of these events include the purposeful smashing of ceramic wares.

The patio group unit of the elite residential compound (Unit 9), for instance, was filled with smashed pottery. Since 2006, I have been working to determine the types and quantities of vessels that were smashed in the patio of Unit 9 on Cerro Baúl (Figure 16.7). To identify the components of the assemblage, I did not rely on the percentage of rim sherds from bowls versus jars or other vessel forms, which could be biased because of vessel size differences or differences of fragmentation based on variation of relative vessel wall thickness. In other words, large thick jar rims are not as easily smashed into small pieces as are thin-walled bowls. Instead, I have borrowed an approach from faunal analysis and through reconstruction I have tried to determine the minimal number of individuals (MNI) for each type. Each individual is represented by 50 percent or more of the reconstructed rim; thus, in Figure 16.8, only vessels for which we have reconstructed half or more of the rim are plotted. This approach permitted me to document size variation within forms and to recognize subtle differences between forms (Figures 16.9 and 16.10). I was also able to determine that all of the vessels had been used (Figure 16.11), some extensively, so it does not appear that pieces were made exclusively for deposition as a ritual offering—at least in the case of Unit 9. Employing the 50 percent criteria, the central patio space contained the remains of more than 60 broken vessels, including bowls, bottles, jars, and pitchers.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 16.6. Examples of small face-neck jars recovered from Cerro Baúl; both correspond to Type 7 jars in form.

Figure 16.7. Examples of four decorated cups and bowls recovered from the ritual abandonment smash in Unit 9, a Wari-style patio group on the summit of Cerro Baúl. Museo Contisuyo CB01-4045 (top left), CB01-2563 (top right), CB01-2570 (bottom left), and CB01-4027 (bottom right). Photos courtesy of Ryan Williams.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

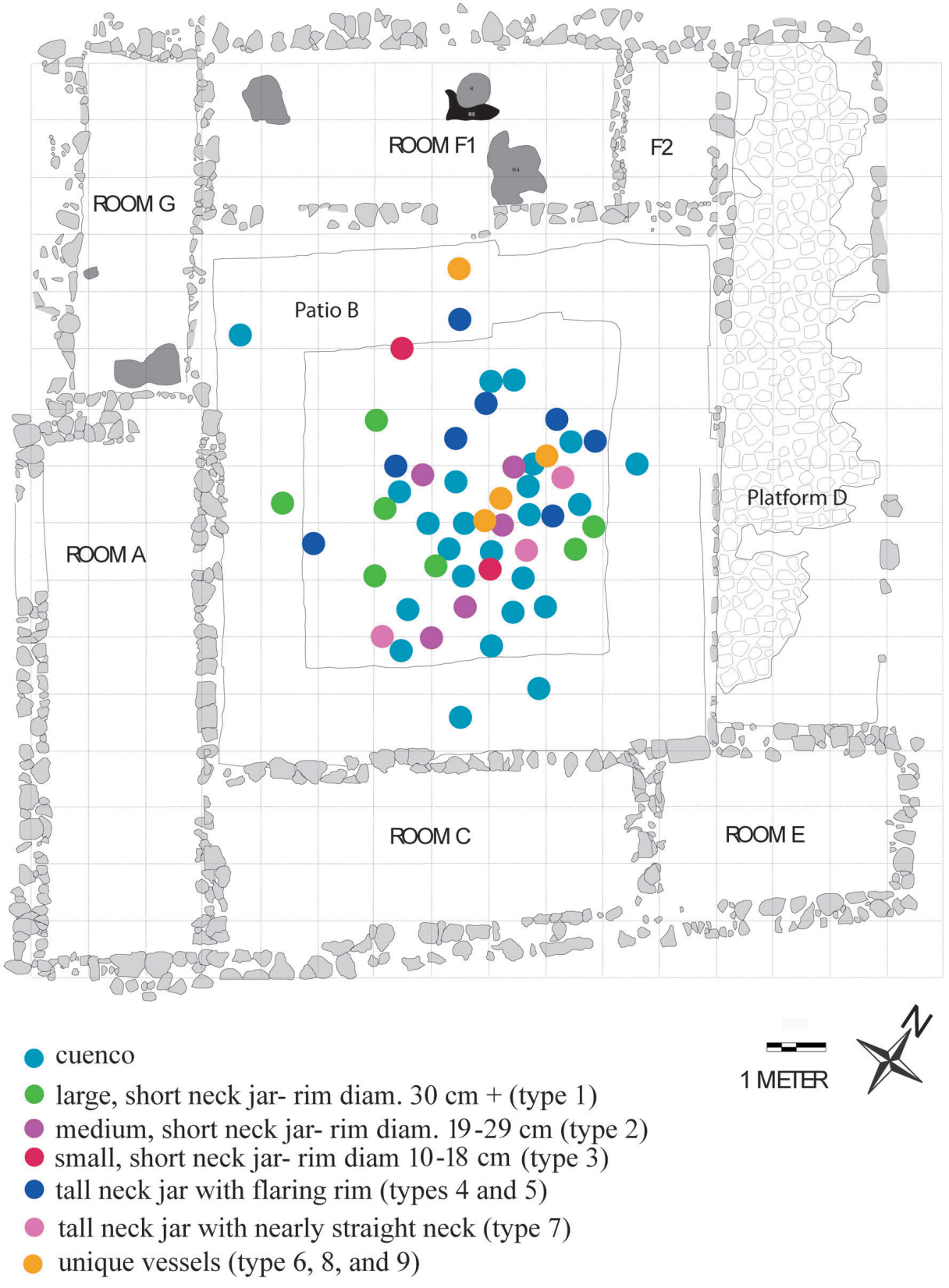


Figure 16.8. The plot of Unit 9 from Cerro Baúl shows the results of reconstructing smashed vessels from the patio space.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

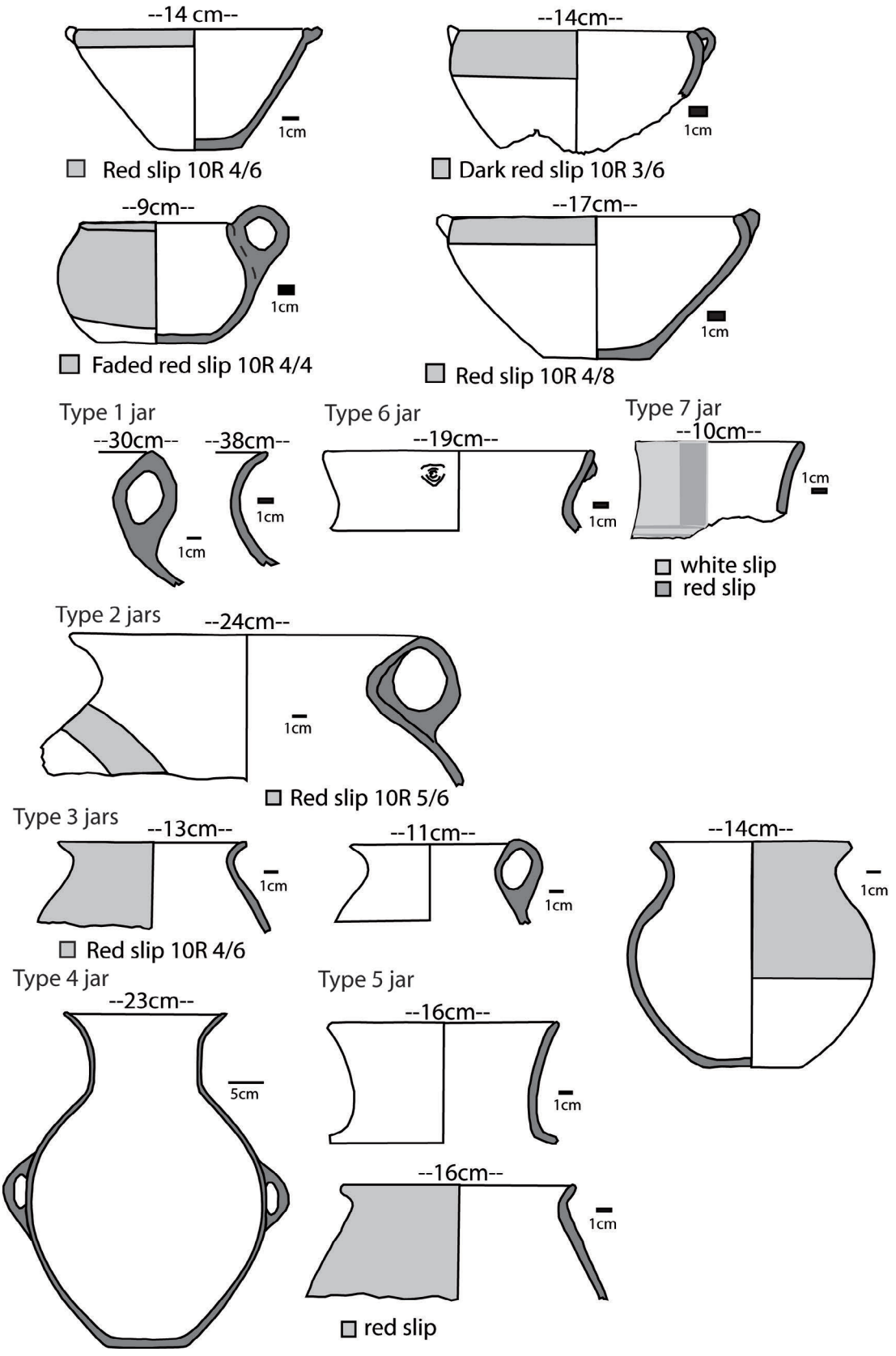


Figure 16.9. A preliminary typology of ceramic vessels from the patio of Unit 9 on Cerro Baúl.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 16.10. This photo shows an example of a Type 8 jar. It exhibits a very compact paste, which is seen in some face-neck jars, and many of the Loro-style bowls found on Cerro Baúl. Photo courtesy of Ryan Williams.

Figure 16.11. This bowl from the Unit 9 patio ceramic smash exhibits evidence of considerable use before it was included in the ritual deposit. Photo courtesy of Donna Nash.

Since the vessels vary in their method of manufacture, degree of wear, and quality, I suggest that the Unit 9 assemblage is not associated exclusively with feasting and was not limited to vessels used exclusively for feasting but likely represents a portion of the household's assemblage at the time of abandonment. Because vessels are smashed in all areas of the palace—some scattered across floors and others clustered in doorways—I also suggest that the vessels in Unit 9 may not be representative of the household assemblage as a whole. At this point, we cannot be certain of how the palace's entire ceramic assemblage (or a large portion of it) was distributed from room to room and ritually smashed. Thus, it may not be appropriate to link all the vessels smashed in Unit 9 with feasting. It may also not be appropriate to interpret Unit 9 as a feasting locale based solely on the high percentage of bowls in the patio's smashed assemblage. Nevertheless, given the high number of bowls smashed throughout the palace, it may be safe to suggest that the palace's ceramic assemblage would have facilitated hosting a feast with many guests.

Since the Wari smashed different kinds of vessels in different locations and apparently for distinct reasons on a number of occasions, we must be careful not to assume associations between the activities that took place in a context prior to its abandonment based solely on the composition of smashed ceramics recovered from it (see Nash 2010). At the same time, at least at Cerro Baúl, vessels were used for a variety of purposes, and regardless of quality of production or decoration, they may have been ritually disposed as part of a ceremonial smash. More analysis is needed to gain a better understanding of Wari pot-smashing behavior; however, it does appear to have been a part of significant elite activities and likely played an important role in one or more state institutions. In many cases, ceramic vessels were the principal component of Wari ritual offerings. As such, these vessels, their quality, and symbols they carried would have been the center of focus as elites interacted and performed ritually salient ceremonies, which may have been of a personal or more public, state-sponsored offering.

Discussion

Since decorated vessels are rare in Moquegua, and most are small portable cups or bowls, it is possible that they were used as personalized items of display (see Cook and Glowacki 2003). Some pieces, however, were made in sets (Moseley et al. 2005) and may have been used in formalized state libation ceremonies. In either case, because certain types of ceramic vessels were used at important events and potentially were the central focus of ritual activity, I suggest that provincial Wari elites in Moquegua chose to directly control the production of these vessels. If small portable vessels were used

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

for personal displays during their use lives, when disposed, the icons of ritually sacrificed vessels may have been highly personalized.[4] If such items were routinely displayed at salient events where elites came together, shared ideas, and potentially competed for power, the icons on ceramic vessels could have been a medium for communication and negotiation. Only an educated individual literate in the meanings of Wari icons could compete in such arenas. During the Middle Horizon, some ceramic vessels may have represented the identities of their users, much like textiles communicated identities in the Late Horizon (Murra 1962). If this were the case, it should not be surprising to see that some Wari decorated ceramics were made in a similar context—elite households—and by similar personnel—elite artisans.

At this stage of Wari research, much remains to be examined. Nevertheless, the extensive excavations taking place at Middle Horizon sites provide archaeologists with interesting similarities and differences between Wari and Tiwanaku elites in their use and deposition of ceramic vessels. It seems that in both polities, the icons that adorned vessels, whether they were contributed as offerings or displayed through use in feasting events, communicated to other elites in attendance. Nevertheless, there are important differences between these two polities in the shapes of vessels produced and the icons used. Also, even though both groups ritually smashed pots, the locations and the associated items exhibit more differences than similarities. Given that elites in these two polities did interact but were not following canons or conventions within a single polity, these differences are to be expected. In contrast, two sites within the Wari polity should have more similarities than differences.

I suggest that the forms of vessels and the manner of deposition were prescribed to a great degree by conventions of practice between elites who shared in these exclusive activities and that these technologies[5] were likely codified as the state institutionalized actions of political salience (Bourdieu 1984). The state would have routinized certain types of ritual and/or political activities, but within those settings, there may have been an opportunity for negotiation and competition. Groups contributing items to ritual deposits, whatever the occasion, may have had some measure of flexibility to manipulate icons, especially those linked to lineage affiliation, personal accomplishments, or supernatural patronage. Icons on pottery likely communicated to the elites in attendance, who would judge the statements being made by others in attendance. As such, a group's production and display of decorated ceramic vessels may have been a salient way of reasserting their role in the ritual and political landscapes. Whether these vessels were intended for these depositions or had use lives as consumption vessels, their display was an effective way for elites to communicate their relative status and the kin affiliations of their users or to assert and renegotiate social standing.

Only an individual who was literate in these emblems and ideas, whether male or female, could compose the appropriate meaning by employing conservative variations and relevant combinations coincident with groups in attendance and the ritual event, person, or entity the vessels were intended to commemorate. Individuals with these forms of knowledge would have been valuable assets to elite kingroups. I would add that perhaps such knowledge could only be gained as a member of an elite kingroup.

Equally important would have been the knowledge required to host an event where these vessels were displayed, used, and deposited. As ritual deposits at Conchopata, Pacheco, the Akapana, and the island of Pariti show, both the Wari and Tiwanaku high elite considered particular vessel types as valuable ingredients for certain kinds of ritual offerings. To depend on artisans from outside the kingroup to produce such an important and valuable good may have been too risky, especially for intermediate elites with limited power. As such, some elite kingroups may have chosen to directly produce the ceramic vessels required for ritual offerings and symbolic gift exchange.

I consider these items to be tools, used by elite kingroups to present themselves in interactions with elites of equal, higher, or lower status. This suggestion puts some ceramic vessels in the same class as fine woven textiles, in that some vessels were presumably produced by members of elite households, conveyed meaning about the group's rank and status, and had high value in elite exchange networks. As such, their production, use, and eventual deposition in the archaeological record are equally important to their particular stylistic attributes. Elite goods are material elements of the state's political economy and can be deployed beyond the polity in broader spheres of interaction. This was certainly the case in the Middle Horizon. Further study of how luxury items were used in different settings will greatly enhance our understanding of the political machinations of elite personnel at many levels and, more important, show the constraints of structural power and the legible outlines of ancient state institutions.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

In this chapter, I have considered how Wari provincial elites may have produced, used, and deposited high-quality pottery as a means to build power for themselves, while also building power for the state. Regardless of their motives, if the elites on Cerro Baúl were dispatched from the Wari capital in Ayacucho, it is quite probable that similar uses of pottery and associated political practice can be found in other regions where Wari elites were deployed. Likewise, local elites exposed to the proper Wari way of using and depositing Wari pottery may have followed some or all of these practices in their efforts to participate in and gain power within the state's hegemony (see Gero 2003). In contrast, trade partners or those obtaining Wari-style pottery through an intermediary may have used and deposited Wari pottery very differently. In this regard, the style of use and deposition may prove very important. If elites of a particular region did not exhibit Wari-style activity patterns, such as the manner of using and depositing Wari pottery, they likely were not actively engaged in the polity's affairs or participating in the state to any great degree. Thus, more broadly, when examining the spread of particular styles or iconographic traditions, studies that incorporate the production, use, and deposition of a particular style of good may contribute a more nuanced perspective of the observed "series" or "horizon" and the types of interpersonal interaction or relationships that created it.

Acknowledgments

The research described in this article was made possible by grants from the National Science Foundation (BCS-9907167, BCS-0074410, BCS-0226791), the National Endowment for the Humanities (RZ-50098 awarded to Michael Moseley and Ryan Williams), and the Heinz Foundation (in 1998 to Ryan Williams and in 2007 to Donna Nash), as well as the supportive staff at both the Museo Contisuyo in Moquegua, Peru, and the Field Museum, Chicago. Permission to excavate was graciously approved by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura en Lima (RDN 302/INC-1997, 443/INC-1998, 988/INC-1999, 613/INC-2001, 646/INC-2002, and 773/INC-2004). The ideas presented in this chapter have been greatly refined through review and discussion with many colleagues, especially Mónika Barrionuevo Alba, Nicole Couture, Susan deFrance, Paul Goldstein, John Janusek, Michael Moseley, Bruce Owen, and Ryan Williams. In addition, I thank the editors of this volume, Mauricio Uribe and William Isbell, for their valuable input and the invitation to participate in the Santiago Symposium on the Southern Andean Iconographic Series. I also thank Joanne Pillsbury and Charles Stanish for their significant work to promote archaeology and their respective institutions, Dumbarton Oaks and the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, for sponsoring the Santiago Symposium. Finally, I sincerely thank my dear friend Betty de Olazábal for her gracious hospitality and all the help she provides to support archaeological research projects in Peru.

Notes

1 The term "elite" is used as a general term throughout this chapter and encompasses all those individuals with some privileges or powers over others beyond their own household, ranging from community leaders, lineage heads (if applicable), state officials, high-ranking ritual specialists, master artisans, nobility, royalty, and so on.

2 Many types of relationships and forms of interaction are possible. I have selected these to start to think about this important issue and from which to build a set of expectations to explore the suite of potential relationships the Wari polity may have had with other groups in the Andean region. This list is not exhaustive but rather the simple beginning to examine a complex question.

3 Isbell (2007) describes an undecorated urn embedded in the floor of what he interprets as a feasting hall at Conchopata. Cook (1987) has also described how some smashed ceramic offerings include undecorated vessels.

4 The literature on feasting, in particular, suggests that formal public events and private personal ones were equally useful for competition and negotiation (Dietler 2001). Thus, it is possible that funerals, weddings, rites of passages, births, and all sorts of annual state-sponsored events could have been important events for shows of power and competition between the elite factions prominent in the Wari province of Moquegua. If that was the case, it is possible that elite individuals may have used their personal icons displayed on consumption vessels at formal state events or may have even used formal state vessels at personal events. Further research connecting vessel forms, iconography, and exact contexts of deposition will need to be resolved before researchers can determine if personal and state icons are distinguishable and how they were used in different contexts.

5 Technology is typically associated with cellphones or steam engines; however, I use the term more broadly to include knowledge related to "ways of doing" (see Wright 1996). Thus, knowing how to make pottery that looked Wari, paint icons that looked Wari, combine icons that made sense to a Wari person, toast or pour libations correctly like a Wari, and smash a vessel like a Wari person are all parts of the technology a person would acquire through his or her participation in the state.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

References

Barnes, Barry

2000 *Understanding Agency: Social Theory and Responsible Action*. Sage, London.

2001 Practice as Collective Action. In *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*, edited by Theodore Schatzi, Karin Cetina, and Eike Von Savigny, pp. 1–28. Routledge, New York.

Bawden, Garth

1990 Domestic Space and Social Structure in Pre-Columbian Northern Peru. In *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, edited by Susan Kent, pp. 153–171. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Betanzos, Juan de

1996 [1557] *Narrative of the Incas*, edited and translated by R. Hamilton and D. Buchanan. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1984 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth, and John Fox (editors)

1994 *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Cook, Anita

1987 The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:49–90, 1984–1985.

2001 Huari D-Shaped Structures, Sacrificial Offereings and Divine Rulership. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth Benson and Anita Cook, pp. 137–163. University of Texas Press, Austin.

2004 Wari Art and Society. In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman, 146–166. Blackwell, Malden, Massachusetts.

Cook, Anita, and Nancy Benco

2000 Pottery for Celebration and Fame: Ceramic Artisan Production in a Huari Urban Center. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:489–504.

Cook, Anita, and Mary Glowacki

2003 Pots, Politics, and Power: Huari Ceramic Assemblages and Imperial Administration. In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara Bray, pp. 173–202. Kluwer Academic Press, New York.

D'Altroy, Terrence, and Timothy Earle

1985 Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy. *Current Anthropology* 26(2):187–206.

Dietler, Michael

2001 Theorizing the Feast: Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts. In *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives*, edited by Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden, pp. 65–114. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Dietler, Michael, and Ingrid Herbich

1998 Habitus, Techniques, Style: An Integrated Approach to the Social Understanding of Material Culture and Boundaries. In *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, edited by Miriam Stark, pp. 232–263. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Dillehay, Tom

2001 Town and Country in Late Moche Times: A View from Two Northern Valleys. In *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, edited by Joanne Pillsbury, pp. 259–283. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Gero, Joan

2003 Feasting and the Practice of Stately Manners. In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara Bray, pp. 285–289. Kluwer Academic Press, New York.

Giddens, Anthony

1984 *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Polity, Cambridge.

Glowacki, Mary

2005 Pottery from Pikillacta. In *Pikillacta: The Wari Empire in Cusco*, edited by Gordon McEwan, pp. 101–114. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Gose, Peter

1996 Oracles, Divine Kingship, and Political Representation in the Inka State. *Ethnohistory* 43(1):1–32.

Gosselain, Olivier P.

2000 Materializing Identities: An African Perspective. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 7(3):187–217.

Helms, Mary

1988 *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

1993 *Crafting and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Hollister, C. Warren

1988 *The Making of England: 55BC to 1399*. 5th ed. D. C. Heath and Company, Lexington, Massachusetts.

Isbell, William H.

1991 Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Horizon. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon McEwan, pp. 293–316. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2000 Represando el Horizonte Medio: el caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Peru. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:9–68.

2007 A Community of Potter or Multicrafting Wives of Polygynous Lords? In *Craft Production in Complex Societies: Multicraft and Producer Perspectives*, edited by Izumi Shimada, pp. 68–96. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Isbell, William, and Amy Groleau

2010 The Wari Brewer Woman: Feasting, Gender, Offerings, and Memory. In *Inside Ancient Kitchens: New Directions in the Study of Daily Meals and Feasts*, edited by Elizabeth Klarich, pp. 191–220. University of Colorado Press, Boulder.

Janusek, John W.

1999 Craft and Local Power: Embedded Specialization in Tiwanaku Cities. *Latin American Antiquity* 10:107–-131.

2004 *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes*. Routledge, London.

Jennings, Justin

2006 Understanding Middle Horizon Peru: Hermeneutic Spirals, Interpretative Traditions, and Wari Administrative Centers. *Latin American Antiquity* 17(3):265–285.

Johnston, Kevin

2000 Broken Fingers: Classic Maya Scribe Capture and Polity Consolidation. *Antiquity* 75:373–381.

Kemp, Barry

2006 *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. 2nd ed. Routledge, New York.

Lechtman, Heather

1993 Technologies of Power: The Andean Case. In *Configurations of Power: Holistic Anthropology in Theory and Practice*, edited by John Henderson and Patricia Netherly, pp. 244–280. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.

Lewis, Mark Edward

1999 *Writing and Authority in Early China*. State University of New York Press, Albany.

Martin, Simon, and Nikolai Grube

2000 *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens: Deciphering and Dynasties of the Ancient Maya*. Thames and Hudson, London.

McEwan, Gordon

1987 *The Middle Horizon in the Valley of Cusco, Peru: The Impact of the Wari Occupation of Pikillacta in the Lucre Basin*. BAR International Series 372, Oxford.

2005 *Pikillacta: The Wari Empire in Cuzco*. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Morris, Craig

1995 Symbols to Power: Styles and Media in the Inka State. In *Style, Society, and Person: Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives*, edited by Christopher Carr and Jill Neitzal, pp. 419–433. Plenum, New York.

Morrison, Kathleen

2001 Coercion, Resistance, and Hierarchy: Local Processes and Imperial Strategies in the Vijayanagara Empire. In *Empires*, edited by Susan Alcock, Terence D'Altroy, Kathleen Morrison, and Carla Sinopoli, pp. 252–278. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Moseley, Michael

2001 *The Inca and Their Ancestors*. 2nd ed. Thames and Hudson, London.

Moseley, Michael, Robert Feldman, Paul Goldstein, and Luis Watanabe

1991 Colonies and Conquest: Tiahuanaco and Huari in Moquegua. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon McEwan, pp. 121–140. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Moseley, Michael E., Donna J. Nash, P. R. Williams, Susan de France, Ana Miranda, and Mario Ruales

2005 Burning Down the Brewery: Establishing and Evacuating an Ancient Imperial at Cerro Baúl, Peru. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 102(48):17264–17271.

Murra, John

1962 Cloth and Its Function in the Inca State. *American Anthropologist* 64(4):710–728.

Nash, Donna

2010 Fine Dining and Fabulous Atmosphere: Feasting Facilities and Political Interaction in the Wari Realm. In *Inside Ancient Kitchens: New Directions in the Study of Daily Meals and Feasts*, edited by Elizabeth Klarich, pp. 83–110. University of Colorado Press, Boulder.

Nash, Donna, and R. Monika Barrionuevo

2009 Informe-Proyecto Arqueológico Asentamientos en Cerro Mejía 2008 (ACME 1). Report submitted to the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Lima, Peru.

Nash, Donna, and P. Ryan Williams

2005 Architecture and Power: Relations on the Wari-Tiwanaku Frontier. In *The Foundations of Power in the Prehispanic Andes*, edited by Kevin Vaugn, Christina Conlee, and Dennis Ogburn, pp. 151–174. American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.

2009 Wari Provincial Organization on the Southern Periphery. In *The Foundations of Andean Civilization: Works in Honor of Michael Moseley*, edited by Joyce Marcus and Patrick Ryan Williams, pp. 253–272. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Ochatoma Paravicino, Jose
2007 *Alfareros del Imperio Huari: Vida Cotidiana y Areas de Actividad en Conchopata*. Universidad nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Lima.

Owoc, Mary Ann
2005 From the Ground Up: Agency, Practice, and Community in the Southwestern British Bronze Age. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12(4):257–281.

Phillips, Philip, and Gordon Willey
1953 Method and Theory in American Archaeology: An Operational Basis for Culture-Historical Integration. *American Anthropologist* 55(5, Pt. 1):615–633.

Potter, David
2009 *Ancient Rome: A New History*. Thames and Hudson, London.

Pozzi-Escot, Denise B.
1985 Conchopata: Un Poblado de Especialistas Durante el Horizonte Medio. *Boletín del Institito Francés de Estudios Andinos* 14(3–5):115–129.
1991 Conchopata: A Community of Potters. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon McEwan, pp. 81–92. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
1993 Instrumentos de Alfareros de la Época Wari. *Boletín del Institito Francés de Estudios Andinos* 14(3–5):115–129.

Russell, Glenn S., and Margaret Jackson
2001 Political Economy and Patronage at Cerro Mayal, Peru. In *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, edited by Joanne Pillsbury, pp, 159–176. Center for the Advanced Study of the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Sackett, James
1982 Approaches to Style in Lithic Archaeology. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1:59–112.

Schreiber, Katarina J.
1992 *Wari Imperialism in Middle Horizon Peru*. Anthropological Papers Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan No. 87. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
2001 The Wari Empire of the Middle Horizon Peru: The Epistemological Challenge of Documenting an Empire without Documentary Evidence. In *Empires*, edited by Susan Alcock, Terence D'Altroy, Kathleen Morrison, and Carla Sinopoli, pp. 70–92. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Scott, John
1998 *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Shady-Solis, Ruth
1988 Época Huari como interacción de las sociedades regionales. *Revista Andina* 6(1):67–99.

Sinopoli, Carla
2001 On the Edge of Empire: From and Substance in the Satavahana Dynasty. In *Empires*, edited by Susan Alcock, Terence D'Altroy, Kathleen Morrison, and Carla Sinopoli, pp. 155–178. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Stanish, Charles S.
2003 *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Stark, Miriam
1998 Technical Choices and Social Boundaries in Material Cultural Patterning: An Introduction. In *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, edited by M. Stark, pp. 1–11. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Topic, John
1991 Huari and Huamachuco. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon McEwan, pp. 141–164. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Topic, John, and Teresa Topic
2000 Hacia la comprensión del fenómeno Huari: una perspectiva norteña. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:181–190.

Webster, David, and Takeshi Inomata
2004 Identifying Subroyal Elite Palaces at Copán and Aguateca. In *Palaces of the Ancient New World*, edited by Susan Yoby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury, pp. 149–180. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Williams, P. Ryan
2001 Rethinking Disaster-Induced Collapse in the Demise of the Andean Highland States: Wari and Tiwanaku. *World Archaeology* 33(3):361–374.

Wright, Rita
1996 Introduction: Gendered Ways of Knowing in Archaeology. In *Gender and Archaeology*, edited by Rita Wright, pp. 1–19. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Yoffee, Norman
2005 *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilizations*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 17: Introduction

Wari Textiles, Vehicles of Ideology, and Power during the Andean Middle Horizon

Iconography of the Weavings from Huaca Malena, Asia Valley

William H. Isbell

Chapter 17, by Rommel Angeles, offers a fascinating micro-scale discussion of beautifully illustrated Middle Horizon (MH) mortuary remains from the cemetery at Huaca Malena, in the Asia Valley, of Peru's south-central coast. It should be an eye-opener for archaeologists studying the MH, especially Wari, at other sites. Excavations of a huge sample of graves from Huaca Malena reveal Wari influence to be overwhelming. There are weavings that appear to be actual imports from the Huari heartland. Other textiles seem to be local imitations of Huari clothing, while some others are local but reveal hybridization, and still others show little evidence of Wari at all. Some weavings seem to be imported from other areas, such as the north coast, not from Wari sources. Some of these reveal Wari influences as well. Others do not. Indeed, the graves seem to include a myriad of distinct styles, as well as numerous hybridized styles. But Wari is overwhelmingly prominent among these textiles—in iconography, color schemes, techniques, and other criteria. Conversely, there is little if any Wari influence in ceramics. If preservation had been poor at Huaca Malena, its excavators would have concluded that there was an absence of Wari influence. And very significantly, several central coastal archaeologists have asserted that Wari ceramics are everywhere very scarce and that consequently, Wari influence was tenuous if present at all in the old Lima cultural region (Kaulicke 2001; Marconi 2010; Segura and Shimada 2010; but see also Chapter 18, this volume).

Obviously, the people buried at Malena lived in a world where Wari was very important, even if we cannot say just how it affected their lives. These deceased identified with Wari, although they seem to have multiple and complex identities that included many other affiliations as well. But it seems clear that a reevaluation of Wari influence on the central coast must be undertaken employing weavings as an important source of information. Indeed, Joerg Haeberli's (Chapter 6, this volume) point that textiles have been underused by Andean prehistorians could not be made more clearly. What other cultures and regions, where textiles have contributed little to understandings of prehistory, might have had histories similar to Malena? Weavings have contributed relatively little to archaeological knowledge of the Moche, and as at Malena, new interment practices, flexed as at Malena, replaced traditional extended Moche burial with the arrival of the MH. Would some of these graves reveal more Wari influence if textiles were well preserved? Bernier and Chapdelaine (Chapter 19, this volume) contribute a convincing review of Wari in the old Moche territory, but very little can be said about textiles from Late Moche and Transitional mortuary contexts.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The Huaca Malena mounds were apparently abandoned at the end of the Early Intermediate Period (EIP) to become cemeteries during the MH, a pattern of culture change shared with many other MH cemeteries along the Peruvian coast. Furthermore, preferences for body treatment also changed, with virtually every community adopting not just flexed burial but wrapping of the body in textile bundles with false heads or faces and, at least at Malena, placing them in cylindrical pit graves. While cylindrical pit graves are certainly common for Wari (Conchopata, Ñawin Pukyo, and other Ayacucho sites), it is not entirely clear that all of the elements listed above were preferred in the Huari heartland. Highland graves do not preserve textiles so we do not know if textile-wrapped mummy bales with false faces or heads were preferred. Furthermore, Huari/Conchopata graves are found below the floors of residences, not intruded into abandoned monuments from earlier occupations (Isbell 2004).

One cannot read Angeles's chapter without astonishment at the beauty, variety, and complexity of clothing, bags, headdress, and other adornments that constituted costume for the dead at Malena. Identity, status, gender, and age must have been immensely important components of social personhood to be so prominently marked by the people buried at Huaca Malena, at least in death. But as Angeles points out, the garments show wear, so they were apparently part of social presentation in life as well as in death. Perhaps the most fascinating part of Angeles's discussion is the description of different goods associated with adult males and with adult females, as well as with boys as opposed to girls. Gender was carefully distinguished in death, as was age, and many other statuses about which archaeologists are less informed. The Malena social universe of MH times was rich, and its inhabitants went to extremes to assert multiple and complex identities with spectacular clothing. Certainly very interesting are stylistically hybrid weavings. What kinds of identities did they affirm? What social strategies were being employed for what kinds of gains? Of course, we still know very little about the production of the multitude of garments excavated or their exchange among regions and styles. How would Makowski's (Chapter 21, this volume) argument about three classes of Wari goods and their respective producers fare in view of variation among the Huaca Malena textiles? It does not seem to explain such a diversity in variation, and it seems that the most elaborate garments reproduce Huari/Conchopata imagery, not that of Tiawanaku, as Makowski suggests. How should we understand the north-coast textiles in the Malena collection? Was there more trade than generally imagined in the central Andes, and what was communicated by these foreign styles and imagery? Who wore them? The Huaca Malena burials also show clearly how important bags were to ancient Andeans, both functionally and socially.

Unfortunately, no radiocarbon dates are reported for Huaca Malena. On stylistic grounds, Angeles suggests that the burials date to MH 2b and 3. However, the appearance of textile images so remarkably similar to ceramic decorations from Conchopata would have implied an earlier date, at least before radiocarbon dates from Conchopata showed that the occupation continued until about AD 1000 (Isbell 2001). Indeed, the chronology elaborated by Dorothy Menzel, which has become the standard for discussing the Peruvian MH and frames Angeles's chronological observations, requires major revisions. Consequently, it is difficult to speak cogently about MH chronology and the dating of cultural interactions with significant precision at this time of reevaluation. However, it seems surprising to find Sicán imagery at the Huaca Malena site that also includes such extremely pure Wari imagery. Do the two overlap in time more than generally thought, or was the Malena cemetery used for several centuries? What do Sicán textiles on the central coast tell us about conditions that may have contributed to the collapse of Wari?

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Isbell, William H.

2001 Repensando el Horizonte Medio: el caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Perú. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:9–68.

2004 Mortuary Preferences: A Huari Case Study from Middle Horizon Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 15(1):3–32.

Kaulicke, Peter

2001 La Sombra de Pachacamac: Huari en la costa central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:313–358.

Marcone, Giancarlo F.

2010 What Role Did Wari Play in the Lima Political Economy? The Peruvian Central Coast at the Beginning of the Middle Horizon. In *Beyond Wari Walls: Regional Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru*, edited by J. Jennings, pp. 136–154. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Segura Llanos, Rafael, and Izumi Shimada

2010 The Wari Footprint on the Central Coast: A View from Cajamarquilla and Pachacamac. In *Beyond Wari Walls: Regional Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru*, edited by J. Jennings, pp. 113–135. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 17

Wari Textiles, Vehicles of Ideology, and Power during the Andean Middle Horizon

Iconography of the Weavings from Huaca Malena, Asia Valley

Rommel Angeles Falcón

Huaca Malena is a platform dating to the Early Intermediate Period, located in the lower Asia Valley 100 km south of Lima; it was reused as an important Middle Horizon cemetery where circular tombs containing funeral bundles dressed in fine tunics and feathered headdresses are found. The associated textiles include fine Wari tapestries as well as Provincial Wari textiles; still others weavings come from the north coast and represent the local style of that region. The textiles display iconography from Wari, Sicán, Lima, and Malena indicating a Wari presence on the coast that integrated with local traditions and later with subsequent arrivals from other regions.

The Site

The valley is arid, and the river brings water for agriculture only a few days of the year. The ruins consist of a platform with irregular contours 4 ha in area, with a height of 12 m, constructed of handmade, semi-cylindrical adobe bricks. The structure went through three major building phases with the last occupation dating to AD 550, that is, at the end of the Early Intermediate Period (Figure 17.1). During that time, the Mala, Asia, and Cañete Valleys appear to have formed a cultural unit characterized by semi-cylindrical adobe architecture and tricolor ceramics that shared iconography with the central coast of Peru (Lima Culture) and the south coast (Chincha). The architecture, for its part, has a greater relationship to the Chincha Valley and thereby to the Estrella style. Excavations at Huaca Malena determined that the site was a public building serving religious and administrative purposes; defined craft production areas included a sector for ceramic manufacture and another for textile work (Angeles and Pozzi-Escot 2000:67, Figure 8).

The site was abandoned at the beginning of the Middle Horizon when the valley became densely occupied by habitation sites containing Cerro del Oro–style ceramics, a style associated with architecture of square adobe brick. The Cerro del Oro style was described by Dorothy Menzel (1968:101–103) as a stylistic innovation of the Cañete and Asia Valleys, mixing designs from Chakipampa, Late Nasca, and Lima. Sites of this period appear in the middle Asia Valley and extend to the Chaupiyunga; villages occupied the hills and small *quebradas*. The tombs included ceramic assemblages dominated by shallow plates with Nasca-related designs. With these ceramics, one finds vessels probably imported from the sierra (Angeles 2008).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.1. Air photograph of Huaca Malena, Asia Valley, about 100 km south of Lima.
All figures in this chapter courtesy of Rommel Angeles Falcón.

Previous Investigations

In 1925, Julio C. Tello began research at Huaca Malena recovering 312 funerary bundles; those appearing in his illustrations were intrusive into the structure of semi-cylindrical adobes. Tello's field work was carried out by Toribio Mejía Xesspe, who precisely described the characteristics of the funerary bundles and the associations between them:

> Fetal position of the body, fingers bound together by cords, bundled in cloth, offerings inside the cloth (maize [*Zea mais*], pacay [*Inga feuillei*], guinea pigs [*Cavia porcellus*]), individuals are dressed, the bundle is wrapped in a cotton cloth and tied up with ropes of vegetable fiber, on top of this are other clothing particular to the sex and on the head a ceramic fragment is placed [Tello 2000:119–130].

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Illustrations from this publication allow one to understand in detail the variety of the bundles recovered (Tello 2000:75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 83).

New Excavations

In 1997, under the direction of Denise Pozzi-Escot and the author, archaeological excavations were conducted in four sectors of the upper part of Huaca Malena: two in sectors corresponding to the cemetery and two in zones with craft production functions. The first two excavations revealed that the tombs were intrusive into the Early Intermediate Period architecture, and other sections of the monument produced only Early Intermediate Period remains. The cemetery zone we found highly disturbed by the intense looting of the site in the past 30 years. Accordingly, the first level of approximately 70 cm corresponded to material disturbed by clandestine looting. The quantity of human remains and textiles was quite high; nonetheless, no ceramics or textiles from the late periods were reported, confirming that the site was intensively used as a cemetery during the Middle Horizon through the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period. Fortunately, we were able to recover 50 funerary bundles from disturbed tombs that contained a large part of their grave goods, in addition to 4,000 decontextualized textiles (Angeles and Pozzi-Escot 2000).

Tombs and Funerary Bundles

The tombs of Huaca Malena are circular with an opening of about 70 cm in diameter, with depth reaching about a meter. The upper part contains a wooden stick marker sustained by semi-cylindrical adobes; below this the cap of the tomb appears, consisting of a semicircular slab of stone or a piece of caliche in the same form. Sometimes a ceramic jar was placed on this cap. Within the tomb, it is normal to find more than two funerary bundles, usually including one or more children, and below them one or two bundles containing adults. In the case of children, some have offerings like feather plumes or miniature vestments that identify the sex of the youths. In the case of adults, external garments correspond to the sex of the individual.

A variety of tombs exist. In some cases, they were located in the construction fill of the *huaca* while others were placed against the walls or, in a few cases, adobes were removed from walls to make a cavity into which funerary bundles were placed (Figure 17.2). Demonstrably, the tombs are intrusive into earlier architecture.

The funerary bundles of the adults are spectacular; bodies are dressed and, in the most important cases, have a false head made of cotton cloth with a sewn-on nose made from vegetable fibers and eyes and eyebrows of metal that include tear bands characteristic of Wari imagery. The tunic or *uncu* in which the body is dressed has, in general, evidence of use. Also outstanding is a wickerwork headdress decorated with multicolor feather plumes, on the front of which a vegetable fiber sling is mounted. The tunic worn by the males may be in the Wari tapestry style: the short wide style with tapestry in a medallion, similar to those reported at Huaca Cao Viejo (Oakland-Fernández 2001:Figure 27); wide and short *uncus* of cotton, with vertical panels of blue and brown; and wide and short *uncus* of camelid fiber in warp-faced techniques of either complementary or discontinuous warps. Also present are *uncus* of cotton with yellow feathers that are short and wide in some cases but quadrangular in others.

The most impressive bundles have false heads with sheet silver features that are circular in the upper part to give the shape of an eye but divide in two bands below; in some cases, they present decoration or remains of cinnabar. Other metallic decorations are simply rectangular, possessing holes in the top and bottom (Figure 17.3). This type of mortuary bundle differs in several features from others found on the central and south coast, including the size and the type of offerings or the headdress; however, they are similar in the presence of a false head as well as the clothing. In their form, the bundles recall characteristics of the principal personages of the Wari pantheon who appear with tear bands on their faces, depicted on ceramic bottles. Perhaps the pottery bottles represent funerary bundles of Wari elites.

One of the most impressive bundles includes five *uncus:* one tunic with feathers; two short, wide *uncus* made of cotton; and two short, wide *uncus* in warp-faced technique made of camelid hair, one of which has discontinuous warps. This individual wore bracelets of silver, a necklace of *Spondylus princeps* shell beads, and a basketry headdress. The body belonged to a man who was approximately 45 years old who, according to physical anthropological analyses, had done heavy labor and probably came from the highlands (Angeles and Pozzi-Escot 2005).

Among the masculine headdresses recovered from Huaca Malena are a large quantity of tubular headdresses of vegetable fiber that are found associated with fans of feathers tied to a vegetable fiber structure (Figures 17.4 and 17.5). The feathers are of coastal and jungle birds, including heron, flamingo, and parrot. The plumes are of diverse sizes and on occasion have been

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

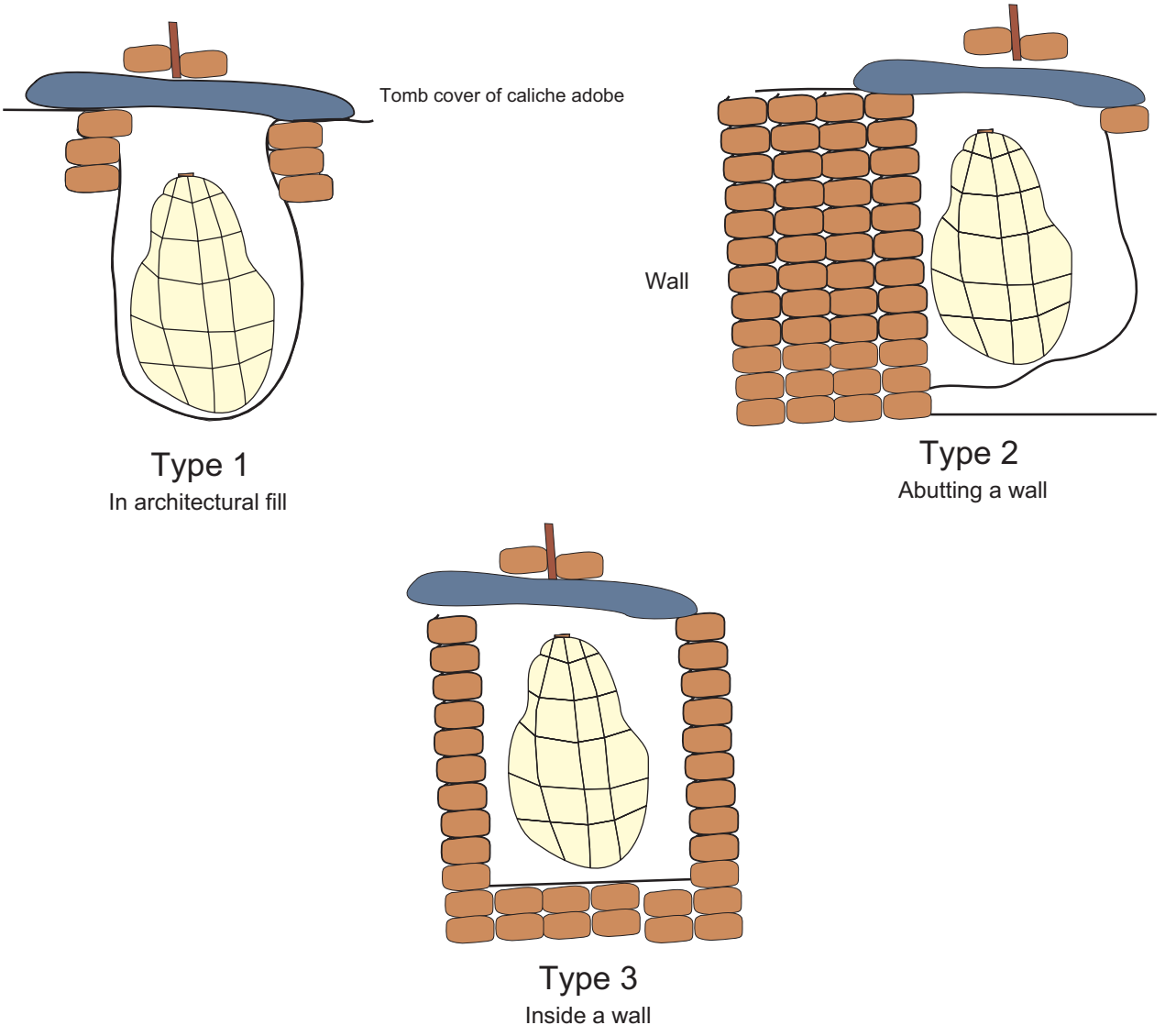


Figure 17.2. Middle Horizon tomb types reported for Huaca Malena. All are intrusive into the earlier architecture.

found in context. The headdresses were created from *toquilla* palm fibers and probably straw, species still in use today by north-coast weavers of basketry and hats; headdresses made of rushes are less frequent. This type of headdress has also been reported in Middle Horizon tombs from the central coastal sites like Ancón and Huaca Pucllana, as well as Huaca Cao Viejo on the north coast. It appears that they were quite popular on the coast during this period. Indeed, the wicker headdresses recall one of the personages represented in the votive ceramic from offering 1999B from Conchopata (Isbell 2001:Figure 16).

One type of exceptional headdress, commonly called a "Wari wig" created in a knotted pile technique, has also been found in elite contexts at Huaca Malena; it is tubular in shape with locks of hair dyed red, yellow, or blue that hangs down on the sides. The front is decorated with a geometric design (Figure 17.6). This type of headdress is associated with the most important tombs, and Tello described a bundle from Huaca Malena with this type of "wig" (Tello 2000:83).

Female funerary bundles have an oblong or conical form and are wrapped with a mantle held in place with *tupu* pins or narrow woolen bands. In some cases, they have a bag on the head, and a very common characteristic is the presence of a strap from a backstrap loom and cones of cotton together with spindles that have whorls or *piruros* made of ceramics (Figure 17.7).

On the head, there is a red headband of camelid fiber with designs organized in a central band using yellow,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

green, and blue, in a tubular weft technique with fringe. A small number of this type of headband is wide and decorated with complicated designs of serrated serpents outlined in black; these are ascribed to the Malena style. The bundles are dressed in either a cotton mantle with tapestry medallion or a camelid fiber mantle with parallel bands and decorative panels bearing varied designs. A distinctive characteristic of the female funerary bundles is the pins or *tupus* of copper that attach to the mantles. These have broad semicircular heads with a hole where colored yarns or bands were attached. The *tupus* are similar to those reported at Huari from excavations conducted by various authors, appearing in diverse sizes, made of copper laminate, and some having a coating of cinnabar. Furthermore, some *tupus* have the form of a staff while others have oval appendices (Figure 17.8).

A third type of female headdress consists of needlework hairnets made with cotton and plant fiber (Figure 17.9); extremely delicate and detailed, they present

Figure 17.3. Excavation of a funerary bundle with false head, dressed in a cotton tunic with vertical bands. The individual wears an elaborate halter-like headdress and a basketry headdress with feather plume.

Figure 17.4. Funerary bundle of a male dressed in a beige tunic of warp-faced cloth.

designs of serpents with serrated bodies and triangular heads. We have found complete examples of this type of headdress while Max Uhle reported similar examples in disturbed contexts from his excavations at the base of the Temple of Pachacamac (Singer 1936; Uhle 1903).

For Huaca Malena, Tello described the presence of bundles with turbans and feather plumes. The material we recovered included the upper part of a funerary bundle belonging to an infant whose grave goods included a turban of cotton gauze of blue and brown color, a red tapestry band with bird designs, and a small plume of flamingo feathers (Figure 17.10).

In the case of the children's bundles, there are plumes of feathers that for boys are placed at the level of the breast (Figure 17.11); in the case of girls, a bundle has been reported wrapped in a camelid fiber mantle with checkerboard and stepped designs woven in a warp-faced

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.5. Plume of parrot (*Ara macao*) feathers with foundation of braided vegetal fiber.

Figure 17.6. Headdress of a Wari elite made of dyed human hair attached to a band in knotted pile technique. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector II, Platform C.

technique that includes discontinuous warps. This mantle was attached by a small *tupu* (Figure 17.12).

A funerary pattern employing mortuary bundles became common on the coast during Epochs 2B and 3 of the Middle Horizon; the tombs of Montegrande in Nasca (Rowe 1986), Pachacamac (Kaulicke 2001), Ancón (Kaulicke 1997), and Chimu Capac in Supe (Menzel 1977) are among the most significant. They include large funerary bundles with false heads, dressed in tunics with diverse additions associated with the ceramics of Epochs 2B and 3 of the Middle Horizon, along with tapestries of Wari and other, probably local, styles. Huaca Malena participates in this pattern, although the false head is represented by a cloth sewn onto the funerary bundle on which the face sometimes includes metal tear bands (see Figure 17.3).

The Ceramics

The ceramics associated with Middle Horizon tombs at Huaca Malena correspond to a local style characterized by a brown paste and matte finish that is dominated by jars, bottles, ollas, straight-sided vessels, drums,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.7. Detail of a funerary bundle of a female showing a *vincha* (headband) of wool placed on the head. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A.

Figure 17.8. Four types of *tupus*, or metal clothing pins, associated with female burials. Provenience Huaca Malena. Courtesy of Rommel Angeles Falcón.

Figure 17.9. Detail of a headdress composed of embroidered cotton netting. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A.

Figure 17.10. Head of a disturbed funerary bundle with intact trousseau. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A.

and potters' plates (Figure 17.13). This type of ceramic belongs to Epochs 2B and 3 of the Middle Horizon and relates to Cuculí style identified by Frederic Engel (1984) in the Chilca Valley, where it comes from the upper valley (Angeles 2008); nonetheless, it appears distributed as far as the Lurin Valley, where Peter Eeckhout has reported terminal Middle Horizon tombs with similar ceramics that occur in a stratum that also includes a grave with a Pachacamac-style vessel (Eeckhout 2010). Likewise, tricolor ceramics are present, including face neck bottles decorated with a stylized feline on the body of the vessel that are strongly related to pottery of the south-coast

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.11. Male child bundled in plain cotton cloth with a small plume of flamingo feathers. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A.

Figure 17.12. Funerary bundle discovered in a profile of Julio C. Tello's old excavations, which probably represents a female child based on the woolen shawl and *tupu* clothing pin fastening it. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A.

Pinilla style. Similarly, some of the tricolor pieces maintain a strong relation with the style named Provincial Wari or Viñaque of the Coast that has been reported at Pachacamac. Indeed, considering the ceramics, the tombs of Huaca Malena should date to Epoch 3 of the Middle Horizon.

The Textiles

Textiles constitute an important part of the funerary contexts from Huaca Malena, presenting elements that relate the site's buried individuals to the Wari state, as well as a series of other social formations that developed during the Middle Horizon. Clearly, the primary people buried at Huaca Malena were closely associated with the Ayacucho region, as manifest by the fine textiles of that style that accompanied their bodies. However, the graves lack the pottery that is typical of highland Wari.

The Wari-style tapestries of Huaca Malena are exceptional examples of the virtuosity achieved in textile art during the Middle Horizon. Excavations exposed fragments of tapestries with typical standardized designs diagnostic of Wari—including large beige background tunics with vertical parallel bands composed of panels decorated with winged profile personages who grasp a staff before the body. Others have panels decorated with triangular profile faces, opposite a stepped block with hook (Figure 17.14). Such tunics are diagnostic of Wari and have been reported from Pachacamac, Ancón, Supe, and Huarmey, where they are associated with elite

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

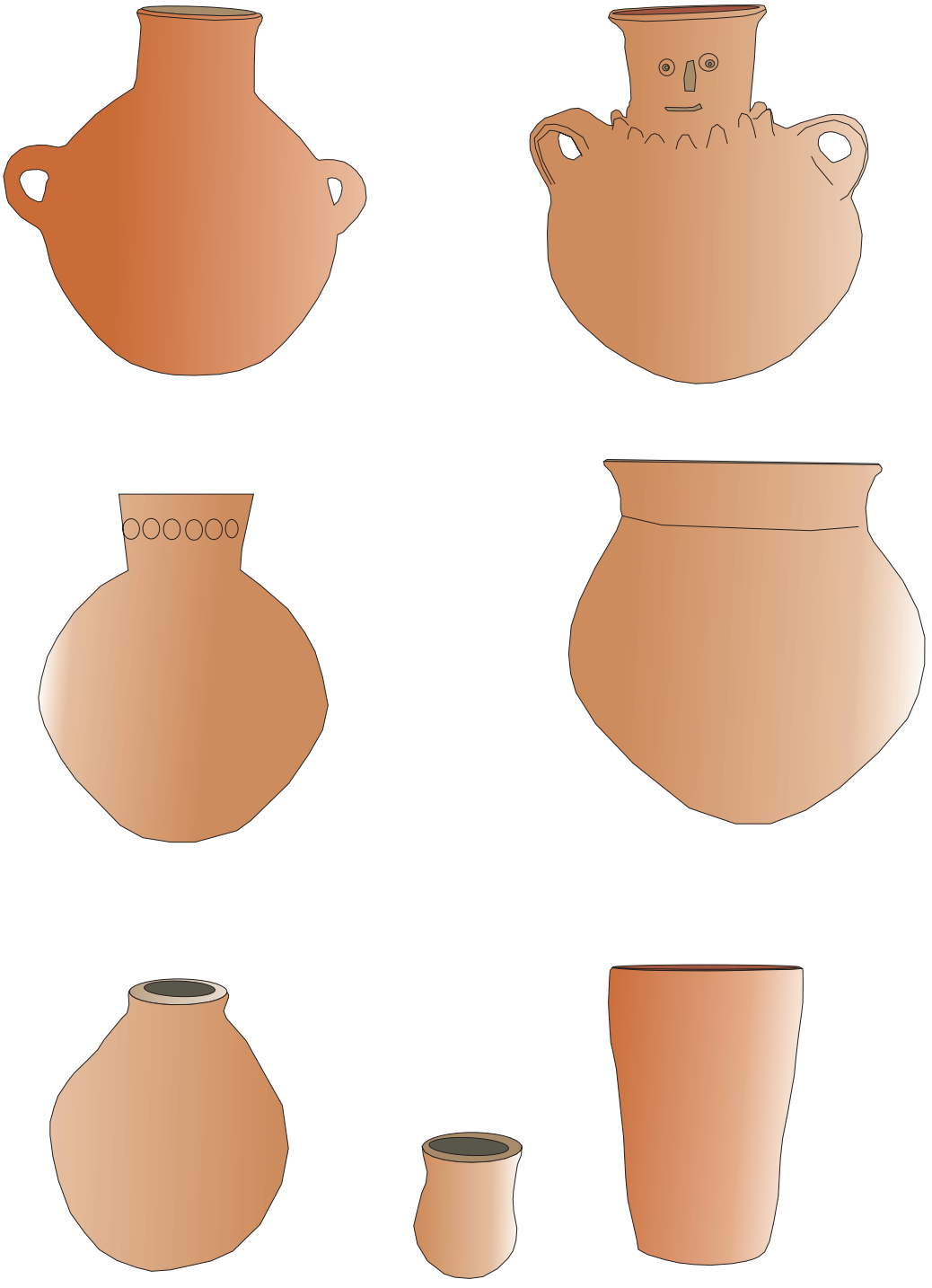


Figure 17.13. Drawing of several varieties of Middle Horizon ceramics found at Huaca Malena.

individuals. One fragment of this kind of tunic was found in the disturbed tomb of an elite individual (Hallazgo 4). It is decorated with bands of winged and genuflecting personages holding a staff in front of the body, repeating so that the body alternates in the direction it faces in each panel (Figure 17.15).

Another group of tunic fragments belongs to a different style of *uncu*, with sewn fringe and structural design depicting mythical scenes. One of these shows a succession of richly outfitted profile heads below a larger being (Figure 17.16). Representation of heads with elaborate headdress is frequent in Wari

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

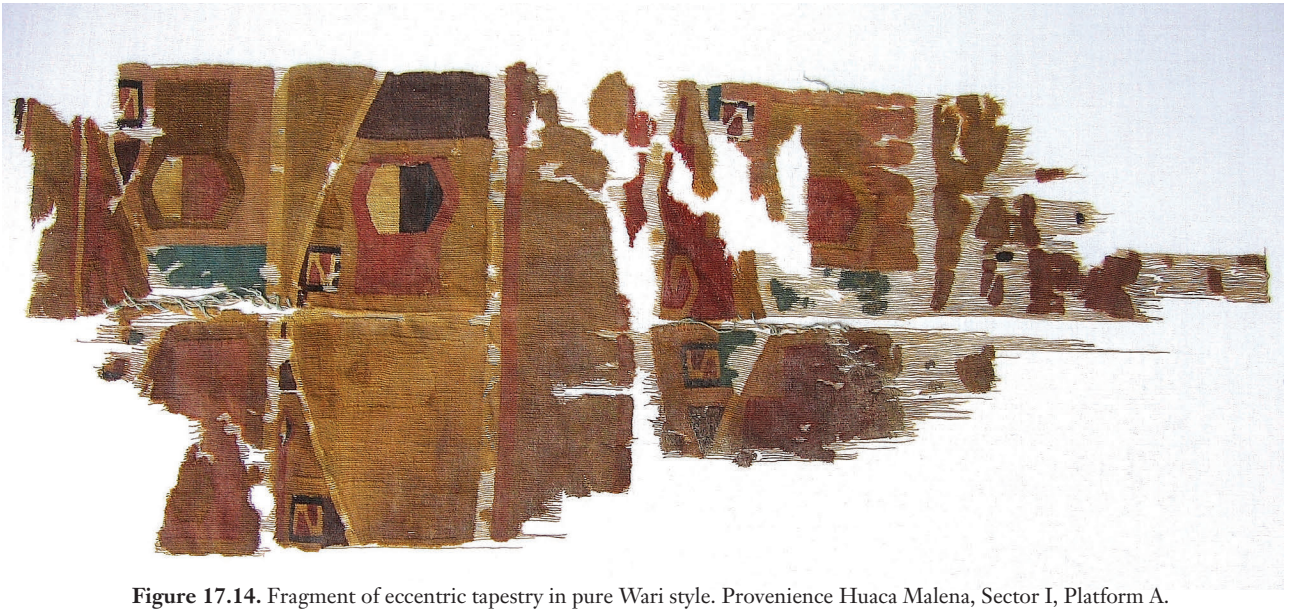


Figure 17.14. Fragment of eccentric tapestry in pure Wari style. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A.

Figure 17.15. Detail of a fragment of eccentric tapestry in pure Wari style. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A.

art. Perhaps they depict trophy heads of subjugated chiefs, elite Wari individuals, or divinities of the Wari pantheon. Other Wari textiles also show rows of elaborately depicted profile heads, while pottery of the south coast as well as from highland Conchopata (Isbell 2001) also repeats this theme. Pottery from the south coast depicts personages carrying trophy heads, with a variety of headgear. An exceptional Huaca Malena textile of this group displays a stepped succession of panels within which two profile personages appear face to face. The more elaborately attired individual holds the lesser by a rope that binds his hands

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.16. Fragment of very fine Wari-style eccentric tapestry depicting elaborately decorated profile heads. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector III, Platform D.

behind his back (Figure 17.17). This might represent the capture of a chief or local lord by a protagonist of the Wari empire or depict some form of social integration within the society. A more complete tunic of this kind that has been studied by Mary Frame (personal communication, 2005) possesses sleeves and stepped panel decoration. Also present in the Huaca Malena collection are fragments of Wari textiles with representations of frontal rayed heads whose rays terminate in profile feline heads (Figure 17.18).

Based on these data, it is clear that Huaca Malena burials were accompanied by Wari tapestries with the purest Conchopata iconography, as well as with more typical *uncu*s with parallel vertical bands of decorations like those found throughout the Wari sphere of influence. The finest weavings are, of course, those with Conchopata iconography, presenting a panoply of colors that includes red, beige, blue, pink, brown, black, green, and white.

Figure 17.17. Detail of a garment of fine Wari-style eccentric tapestry representing stepped panels depicting a richly dressed personage holding a rope that binds an individual of lesser rank. Provenience Huaca Malena.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.18. Fragment of a tunic produced in eccentric tapestry, with representation of a personage in the Wari-Conchopata style. Provenience Huaca Malena.

Textiles—Provincial Wari

An important group of weavings from Huaca Malena consists of bands about 50 cm long and about 10 cm wide, woven in tapestry technique and decorated with a procession of profile or front-face personages on a red background (Figure 17.19). The bands terminate in appendices with geometric decoration (Figure 17.19a). The finest are produced in eccentric tapestry (Figure 17.19a,c–f,h), while those of somewhat lower quality are manufactured of slit or eccentric tapestry (Figure 17.19b,g). All are woven with red background while decorative figures usually appear in opposition to one another. Also popular are panels with a mixture of motifs, some Wari, and others of central coastal origin. These include stylized felines or representations of symbols of power that appear on Wari deities, such as the headdress, eye with tear band, or stylized mouth (Figure 17.19d,f).

Bands of this type have not been reported from archaeological contexts from other regions, suggesting that they belong to the material cultural inventory of the central coast. The most elaborate design depicts a richly dressed profile anthropomorph who kneels on one knee while facing upward. This personage has an elaborate headdress and wings and grasps a staff in one hand. A second figure, or perhaps a scene, depicts a profile figure with avian head that corresponds with the Pachacamac Griffin, who is accompanied by a richly attired frontal anthropomorph (Figure 17.20). The image of the Pachacamac Griffin is highly elaborated and could have served as a model for pottery painting, where a simplified version of the griffin appears. The figure has a band around its waist and carries two trophy heads. The accompanying figure has an extremely elaborate headdress and semi-flexed legs, suggesting that they are reinterpretations of Wari iconography. Another kind of figure composed of several closely associated features appears to represent a stylized feline. Appearing in multiples, these beings are usually depicted in opposition to one another. The long narrow garments that carry this imagery were probably *vinchas* (headbands) for persons of high rank.

At present, headbands of the type just described have been reported for the Asia Valley alone, although it is evident that they belong to a Provincial Wari style. We have found them only in secondary contexts and for that reason cannot confirm their association with masculine or feminine mortuary costumes, although it seems probable that these were *vinchas* worn around the head.

Wari tapestries from the central coast come from tombs and other contexts excavated at Pachacamac (Gretzer 1914; Uhle 1903) and Ancón. Recent excavations directed by Isabel Flores at Huaca Pucllana in the Rimac Valley have produced an important group of tombs that intruded into the upper platforms of that monument. They consist of collective sepulchers that contain elite funerary bundles containing a great variety of Wari *uncus* with sleeves, bags of double cloth, tubular headdresses of basketry, bundles with false heads of wood, and a string artifact that is probably some kind of *quipu* (Flores Espinoza et al. 2012). Excavations by Reiss and Stübel (1880–1887) at Ancón revealed a chamber tomb containing a funerary bundle dressed in a tapestry *uncu* decorated with representations of warriors with bow and arrow. In addition to this tomb, mortuary bundles were reported with false heads, basketry headdresses, and feather plumes that recall the graves of Huaca Malena. The difference lies in the local style of ceramics associated with the Ancón graves, as well as the presence of small, shield-shaped constructions made of cane and painted textiles that constitute part of the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

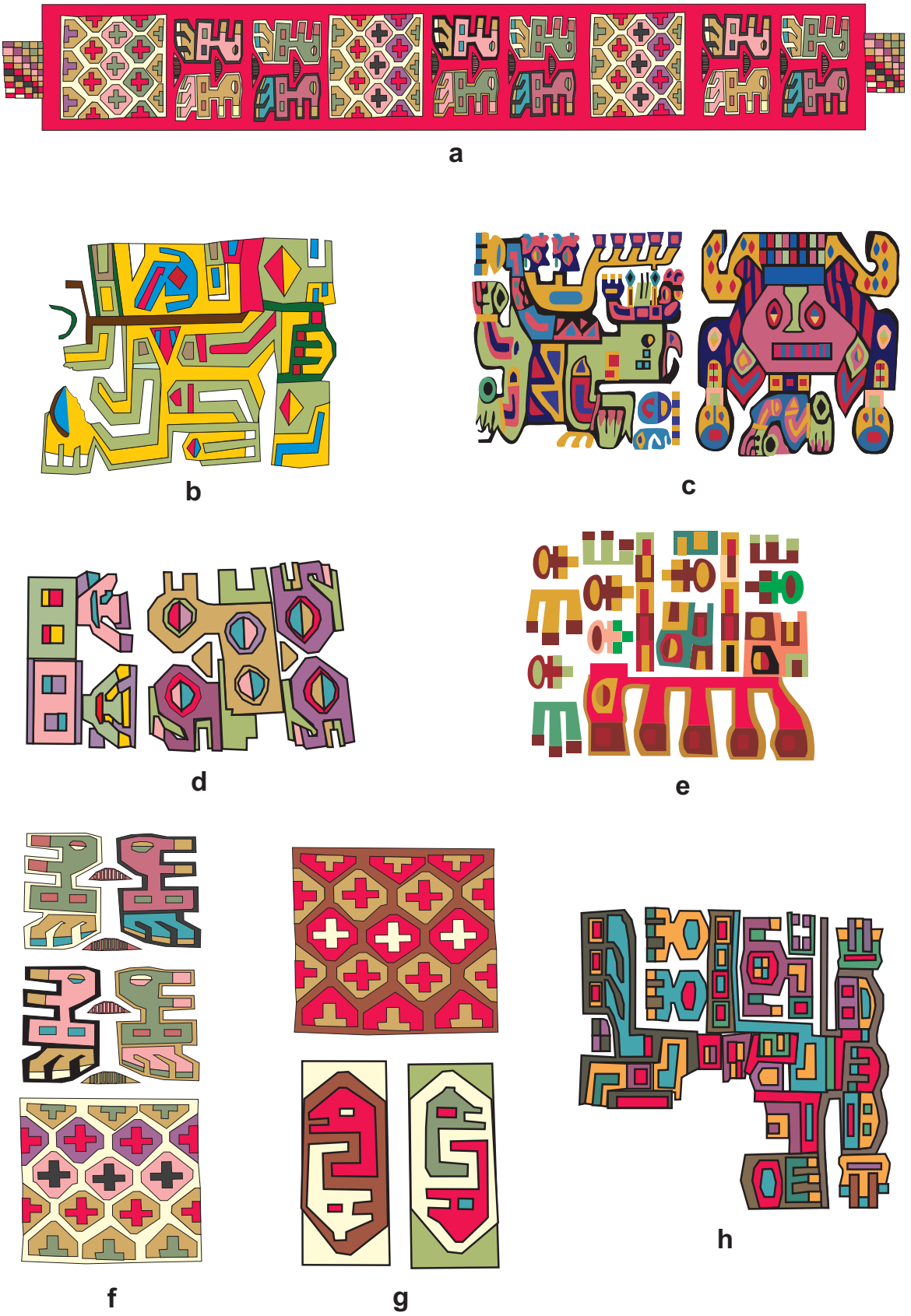


Figure 17.19. Iconography of tapestry bands with appendage, in Provincial Wari style. Provenience Huaca Malena.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.20. Detail of the decoration on a band with appendage produced in the eccentric tapestry technique. The design includes a version of the Pachacamac Griffin. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A.

grave assemblages. Subsequent work at Ancón for the Museum of Archaeology in Pueblo Libre, Lima, reported Lambayeque-style textiles from the terminal Middle Horizon. According to Dorothy Menzel, Ancón was an important place where elites were brought for interment during the Middle Horizon.

The tombs discovered by Uhle at Pachacamac were located in front of the Temple of Pachacamac. Especially remarkable are fine Wari tapestries, as well as fringed cotton bags that are diagnostic of the Pachacamac site. Wari ceramics, however, are scarce, despite the fact that the name Wari Pachacamac is based on pottery from the site. The largest collection of this material comes from votive offerings buried in the upper platform of the "Templo Viejo," a structure of Lima-style adobes in which Regulo Franco and Ponciano Paredes (2001) found 175 effigy vessels, cups, and figurines beautifully manufactured with representations of mythical personages, fish, birds, crustaceans, and plants. An additional Middle Horizon cemetery was discovered at Pachacamac by Julio C. Tello on the slopes below the Temple of Urpiwachaq.

Huaca Malena textiles present a great deal of stylistic and technological variation (Pozzi-Escot and Angeles 2011). However, it is still possible to identify recurrent iconographic themes in this variety of techniques. A special example is double cloth woven of cream-colored cotton and red wool. This type of weaving has been reported for Huaca Cao Viejo in Chicama (Oakland and Fernández 2001) as well as en Huarmey (Prümers 2001) and even at Ancón. In these three cases, the weavings are cloths or bags with the representation of a profile feline. At Huaca Malena, however, similar textiles do not depict a feline but instead a series of snakes with two heads that repeat across much of the textile (Figure 17.21). These weavings are rectangular and used to wrap bodies of children. They are found in tombs of women. There

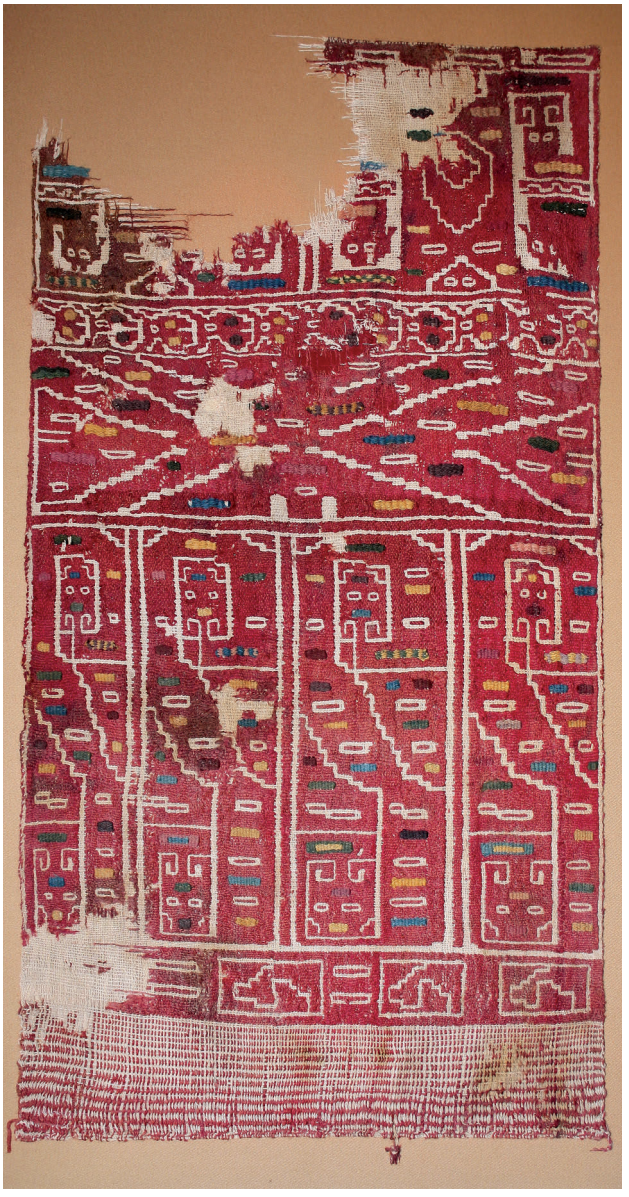


Figure 17.21. Quadrangular panel of double cloth, with dots of color in tapestry and embroidery. The design consists of S-shaped serpents. Provenience Huaca Malena.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

are also quadrangular bags with ties and closed elongated bags containing peanuts that reutilize fragments of double cloth. Indeed, this final kind of bag has been reported in elite tombs from Huaca Pucllana (Flores et al. 2012). It seems that representations of serpents in the technique of double cloth constitute part of the Huaca Malena style, to be described below.

These weavings are rectangular, about 80 to 90 cm long and about 60 cm wide across the warp. Some have a panel of cotton cloth on the sides, with the corners decorated with brocade (Angeles and Pozzi-Escot 2001:Figure 7). The structural decoration consists of an S-shaped serpent design, with heads at both ends, repeated across the weaving. Colors are red for the wool and cream for the cotton (Figure 17.21). The serpent's face is depicted frontally, with tongue and an appendage suggesting an ear. The body is sinuous and appears alone or in bounded panels. A few examples are accompanied by other stylized images such as personages, felines, fish, rays, or camelids. Decoration on the double cloth includes dots of color employing brocade or tapestry technique. One double cloth panel was used as the external wrapping of a child's funerary bundle, while other fragments have been used to construct bags (Pozzi-Escot and Angeles 2011:135). Also appearing are bands of double cloth that end in fringes, decorated with a continuous line that undulates like waves, with dots of colors above and below.

Northern Weavings. Besides the Wari-style weavings, we have encountered a series of textiles produced by various techniques that demonstrate strong relations with the iconography of the north coast. Technologically, they differ from the Wari as well as the Malena styles. Nonetheless, these "northern" styles include a great variety of processes that deserve study of their own. Beginning with the tapestries, the principal forms are tunics or *uncus*, bands, and cloths. Slit and eccentric tapestries predominate, taking the form of *uncus* made of panels of tapestry that are sewn to panels that display floating warps as well as groups of floating wefts. Furthermore, the colors blue and olive green were popular among these northern weavings, although red seems to have employed cochineal with some vegetal dye—the color is paler.

Among the textiles found at Huaca Malena are Sicán-, Provincial Sicán–, and Moche Wari–style tapestries. They would seem to document long-distance trade or perhaps northerners residing in the Asia Valley (Figures 17.22–17.26). Among the Sicán-style weavings are fragments of *uncus* with bands of slit and eccentric tapestry that depict a front-face personage who grasps staffs, has winged eyes, and wears a half-moon-shaped headdress. The staffs are in Moche style, and suspended from the arms are bands with geometric designs (Figures 17.23). Another type of object consists of bands that are part of other garments. They are decorated with a succession of panels in which designs alternate with one another but feature a profile personage (Figure 17.24). Another theme depicts a personage with winged eye and elaborate headdress, carrying a staff (Figure 17.25).

A second set of northern-style tapestries is classified as Provincial Sicán, a style that, according to Shimada and others, also accounts for tapestry bands found at Huaca Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley (Segura and Shimada 2014; Shimada 2014). These bands have red backgrounds and are decorated with alternating panels depicting predominantly front-face personages with plumed headdress, winged eyes, semi-flexed arms with hands open, or grasping a staff in each (Figure 17.26a,c). Also reported are textile fragments, probably from *uncus*, decorated with front-face personages grasping staffs, with plumed headdresses and ear ornaments or winged eyes (Figure 17.26b,f).

It is apparent that in Middle Horizon Epoch 3, the Sicán society of the north coast achieved a cultural apogee with its influence reaching as far south as the central coast. Discoveries of tapestry textiles of this same style at Ancón and Pachacamac confirm the long-distance stimulus. Malena textiles of this type reveal an interesting variety of weavings imported from the north, as well as others that probably imitated the northern imagery. Tapestries depicting profile personages carrying a staff or wearing a forward-positioned headdress also have been found at Ancón (Reiss and Stübel 1880–1887) and Pachacamac (Uhle 1903).

What is probably most important in the Malena research, surpassing even the stylistic variability of the materials, is the demonstration that during the Middle Horizon, textiles played the preponderant role in the dispersal of new ideas and expressions of identity among the most important centers of power. Fine Wari textiles from Malena document interaction with Wari elites and show how elements of high prestige and great symbolic meaning were integrated into local system of status symbols. Clearly, during the Middle Horizon, Wari influence was powerful at Huaca Malena, but at the same time, north-coast stimuli, probably from Sicán, were also incorporated, documenting a cultural complex that is still poorly understood. Many Wari icons were

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.22. Iconography of the Malena style, produced in tapestry technique. Provenience Huaca Malena.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.23. Detail of a Sicán-style *uncu*, representing a frontal personage holding two staffs. Slit tapestry technique. Provenience Huaca Malena.

Figure 17.24. Detail of a band of eccentric tapestry in Sicán style representing a personage derived from the Moche tradition. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A.

reinterpreted and combined with Moche imagery, creating hybrid icons, a phenomenon also observed in weavings from the Huarmey Valley (Prümers 2001).

The Malena Style

Malena style (Figures 17.21 and 17.22) weaving techniques include tapestry, double cloth, reinforced tapestry, and warp-faced cloth, with the iconography of the tapestries and warp-face bags being the most outstanding. Among the tapestries, local contributions are salient, characterized by strong Lima-style influences in their

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.25. Fragment of a Sicán-style band woven in eccentric slit tapestry that displays a profile personage with winged eye, headdress, and staff. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector II, Platform C.

representations of serrated and intertwined serpents. These figures are fashioned in slit tapestry, outlined in black and woven with bright colors among which red, yellow, purple, and pink stand out (Figure 17.22a–c,h,j). The serpents appear in bands 40 to 50 cm wide and 10 to 20 cm high and constitute part of a local style that, together with other variants, can be easily distinguished throughout a distribution area that stretches south to Cañete and north to the Chilca Valley. A great variety of tapestry bands depict images that belong to the Moche culture, such as triangular ray fish arranged in a radial pattern interlaced with stylized birds or "dumbbell" shapes that are more properly Wari in origin. These designs affirm local reinterpretations of styles from foreign cultures (Figures 17.22e,i and 17.29e,g,i).

Within the Malena style are included a series of extremely fine cotton cloths that functioned as female clothing. They were decorated with panels of reinforced tapestry bearing extremely rich iconography (Figure 17.27). Also impressive are bags of reinforced tapestry with designs of facing felines in confrontation (Figure 17.28) and cloths with corners decorated with geometric configurations and the scene of confronting felines.

A somewhat different type that nonetheless shares part of the Malena-style iconography consists of bags elaborated with a warp-face technique woven with camelid hair (Figure 17.29; Pozzi-Escott and Angeles 2011:127, 130, 133). These bags include an ample variety of representations (Angeles 2010). The *chuspas*, or bags, are, for the most part, quadrangular and taller than wide and have strap handles attached to their upper third. Generally, the opening has eyelets with a lace to adjust and close it, and the selvages are reinforced. Decorations are located on both sides of the body of the bag and on the strap handles. Such bags are sometimes discovered empty and on other occasions containing a guinea pig (*Cavia porcellus*) with fur, peanuts (*Arachis hipogaea*) in the shell, pacae (*Inga feuillei*) from two or three pods, and materials related to textile crafting such as balls of wool, spindle whorls, or a weaving sword.

Decoration

Chuspas or bags present structural designs outlined in black on contrasting backgrounds of beige or brown. Occasionally, a pinkish-brown color is used. Each side is decorated, usually with the same design, although in some cases, the figure continues onto the other face. Themes include a bicephalic being or primary deity, felines, and serpents, as well as birds and amphibians, which may be described as follows:

The Bicephalic Being or Primary Deity. This image represents a personage with a hexagonal body who has two triangular heads at opposite ends of the body (usually top and bottom) from which two appendages project as though in opposition (Figure 17.29a–c). From the sides below the head, two arms emerge, semi-flexed, and ending in open hands reminiscent of a "hands up" posture. The center of the hexagonal body, corresponding to the chest or belly, has a figure with four appendages. In

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

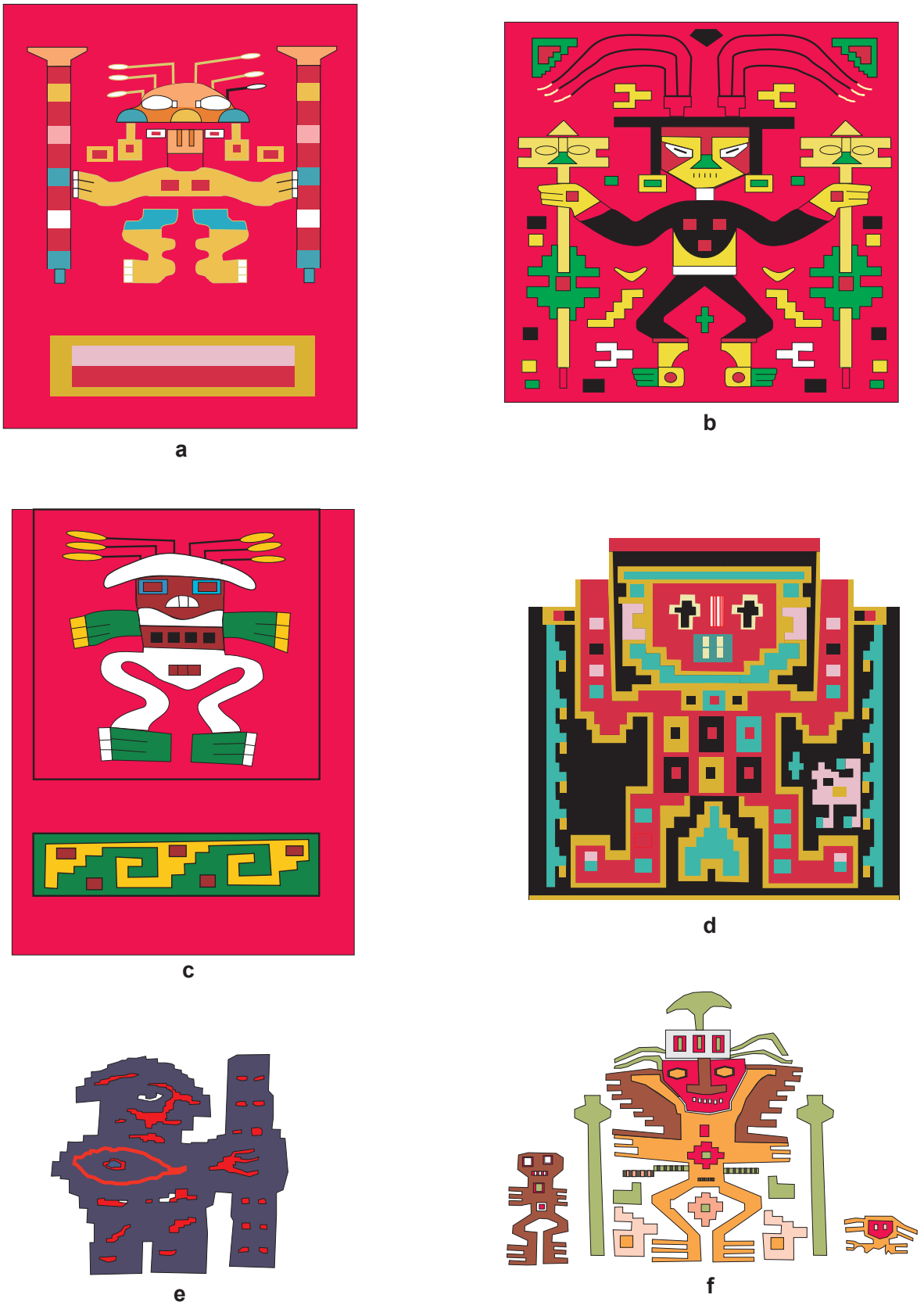


Figure 17.26. Personages represented frontally holding two staffs and personages in profile view, holding a single staff. North Coast style. Provenience Huaca Malena.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.27. Iconography in the Malena style, showing designs that appear on cotton cloths with small panels woven in reinforced tapestry technique. Provenience Huaca Malena.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.28. Bag produced in reinforced tapestry technique depicting a scene of counterposed felines. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector 1, Platform A.

its depictions, this personage appears in numerous but slightly different variations. One example seems to have a double body, another has fewer fingers, or the entire figure is simplified. Often the body has dark spots or small hexagons that seem to function as space fillers. The personage possesses eyes, nose, and mouth, and its hands sometime contain three squares or hexagons placed as though representing a triangular face. The posture of the being suggests a woman ready to give birth, so perhaps the icon represents a feminine fertility deity, with its prominent belly that contains a figure inside, perhaps in the process of transformation.

Around the bicephalic personage, simpler representations appear of stylized felines or camelids in profile. On other examples, borders look like a staff with simplified designs of serpents. The images of this bicephalic personage vary considerably, sometimes very simple and sometimes remarkably complex, suggesting that it may represent the primary deity. The felines, serpents, and staffs that accompany the personage appear on other bags as isolated but repetitive elements. For this reason, we suspect that a deity is represented with attributes or accompanying elements that were sometime also depicted separately.

Felines. A second complex scene is composed of vertical columns of felines or stylized camelids that are pendent from a vertical bar or organized within consecutive panels (Figure 19.29g–i). The felines are represented in profile, with humped back, open mouth, upright tail, and pronounced claws. They probably represent a mountain cat, based on the position of the body, which is unusual for pumas and jaguars.

A variant of this icon has an elongated head that suggests a camelid, probably a guanaco or vicuña that appears to have a cord around its neck. Felines are also depicted in panels, and in all cases, beige and brown colors are used. One bag has a checkerboard pattern with a feline or frog (*batracio*) in each of the squares.

Serpents. These serpents have triangular heads and serrated bodies. They appear interlocked and are arranged along diagonals (Figure 17.29d). They have black-colored spots on the body and the mouth is open. Variations are frequent, including a simplified version of bicephalic serpents with S-shaped bodies, some in schematic design while others have rhomboids inside the body and a crest on the head (Figure 17.29e). One kind of serpent observed on several *chuspa* bags appears as vertical bars with hook-like appendices opposite one another, each with a central dot suggesting an eye in a serpent head (Figure 17.29f).

Birds. Birds appear in two forms. Diagonal bands outlined in black from which bird heads with open beak emerge, or parallel and vertical columns of a hexagonal form from which four bird heads emerge, two above and two below, that gaze at one another (Figure 17.29j). In both cases, the bands and registers repeat. To a lesser degree, simplified images of profile birds appear as space fillers.

Amphibians (Frogs). A bicephalic being with four elongated and semi-flexed feet appears depicted as though it was seen from above. Sometimes this frog-like animal appears alone, but in other cases with felines or serpents.

Red Bags

Bags from Huaca Malena are varied in both form and technique. A small number belong to the Wari style while another important set consists of wool bags that use a warp-faced technique to produce serpents, felines, and ray fish in light blue, pink, cherry red, green, and yellow on a red background (Figure 17.30). Bags of this kind were found by Uhle (1903) at Pachacamac and in the Chilca Valley, as documented by the collections of the Museum of the Center for Investigation of Arid Zones, of the Agrarian University, La Molina, where the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.29. Iconography from bags produced with warp-faced technique. Provenience Huaca Malena.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 17.30. Red bag, made of camelid fiber and employing a warp-faced technique, with vertical bands at the center. Provenience Huaca Malena, Sector I, Platform A .

materials excavated by Frederic Engel are stored. This helps us sketch the distribution of these bags on the central coast, considering that they are not known to the north in Ancón or to the south in Nasca.

Decorated Cloths

Cotton cloths with paired warps and wefts, about 15 × 20 cm in size, and with decoration embroidered with wool yarns were spread over the outside of funerary bundles. Iconography depicts triangular heads outlined in black that emerge from diagonal lines, all surrounded by serrated designs, using the colors red, green, pink, brown, and beige (Pozzi-Escot and Angeles 2011:155). One example is entirely of wool. Interestingly, this same technique was used to weave loin cloths decorated with stepped designs.

Uncus (Tunics)

An important group of weavings consists of *uncus* or tunics of cotton, wide and short, decorated with brown and blue panels that alternate in color. These wide, short tunics sometimes have a band of decorative tapestry over the lower part representing a bird in alternating colors (Figure 17.31a–e). This kind of cotton tunic has also been reported at Huaca Cao, on the north coast (Oakland and Fernández 2001), as well as in Uhle's collection from Pachacamac (VanStan 1967).

A second important group of *uncus* are produced using a warp-faced weaving technique (Figure 17.31f–i) and tapestry of camelid wool. They are wide and short, sometimes with short structural fringes, and made in two halves that were seamed together and reinforced. Some are created in discontinuous warp weave that is warp faced while others are made with supplementary warps, both in cotton and camelid wool, and are very similar to examples reported from Pachacamac by Renate Strelow (1996).

Discussion

During the Middle Horizon, the Wari established their presence on the coast and in the highlands, imposing new ways of doing things that significantly modified local ideologies. This was achieved through political and religious influences that imposed a new ideological pattern on the diverse but contemporary societies. The high number of Wari textiles produced documents a strong religious ideology and involved extremely high-quality workmanship with significant standardization, as well as control of distribution of these fine textiles to local and regional elites. Wari ceramics were not a crucial feature, and their scarcity is obvious. When they do appear, they are part of an offering. The most common styles are local products highly influenced by Wari motifs, although some examples represent innovative themes that appear exclusively during this time.

Provincial Wari weavings are the most fascinating of the Huaca Malena collection, especially those produced by means of slit tapestry that document a devotion to the Wari pantheon in this particular portion of the empire. In the case of Huaca Malena, bands with square appendages at both ends, which are woven in eccentric and slit tapestry, stand out (Figure 17.19). They are about 50 cm long and 10 cm wide, terminating at the ends in yarns that can be tied, suggesting that they were intended for use as headbands. They are made with cotton warp and polychrome camelid wool weft. For the most part, they have a red background color, on which a succession of counterposed designs appear that include a profile being with headdress, wings, and staff who gazes upward. Also, stylized felines appear, as does the Pachacamac Griffin. This type of band has not been reported for other sites on the central coast, and in all probability, the style has a distinct and significant distribution. When slit tapestry is used as the production technique for the band, profile figures are simplified and more geometric.

At Huaca Malena, Wari influence is not apparent in the ceramics, which correspond to a little-known style that seems to have been distributed at least as far as Pachacamac if we consider pottery from contexts published by Eeckhout (2010:Figures 5–8). However, the pattern of interment in bundles with a false head, including the manner of dressing the bundle, is diagnostic of the Wari sphere of influence.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

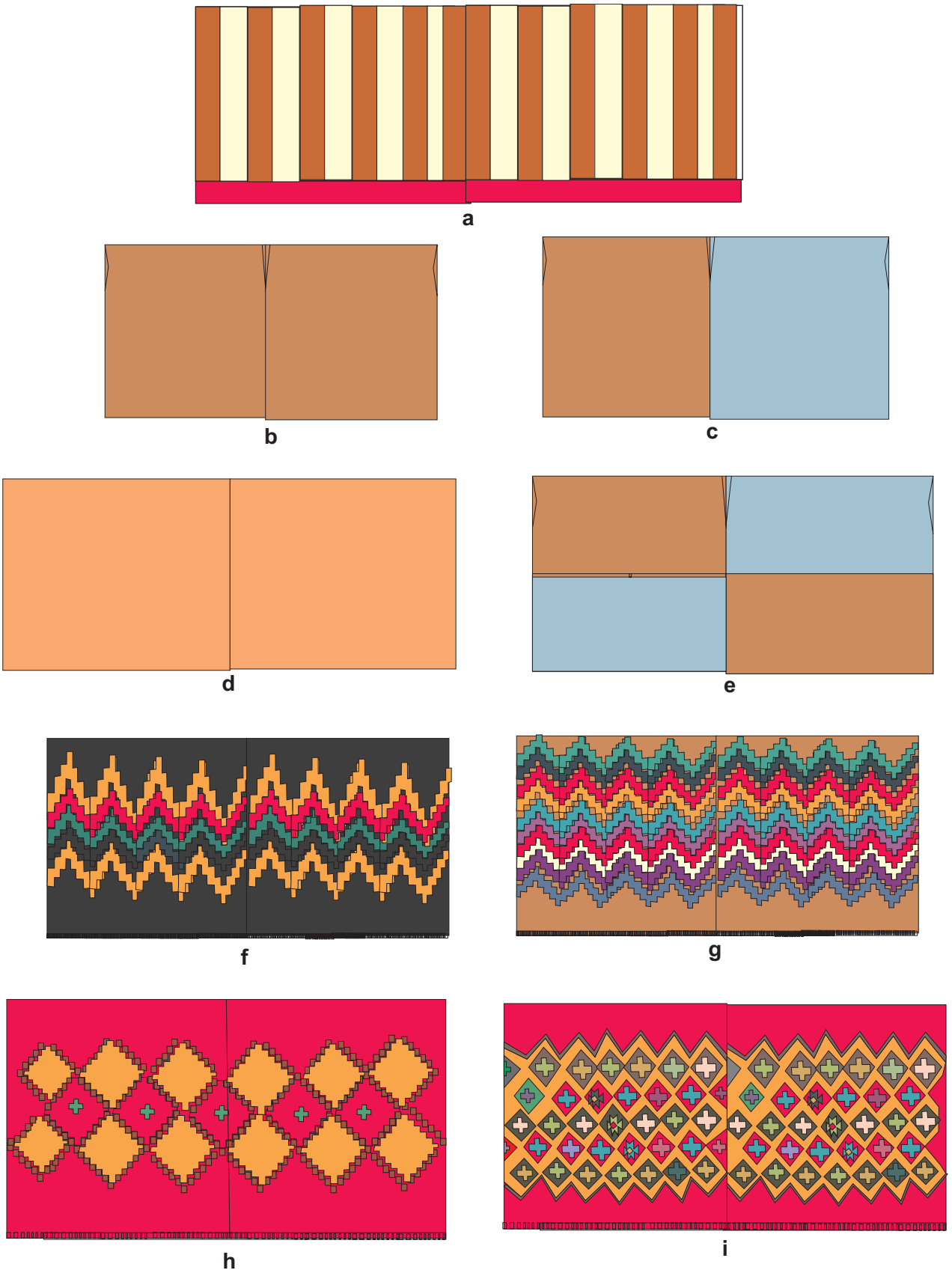


Figure 17.31. Various kinds of *uncus* (tunics) from Huaca Malena.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

In terms of both mortuary preference and grave textiles, Huaca Malena is closely related to the great Pachacamac center. Graves at both sites employ flexed burial in a bundle that was dressed and given a false head. The difference lies in the use of wood with incrustations of shell for Pachacamac false heads while Huaca Malena employed cloth with attachments to represent the face, including sheets of copper, silver, or gold to indicate tears below the eyes.

Textiles are certainly the most explicit indicators of the arrival of Wari, as well as the local and regional relations that were produced among the inhabitants of the south-central coast during the Middle Horizon. Huaca Malena is more than a cemetery of local people for abundant evidence exists for their access to and use of fine symbols of Wari ideology in their weavings. Furthermore, societies of the Middle Horizon were not passive recipients of the Wari symbols but actively adopted the new icons, in many cases redrawing them, sometimes mixing them with local ideology as well as imagery of other important coastal cultures. Indeed, the arrival of Moche and Sicán iconography is abundantly clear, as is the formation of a local style with a distribution that includes several neighboring valleys and the adjacent highlands. Many weavings that relate to the north coast also display Wari-influenced personages, including the popular frontal pose, their hair dress, ear spools, and staffs, all of which imply an origin with strong Wari ingredients to which was added techniques and features of Moche and Sicán. Other coastal locations such as Huarmey, Supe, Pachacamac, and Nasca, as well as Huaca Malena, reveal that in addition to the Wari style, strong local and regional interactions were taking place that also left their marks in textile arts. Examples of this are apparent in the distinctive painted cloths of Supe that spread along the north-central coast as far as Ancón in double cloth that appears to be distributed from Trujillo to Malena—but with decoration that varies with each region—or in weavings that employ distinctive Sicán/Lambayeque techniques and appear as far south as the Asia Valley. As in Inca times, textiles were elements of prestige and power that during the Middle Horizon expressed complex relations with Wari.

Acknowledgments

I am especially grateful to William H. Isbell and Mauricio Uribe for the invitation to participate in this symposium conducted in Santiago, Chile. To Denise Pozzi-Escot, I express thanks and appreciation, along with all those who have collaborated in the excavations and analyses of Huaca Malena materials. Special thanks to Mary Frame, Ann Peters and Donna Nash for all the support provided.

References

Angeles Falcón, Rommel

2008 Del Intermedio Temprano al Horizonte Medio: Una visión de la costa Centro Sur desde el valle de Asia. In *Arqueología de la costa Centro Sur Peruana*, edited by O. Pinedo and H. Tantalean, pp. 103–146. Avqi Ediciones, Lima.

2010 Iconografía de las chuspas de color beige-marrón de Huaca Malena, valle de Asia. In *Cuadernos del Patrimonio Cultural N° 4. Textiles de Huaca Malena Tecnología e Iconografía 1*, pp. 22–46. Museo Municipal Huaca Malena, Lima.

Angeles Falcón, Rommel, and Denise Pozzi-Escot

2000 Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Huaca Malena, Valle de Asia. *Arqueológicas* 24:63–77.

2001 Textiles del Horizonte Medio, las evidencias de Huaca Malena *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:401–424.

2004 Del Horizonte Medio al Horizonte Tardío en la Costa Sur Central: El Caso del Valle de Asia. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 33(3):861–886.

2005 Un Fardo Funerario de Huaca Malena. In *Corriente Arqueológica No. 1. Muerte y evidencias funerarias en los Andes centrales: Avances y perspectivas. Actas del III Seminario de Arqueología UNFV*, edited by Claudio Olaya and Marina Romero, pp. 119–148. Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal, Lima.

2010 Iconografía de las chuspas de color beige.marrón de Huaca Malena, valle de Asia. In *Cuadernos del Patrimonio Cultural Nº 4*, edited by Rommel Angeles. Museo Huaca Malena, Lima.

Eeckhout, Peter

2010 Nuevas evidencias sobre costumbres funerarias en Pachacamac. In *Max Uhle (1856–1944). Evaluaciones de sus investigaciones y obras*, edited by Peter Kaulicke, Manuela Fischer, Peter Masson, and Gregor Wolff, pp. 151–163. Pontificia Universidad Católica, Lima.

Engel, Frederic

1984 *Prehistoric Andean Ecology: Man, settlement, and environment in the Andes.* Papers of the Department of Anthropology Hunter College of the City University of New York, New York.

Flores Espinoza, Isabel, Hilda Chuchón Ayala, José Ccencho Huamaní, and Pedro Vargas Nalvarte

2012 *La doble tela de los muertos, tejidos especiales Wari de Pucllana*. Proyecto de Investigación, Conservación y Puesta en Valor de Huaca Pucllana. Avqi Ediciones, Lima.

Franco, Regulo, and Ponciano Paredes

2001 El Templo Viejo de Pachacamac: nuevos aportes al estudio del Horizonte Medio. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:607–630.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Gretzer, Wilhelm C. Theodor
1914 Die Schiffahrt im alten Peru vor der entdeckung nebst einer Übersicht über die alt-peruanische Sammlung des Roemer-Museums in Hildesheim. *Mitteilungen aus dem Roemer-Museums in Hildesheim* 24. Hildesheim.

Isbell, William
2001 Repensando el Horizonte Medio: el caso de Conchapata, Ayacucho, Peru. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:9–68.

Kaulicke, Peter
1997 *Contextos funerarios de Ancón. Esbozo de una Síntesis Analítica*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2001 La sombra de Pachacamac: Huari en la costa central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:313–358.

Menzel, Dorothy
1968 *La Cultura Huari*. Compañía de Seguros y Reaseguros Suiza—Peruana, Lima.
1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. RH Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Oakland, Amy, and Arabel Fernández
2001 Los tejidos Huari y Tiwanaku: comparaciones y contextos. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:119–130.

Pozzi-Escott, Denise, and Rommel Angeles Falcón
2011 *Entrelazando el pasado: textiles de Huaca Malena*. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima and Golder Associates Perú S.A., Lima.

Prümers, Heiko
2001 "El Castillo" de Huarmey: una plataforma funeraria del horizonte medio. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:289–312.

Reiss, Johann Wilhelm, and Alphons Stübel
1880–1887 *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru; a Contribution to our Knowledge of the Culture and Industries of the Empire of the Incas, Being the Results of Excavations Made on the Spot*. Translated by A. H. Keane. 3 vols. A. Asher & Co., Berlin.

Rhode, Mathew
2003 Informe preliminar del análisis del material óseo humano excavado durante 1997 en el sitio de Huaca Malena, valle de Asia, Perú (2002). Unpublished manuscript, University of Missouri.

Rowe, Ann Pollard
1986 Textiles from the Nasca Valley at the Time of the Fall of the Huari Empire. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by A. P. Rowe, pp. 151–182. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Sawyer, Alan R.
1963 Tiahuanaco Tapestry Design. *Textile Museum Journal* 1(2):27–38.

Segura, Rafael A., and Izumi Shimada
2014 La interacción Sicán Medio-Costa central, hacia 1000 d.C. In *Cultura Sicán: Esplendor preinca de la costa norte*, edited by Izumi Shimada, translated by Gabriela Cervantes, pp. 303–322. Editorial del Congreso de Perú, Lima.

Shimada, Izumi
2014 Detrás de la máscara de oro: la Cultura Sicán. In *Cultura Sicán: Esplendor preinca de la costa norte*, edited by Izumi Shimada, translated by Gabriela Cervantes, pp. 15–90. Editorial del Congreso de Perú, Lima.

Singer, Ernestine Wieder
1936 The Techniques of Certain Peruvian Hairnets. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 5(1):16–24.

Strelow, Renate
1996 *Gewebe mit unterbrochenen ketten aus dem vorspanischen Peru/Prehispanic Peruvian textiles with discontinuous warp*. Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde, Neue Folge 61. Abteilung Amerikanische Archäologie X. Staatliche Museum zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Tello, Julio C.
2000 *Arqueología del Valle de Asia: Huaca Malena. Cuadernos de Investigación del Archivo Tello N° 2*. Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima.

Uhle, Max
1903 *Pachacamac. Report of the William Pepper, M.D., LL.D. Peruvian Expedition of 1896*. Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

VanStan, Ina
1967 *Textiles from beneath the Temple of Pachacamac, Peru: A Part of the Uhle Collection of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*. Museum Monographs 7. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 18: Introduction

The Middle Horizon and Southern Andean Iconographic Series on the Central Coast of Peru

William H. Isbell

Chapter 18, by Peter Eeckhout, examines the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS)—and specifically Wari's—impact on Peru's central coast, read from ceramic styles and archaeological chronology. This involves controversial topics that have been pointedly contested during the past decade or so. Dorothy Menzel's (1964, 1968, 1977) influential seriation and interpretation of Wari and its Middle Horizon ceramic styles concluded that the central coast became a prominent focus of Wari power in Epoch 1B, as documented by the highland-influenced Nievería style, found around Lima. Wari control reached its maximum in Middle Horizon Epoch 2, probably when Wari established or assumed control over the oracle housed in the Old Temple of Pachacamac.

Soon, the Pachacamac center became so prominent that it turned into a rival of the Huari capital itself, a process that Menzel attributes to a possible religious heresy through which the great oracle disseminated a revised version of Wari religion, which probably promoted its own political interests as supreme. The primary icon of Pachacamac-Wari religion was the figure Menzel named the "Pachacamac Griffin," a mythical critter with a feline body, head and wings of an eagle, but human hands and feet. So, apparently, the griffin icon should be added to the inventory of Late SAIS imagery, originating from the Wari branch.

According to Menzel's vision, following the collapse of the imperial capital in Ayacucho, Wari religious ideology continued to be expressed on the central coast, as revealed by ceramic imagery in pottery styles such as Epigonal and Casma/Supe Press-Molded. Indeed, as Menzel imagined it, Wari was the decisive influence on central coastal cultural development during the Middle Horizon. To the degree that she is correct, we should identify Middle Horizon Pachacamac, as well as subsequent developments such as the Late Intermediate Period Ychsma polities, as twigs on the Wari branch of SAIS expansion.

To the contrary, several younger scholars working in the Lima region point out that Wari-style objects (especially ceramics) are rare throughout the area and should not be assumed to document imperial control or colonization (but see Chapter 17, this volume). Instead, they propose that Lima experienced a significantly independent process of political centralization and ideological production. They argue that the importance of Wari material objects was prestige, or symbolic capital, and that aspiring local leaders sought to appropriate some of the status and power they imagined to characterize distant lords in the highlands by displaying the kinds of objects associated with them. Consequently, Wari prestige goods do not reveal the presence of Wari lords, but rather they document the symbolic strategies of local lords.

This alternative vision of the central coastal Middle Horizon is a significant departure from Menzel's perspective on cultural processes. However, as Eeckhout notes, the Middle Horizon and subsequent phases on

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

central coast prehistory are very poorly published. There continues to be confusion about basic concepts, definitions, and chronological units. Furthermore, there are startlingly few radiocarbon dates to help synchronize stylistic relations throughout this immensely complicated and important region of the central Andean past. In this chapter, Eeckhout undertakes descriptive redefinitions of the major ceramic styles and proposes their most probable chronological relations based on current understandings of style and stratigraphy. To resolve the question of whether some styles were introduced or heavily influenced by Wari, he goes on not only to evaluate their relationships to Wari but to also suggest their most probable absolute dates. This establishes a valuable new synthesis for Peru's Middle Horizon central coast. The styles treated are Lima, Nievería, Pachacamac, Epigonal, Teatino, Casma/Supe Press-Molded, Three-Color Geometric, and the Early Ychsma style.

Reviewing recent research and conflicting discussions, Eeckhout grapples with the definitions, influences on, and temporal placement of the Lima and Nievería styles. Lima was the local Early Intermediate Period ceramic style, described and seriated into nine phases by Patterson (1966). However, such detail has not been confirmed stratigraphically, and the sequence is now simplified into three phases—Early, Middle, and Late Lima (Goldhausen 2001; Guerrero and Palacios 1994; Kaulicke 2000; Segura Llanos 2004). Formerly the end of Late Lima was considered contemporary with Moche V and with Nasca 8 to 9 ceramics, and so it dated to Menzel's Middle Horizon 1a. Nievería, on the other hand, was dated by Menzel to Middle Horizon 1b. Its many innovations were attributed to a combination of local and foreign innovations in which Wari influences, such as the Ayacucho Serpent theme, were profoundly important. Indeed, Nievería ceramics documented the arrival of Wari "influence" and the beginning of significant Wari power on the central coast. More recently, however, local, earlier, and pre-Wari roots have been attributed to Nievería. Furthermore, Moche and Nasca, as well as the local Lima influences, are being evaluated as more significant than Wari. In this reformulation, Nievería was much more of a long-term costal style, with far less from the Ayacucho highlands than previously inferred.

The Pachacamac style, on the other hand, is decidedly Wari and SAIS derived, but excavation results in recent decades imply that it was actually surprisingly scarce on the central coast. Apparently, these Wari ceramics appear only in restricted contexts such as elite mortuary settings—and even there, rarely. Do material cultural items of such infrequency convincingly document Wari hegemony? A new consensus seems to be emerging, although caution is appropriate until the relevant archaeological data are better published. Furthermore, as the Huaca Malena data show (Chapter 17, this volume), textiles may reveal a different story from that implied by ceramics.

Eeckhout deals with all the important ceramic styles of the central-coast Middle Horizon, but perhaps most interestingly with Casma/Supe Press-Molded pottery, the darkware with modeled decoration that was described by Rebecca Carrion Cachot de Girard (1959) in her abundantly illustrated book on Andean religion. Menzel (1977) inferred that Casma/Supe Press-Molded imagery that was reminiscent of the SAIS Staff God—standing anthropomorph with rayed headdress, front-face human with outstretched hands grasping vertical objects—was derived from Wari iconography. If so, the later history of the central coast—late Middle Horizon and early Late Intermediate Period—was decidedly Wari inspired. To the degree she was correct, Wari imagery permeated north-central coast religious art, suggesting significant intrusion of Wari heartland people. However, Eeckhout finds that the data do not support Menzel, for the best antecedents for Casma/Supe Press-Molded imagery lie in old coastal styles, including Lima, but even more, in Moche. Interestingly, this is consistent with Bernier and Chapdelaine's (Chapter 19, this volume) evaluation from the Moche perspective.

Related to press-molded ceramic imagery is the iconography carved on the wooden post discovered in 1938 in the old temple of Pachacamac. Just as for the imagery on press-molded pottery, little direct Wari influence is recognized by Eeckhout. Rather, this apparently late Middle Horizon idol owes its origins much more to long coastal traditions, central coastal as well as north coast Moche, and only marginally to highland Wari.

Some archaeologists working on the central coast are ready to dismiss Menzel's inferences of significant Ayacucho influence and argue instead for purely local cultural processes. Eeckhout is, however, not so radical. Even if Wari did not colonize Pachacamac and the Lima region, Middle Horizon cultural changes were profound. Indeed, Eeckhout ends his chapter by addressing Middle Horizon transformation with a speculative but fascinating suggestion.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

He argues that Wari and the Middle Horizon were less about political takeover and centralized administration of the central coast and more about innovative religion, celebration of death, and ideology regarding an afterlife. In these dimensions, the cultural transformations wrought by Wari were profound and long-lasting, reshaping the nature of the supernatural, as eventually expressed in the great deity Pachacamac, described for the Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon. Eeckhout suggests that pre–Middle Horizon central coastal religion focused on fertility, subsistence, and fecundity—an inference supported by art from these eras. However, new treatments of the dead during the Middle Horizon not only unified a bewildering variety of local traditions but also re-created the deceased as flexed fetal bundles with false faces, apparently ready for adoration by descendants and/or rebirth. The new beliefs probably anchored in the promise of an afterlife must have been promoted by the new set of Wari deities—the front-face god with outstretched hands holding vertical staffs and winged profile beings, kneeling or running, with a vertical staff held before the body.

Eeckhout's proposal is innovative, offering a different understanding of the relationship between Wari and the people of the central coast. Wari impact was profound, but not in the imperial and political manner inferred in the past by Dorothy Menzel (1964, 1968). This suggests entirely new directions for Middle Horizon research and central coastal archaeology. Furthermore, one must also ask whether Eeckhout's suggestions furnish new insights for understanding the Middle Horizon more universally. On the other hand is the nagging question of whether such profound and broad-ranging culture changes could be accomplished so quickly without significant political power of the kind earlier scholars considered imperial. Discussion of central coastal Middle Horizon prehistory has been rejuvenated, offering exciting new fields for investigation.

Interpretations of meaning in SAIS iconography have not been explored extensively. Furthermore, inferences that seek to understand why Wari and SAIS religion may have been attractive—without military or other inducements—must be examined. Consequently, Eeckhout's suggestions are innovative and very exciting.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Bonavia, Duccio

1991 *Peru Hombre e Historia I. De los origenes al siglo XV*. Ediciones Edubanco, Lima.

Carrion Cachot de Girard, Rebecca

1959 *La Religion en el Antiguo Peru (Norte y Centro de la Costa, Periodo Post-Clasico)*. Typografia Peruana, Lima.

Goldhausen, Marco

2001 Avances en el estudio de la iconografía Lima. *Arqueológicas* 25:223–266.

Guerrero, Daniel, and Jonathan Palacios

1994 El surgimiento del estílo Nievería en el valle del Rímac. *Boletín de Lima* 91–96:275–311.

Kaulicke, Peter

1997 *Contextos funerarios de Ancón. Esbozo de una síntesis analítica*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

2000 La Sombra de Pachacamac: Huari en la Costa Central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:313–359.

Menzel, Dorothy

1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–106.

1968 New Data on Middle Horizon Epoch 2A. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:47–114.

1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Patterson, Thomas C.

1966 *Pattern and Process in the Early Intermediate Period Pottery of the Central Coast of Peru*. University of California Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 3. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Ravines, Rogger

1977 Prácticas funerarias en Ancón (primera parte). *Revista del Museo Nacional* 42:153–295.

1981 Prácticas funerarias en Ancón (segunda parte). *Revista del Museo Nacional* 45:89–166.

Segura Llanos, Rafael

2004 La cerámica Lima en los albores del Horizónte Medio y algunas notas para el debate. In *Puruchuco y la Sociedad de Lima: Un homenaje a Arturo Jiménez Borja*, edited by Luis Felipe Villacorta Ostalaza, pp. 97–118. Concytec, Lima.

Salomon, Frank

1995 "The Beautiful Grandparents": Andean Ancestor Shrines and Mortuary Rituals as Seen through Colonial Records. In *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices*, edited by Tom D. Dillehay, 315–354. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 18

The Middle Horizon and Southern Andean Iconographic Series on the Central Coast of Peru

Peter Eeckhout

> In any event, it is clear that offhand identification of styles with periods in Peru is a dubious procedure. . . . Peruvian problems of chronology are often difficult because of the frequent blending, mixing and coexistence in the same locality of originally disparate styles.
>
> — Alfred Kroeber (1925:247)

The impact attributed to the introduction of southern Andean icons on the central coast of Peru in the Middle Horizon (MH) has been a subject of concern since the first scientific discoveries in the area, that is, Uhle's work at Pachacamac (Uhle 1903) and that of his illustrious predecessors at Ancón (Reiss and Stübel 1880–1887). This iconography, then identified as Tiahuanaco and Coastal Tiahuanaco (Kroeber 1927), was used to define a horizon prior to the Incas and to formulate the famous chronology Pre-Tiahuanaco/Tiahuanaco/Post-Tiahuanaco/Inca, elaborated by Uhle and still in use until today.

In the case of the central coast, Pachacamac has been presented as an oracular religious center, the iconography mentioned above being an instrument of diffusion for Wari-Pachacamac religious ideology in different regions (Menzel 1964, 1977). But as we shall see, central coast chronology and related stylistic data suffer from serious flaws, so that the present contribution will focus on two issues: regional chronology and iconographic features. It is only this way, in my view, that a constructive discussion can take place.

On the central coast of Peru, the diagnostic style related to Wari is named Pachacamac by Menzel (1964, 1968), who believed that the style was native to that great coastal center. According to Menzel, this style is characteristic of MH Epoch 2 (i.e., between AD 650 and 800; Menzel 1977), although originally she tentatively dated it between AD 800 and 1000 (Menzel 1968:22, Table 1). There are other ceramic styles relevant to the MH on the central and north-central coast—namely, Lima and Nievería for the first half of the period and Teatino, Epigonal, Casma/Supe Press-Molded, Three-Color Geometric, and Early Ychsma during the second half of the Middle Horizon.

To be consistent with popular MH chronology and temporal subdivisions, I will follow Menzel's sequence for my discussion of the central coast. In the first part of this chapter, I will synthesize traditional views about Wari style and impact in this region, while in the second part, I will review the chronology, distribution, and diagnostic features (forms, decoration, and iconography) of regional styles to understand the exact place and role played by the SAIS during the Middle Horizon on the central coast, describing the effects we can perceive of Wari influence at Pachacamac and neighboring areas (Figure 18.1).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 18.1. Map of Central and North Coast with sites mentioned in the text.

Current Views about Wari and the Central Coast

The Middle Horizon began, according to Isbell and McEwan (1991:4), with a phase of crisis. Under the probable influence of Tiahuanaco, a new religion made its appearance in the region of Huari-Ayacucho (Lumbreras 1974:152; Menzel 1964:66–67, 1968:20, 1970:528). Middle Horizon 1A was marked, among other things, by the birth of huge urban centers (perhaps begun at the end of the Early Intermediate Period [EIP]), and of a ceremonial ceramic tradition showing both the influence of Tiahuanaco and the latter phases of Nasca (Lumbreras 1974:152; Menzel 1964:66–67, 1968:20, 1970:527–528). Some researchers see more than the diffusion of a religious ideology in the conjunction of these phenomena and mark the symptoms of the appearance and expansion of an imperial state (cf. Isbell and McEwan 1991:4–9; Williams 2001:68). Diagnostic Wari ceramic styles in the Middle Horizon 1A include Chakipampa A, Conchopata, Ocros, and Black Decorated.[1] On the central coast of Peru, the Lima style dominated the archaeological record in this period.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

During Middle Horizon 1B, the new religion was firmly established at the site of Huari, which became the center of a great expansionist movement, initiating the "Imperial" Wari Epoch (Menzel 1964:67). Robles Moqo (with Nasca version Pacheco) and Chakipampa B ceramic styles date from this period (Menzel 1964:67, 1968:21, 1970:529–530). The effects of this expansion were felt on the coast from the valley of Nasca (south coast) to Chancay (central coast) and Huarmey (north-central). Traditionally, Cajamarquilla, in the lower Rímac Valley, had been considered the seat of Wari authority on the central coast (Bueno Mendoza 1974–1975; Lumbreras 1974:165–166), but recent excavations by Mogrovejo (Mogrovejo and Makowski 1999), Segura Llanos (2001), and Narváez Luna (2006) have shown that the site was abandoned at the end of MH1A and that subsequent Wari-related contexts were intrusive (Sestieri 1964, 1971).

The nature of Wari control over provincial centers such as Pachacamac is a controversy that appears far from resolved[2] (cf. Bonavia 1991:350–359; Isbell and McEwan 1991; Jennings 2006). It seems nevertheless probable that Wari influence began to be felt on the north coast through Pachacamac (cf. Bonavia 1991:350–359; Isbell and McEwan 1991; Kaulicke 2000). The central coast fancy style in Epoch 1B was Nievería (formerly and elsewhere called proto-Lima, Maranga, and Cajamarquilla; Menzel 1964:31, 1968:94).

During Epoch 2 of the Middle Horizon, numerous prestigious Epoch 1 centers were abandoned while others increased in importance. There was also a shift in iconography from religious motifs toward more secular ones (Knobloch 1989). Menzel (1964) interprets MH2 as period of crisis and reorganization. Pachacamac became the main center of the central coast and seems to have supplanted all other centers on the south and central coast of the previous epoch (Bonavia 1991:419; Lumbreras 1974:166; Menzel 1968:106, 1977:46). Wari reached its maximal expansion, covering almost all of the central Andes (Bonavia 1991:328, 347; Lumbreras 1974:165). Three ceramic styles characterize Epoch 2A: Viñaque (Ayacucho), Atarco (Nazca), and Pachacamac A (central coast). They present a combination of stylistic features derived from the fancy ceremonial ceramics of Epoch 1 and display characteristics specific to their respective zone of origin (Menzel 1964:69, 1970:533).

Wari began to decline in Epoch 2B and the site of Huari was abandoned (Editor's note: It now seems that Huari and at least some Ayacucho heartland sites were occupied until approximately AD 1000, although pottery styles may not have changed significantly from Epoch 2B standards.) while the provincial centers entered their heyday (Bonavia 1991:349; Lanning 1967:137). The distinction between phases 2A and 2B is made on the basis of stylistic criteria in ceramics. Viñaque B spread almost everywhere and Pachacamac B achieved its greatest area of influence, extending in the north to Supe, Chicama, and Jequetepeque; in the south to Nazca and inland; and in the Sierra to Huancayo (Castillo 2000; Kaulicke 2000; Menzel 1964:71, 1970:536; Prümers 2000). The new center of great prestige that had appeared, according to Menzel, at Pachacamac in MH2A reached the peak of its influence (Menzel 1964:71, 1970:536–7). One also sees the Ica-Pachacamac style on the south coast; Menzel (1964) wonders if this should be interpreted as the establishment of a "branch-oracle cult" of the priests of Pachacamac in Ica.

In Middle Horizon 3, the regional ceramic styles showed progressive differentiation while gradually reducing their area of distribution. During this process, many of the features inherited from the old pre-MH coastal traditions reappeared, but ceramic production was less skillful, vessel forms were less numerous, decorations became scarce and less refined, and the range of motifs diminished (Menzel 1964:173). Ühle (1903:26) called this the Epigonal style, identified from the graves situated under the north wall of the Temple of Pachacamac. Other styles have been documented for MH3, whose chronological position, origin, and temporal span are still very imperfectly known, including Teatino and Casma/Supe Press-Molded (Bonavia 1962; Carrión Cachot 2005 [1959]; Menzel 1977). Middle Horizon 3 also saw the decline of Pachacamac's area of influence. Many urban and/or ceremonial centers were abandoned, and the production of decorated ceramics decreased appreciably (Menzel 1970:538). It seems that a new prestige center developed in Huarmey, to the south of the north coast, where Wari-derived mythical motifs appear (Menzel 1968:194). Bonavia's investigations in this region would tend to confirm these inferences (Bonavia 1991:369).

The next and last epoch of the Middle Horizon marked the total abandonment of Huari, preceding by only a few decades the more isolated regional developments of the Late Intermediate Period (Menzel 1964:72–3, 1970:539). The dominant decorated style at Pachacamac during this period was the Epigonal, which had appeared during the previous Epoch (Menzel 1968:183). Other styles developed in MH3 continued to be produced in MH4, while new styles appeared that

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

would go on into the Late Intermediate Period (LIP): the Three-Color Geometric style in the Chancay area and the Early Ychsma style in the Rímac-Lurín Valleys.

It is necessary to emphasize that post-Wari times are among the least known in the archaeology of the central coast, especially at Pachacamac. This is not for lack of material but more the failure of archaeologists to analyze and publish. Indeed, on one hand, the immense majority of excavated and collected material has not been studied or published; on the other hand, the few published sources do not agree on either nomenclature or classification.

Central Coast Ceramic Styles in the Middle Horizon

The Lima Style

The best description of Lima style ware characteristics is given by Patterson (1966:39ff.). Vessels in the Lima style are modeled and most of them are completely or nearly completely oxidized, with varying degrees of surface polishing according to forms and phases. Vessel shapes for Late Lima include bowls, ollas, jars, and bottles, including double-spout and bridge bottles (Patterson 1966:97–98, 162–166), as well as plates, mammiform jars, so-called teapots,[3] drums (Goldhausen 2001:233–241), and goblets (Jijon y Caamano 1949; Kroeber 1926:275–290, 1954; Narváez Luna 2006:67–85; Segura Llanos 2001:73ff.) (Figure 18.2).

Red, black, and/or white colors were used to produce painted designs, with occasional use of orange, and modeled decoration in exceptional cases (Figure 18.3). Segura Llanos (2001:83–91, Figure 151) distinguishes 15 classes of designs and six "decorative groups" (i.e., exclusive combinations of vessel shapes and designs). Among them, lines, semicircles, triangles, spirals, zigzag, and S bands are recurrent. The same kinds of designs are found on textiles (Mogrovejo 1995), mural paintings (Bonavia 1985:35–45), and wood artifact (Falcón Huayta 2003). The abstract and geometric character of Lima style decoration has generally discouraged attempts to interpret their meanings, and the iconography is generally considered symbolically ambiguous or perhaps only decorative. Nevertheless, some authors have suggested the existence of some schematized Lima icons such as the Octopus, Puma, Smiling Face (Goldhausen 2001), and Snakes (Falcón Huayta 2003) (Figure 18.4).

Evidence of Lima material culture has been encountered on the central coast from Chancay to Lurín, from the ocean shore to the chaupiyunga zone (i.e., between 500 and 1800 m above sea level) (Goldhausen 2001:224). Recent research shows that the classical nine-phase subdivision of the Lima style proposed by Patterson (1966) is not supported by field data (Goldhausen 2001; Guerrero and Palacios 1994; Kaulicke 2000; Segura Llanos 2004) and current practice is to simplify Patterson's sequence into three phases: Early Lima (ex-phases 1–3), Middle Lima (ex-phases 4–6), and Late Lima (ex-phases 7–9). Following Patterson (1966:77–80, 102–103, Table 3), Lima 9 was contemporary with Moche V and Nasca 8 to 9 (i.e., what would be considered MH1A). Nevertheless, Segura Llanos (2001:124–132, 2004) argues convincingly that Late Lima would have lasted longer than Patterson thought, at least until MH1B, and was contemporaneous with the Nievería style (see below). However, there are very few absolute dates for the Lima style or culture (Falcón Huayta 2002; Segura Llanos 2004:103). Of the 13 assays cited by Falcón Huayta, only two are strictly related to the Late Lima style and therefore relevant for my current purposes, as will be seen in the third part of this chapter.

The Nievería Style

This style was first described by d'Harcourt (1922) and Gayton (1927). "Much of Nievería pottery is distinguished by its fine grained paste with little temper, its thinness (much of it only 2 millimeters in wall thickness, according to Stumer), its light orange colored paste and surface, its fine surface finish, and its variety of modeled and fancy bottle shapes" (Menzel 1964:32) (Figure 18.5). Menzel mentions collared jars, handled jugs, anthropomorphic modeled jars, large canteen-shaped flasks, three-tiered bottles, necked bottles, tall goblets with pedestal bases, and convex-sided bowls (Menzel 1964:32–33). Gayton (1927) shows also double-spout and bridge bottles, elliptical-bodied bottles adorned with three-dimensional figures, and "teapots." Nevertheless, following Segura Llanos (2001:122), only Gayton's Strain B of Uhle's pottery collection from the eponymous site is Nievería "slipped with a deep red-orange paint, which is . . . hard and glossy" (Gayton 1927:308–309). As Gayton (1927:310) considers her Strain D to be "an elaboration of B shapes," I think it is logical to deduce that it is Nievería as well. The remaining part of her corpus is Late Lima (i.e., 64 specimens out of 141) and some imported ware. Shady (1982) illustrates a collection of Nievería and Nievería-related ceramics, among which are also "teapots" and mammiform jars, similar to those from the Lima tradition (Figure 18.6).

Black outlined polychrome motifs on an orange or a red background are the trademark of Nievería decoration

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

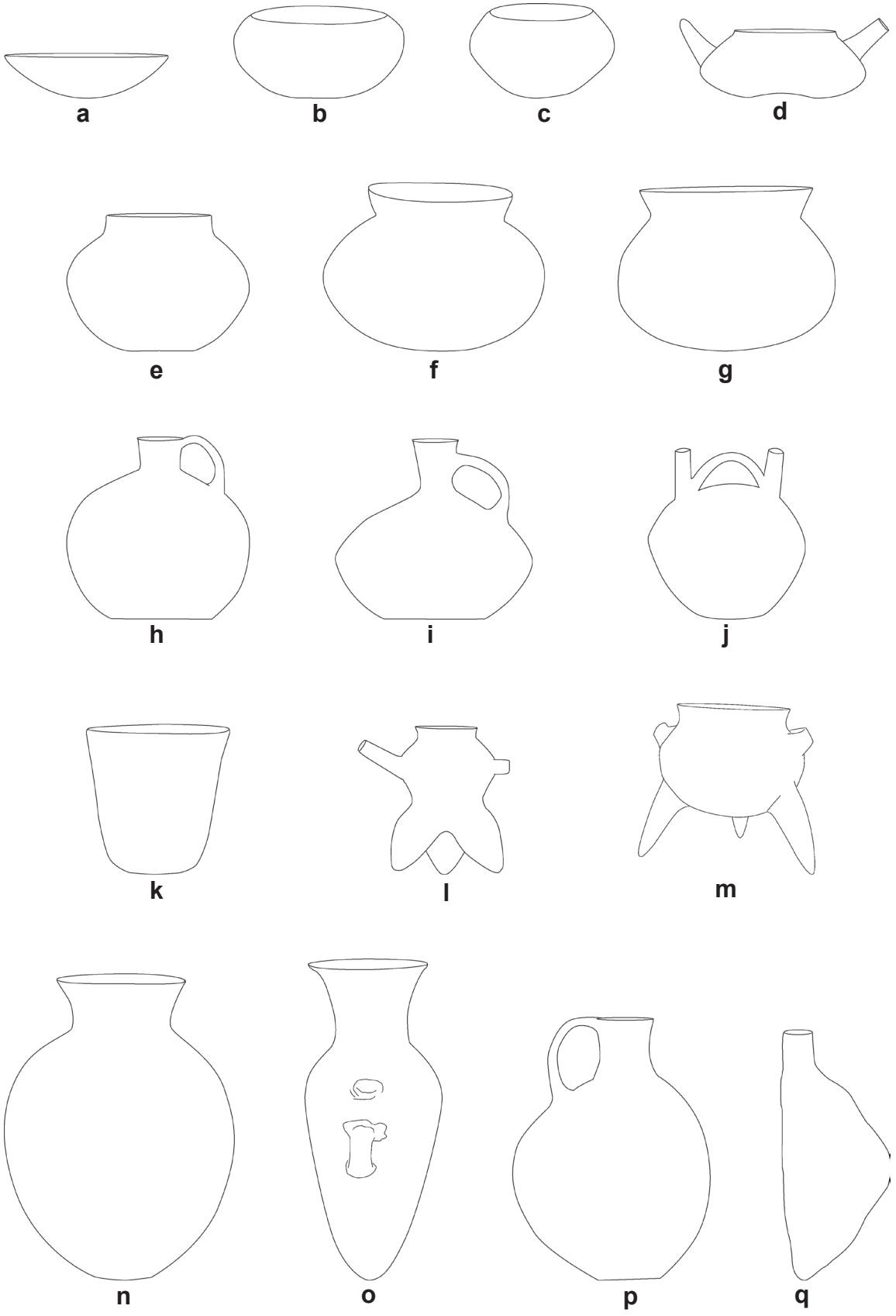


Figure 18.2. Late Lima vessel forms (after Segura 2001:Figure 153).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

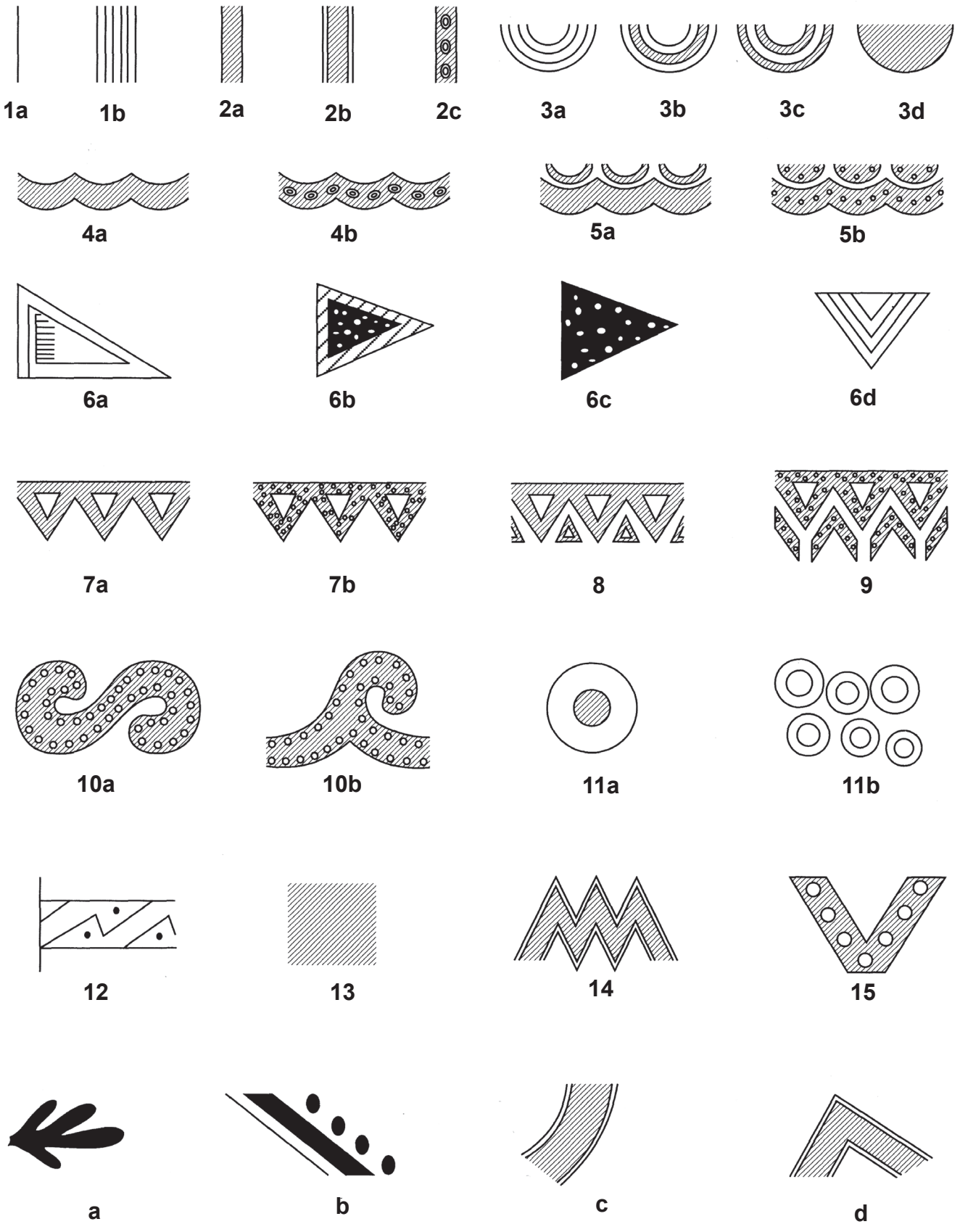


Figure 18.3. Late Lima decorative designs (after Segura 2001:fig153).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

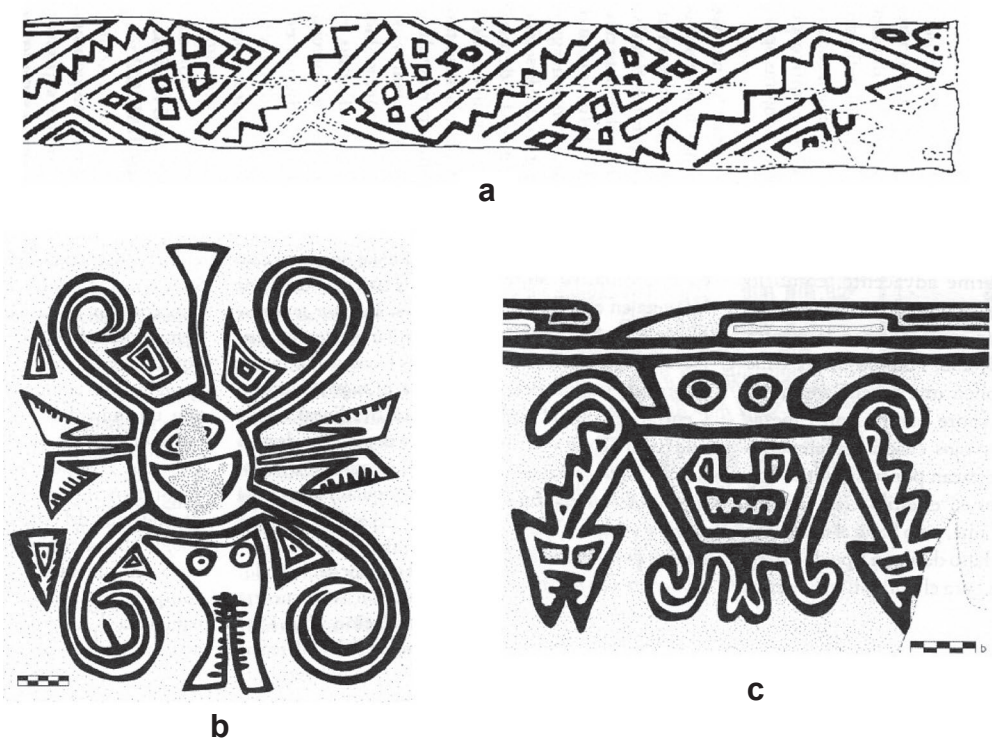


Figure 18.4. Lima icons: (a) the Snakes (after Falcon 2003), (b) the Octopus, and (c) the Smiling Face (after Goldhausen 2001).

Figure 18.5. Nievería double-spout and bridge modeled bottle (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Inv. AAM46-7-194).

and are sometimes combined with three-dimensional anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures such as birds, felines, fishes, and snakes. Some superb examples, unfortunately from museum and private collections without documented provenience, are illustrated by d'Harcourt (1922),[4] Lapiner (1976), and Schindler (2000).

Similar vessels have been discovered in an offering cache associated with human burials at Potrero Tenorio—Hacienda Zárate in the Rímac Valley (Palacios and Guerrero 1992). Snakes and snake-related motifs are especially recurrent in two-dimensional decoration, probably because of the strong ties with Lima iconography. The combination of mammiferous and ophidian features can be seen in one striking textile published by Gayton (1927:Figure 9) (Figure 18.7). The same being is illustrated in ceramic painting on a vase from Uhle's excavations at Pachacamac (Gayton 1927:Plate 97a,b). This being is reminiscent of the Middle Lima Hybrid Being (Goldhausen 2001:251). What interests us here is this combination of an animal or human schematic figures with snakes, which seems to be a recurrent coastal pattern, not only illustrated from Middle Lima to Late Lima and Nievería on the central coast but also present on the northern coast at the same time in Moche V iconography.[5]

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

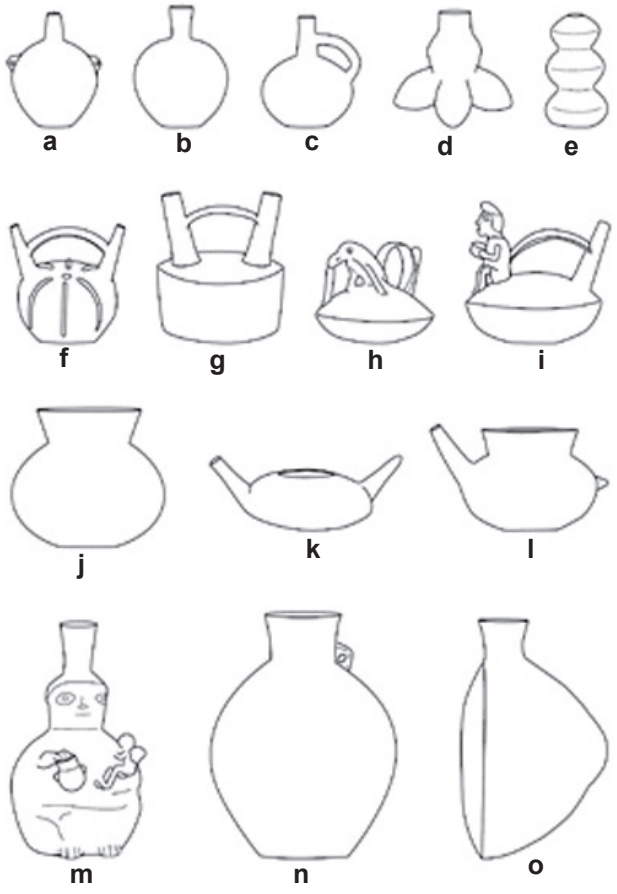


Figure 18.6. Nievería vessel forms.

Although the core Nievería area is the Lower Rímac Valley (d'Harcourt 1922; Gayton 1927; Guerrero and Palacios 1994; Segura Llanos 2001; Shady 1982), the style is found from Ancón (north of the Chillón Valley) to Pachacamac (Lurín Valley) and inland at some sites of the chaupiyunga zone of the same region. There are also imported examples at more remotes sites in Chancay, Huaura, Supe-Pativilca (Kaulicke 2000:326), and San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley (Carlos Rengifo, personal communication, 2008). Vases of the Nievería style from Pachacamac have been published by Uhle (1903:Figures 27, 28, Plate 5.8) and Gayton (1927:Plate 97), and the presence of the Nievería style has been confirmed by our excavations close to the Sacred Precinct. Interestingly, we have found Nievería sherds recurrently mixed with Late Lima sherds in the cemetery ground.

The Nievería style, says Menzel (1964:32), "is distinguished by many startling innovations of both local and foreign inspiration, which make it a very distinctive new style in spite of the large number of traditional features which persist from preceding central coast phases." She dates it to Middle Horizon 1B, which suggests that those foreign innovations were influenced in some way by Wari. But in an in-depth examination of available material, Shady (1982) argues that Nievería already existed by the end of the Early Intermediate Period. Guerrero and Palacios (1994:306–309), on the basis of surface collections from three sites of the Rímac chaupiyunga zone, also emphasize that Nievería was a local style derived from Middle and Late Lima and shows evidence of central coastal contact with foreign areas before Wari expansion. Indeed, this contact (with the north and south coasts and highlands) has often been mentioned (by Gayton as early as 1927), but there is no consensus about when it took place. For my part, I would tend to agree with Shady and Guerrero and Palacios that Nievería was a local style. From a general iconographical perspective, I have already emphasized the common coastal interest (Moche and central coast) in representing fantastic beings associated with snakes from the EIP on. Most typical Nievería vessel shapes and iconographic motifs existed in the Late Lima style, and foreign formal influence

Figure 18.7. Nievería textile with Hybrid Being (after Gayton 1927:Figure 9).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

can be explained by contacts between elites at the end of the EIP and beginning of the MH. Furthermore, I think these contacts were reciprocal and dynamic: if we take the Moche example, there is Nievería pottery at San José de Moro (see above), but there are also local imitations of Moche pots at Nievería.[6] Indeed, the main Nievería innovations are the glossy surface finish and modeled three-dimensional figures (even if already present in some Late Lima examples). Surface finish on Nievería pottery is comparable to the Nasca tradition, while sculptural features are related to EIP north coast customs. These early influences and exchanges are conceivable if one accepts the idea that Nievería was not a post-Lima style but rather coexisted with Late Lima, constituting some kind of elite fancy material appropriate for exchange and susceptible to innovation.

Several investigators, including myself, have encountered contexts with a mix of Late Lima and Nievería pottery. One of the best documented cases is reported by Segura Llanos, who explains that in his excavations at Cajamarquilla, "there exists Nievería material associated with Late Lima ware (base of Tello pyramid Recinto 105) and Nievería material associated with ceramics of MH2A (pyramid summit—secondary burials)" (Segura Llanos 2001:130–131, translation by author; see also Mogrovejo and Segura Llanos 2000). In other words, there are numerous clues implying the coexistence of Late Lima and Nievería, as well as Nievería and Pachacamac and other MH2A styles.

Are these chronological observations confirmed by the Pachacamac data? Our cemetery excavations were completed only a few weeks before this chapter was written, so only very preliminary results can be mentioned, but no complete Nievería vessel has been identified in the MH burials we dug, while both Nievería and Lima sherds were found in the layer containing intrusive MH burials. This cemetery is an intact portion of the famous Cemetery 1 excavated by Uhle near the Temple of Pachacamac (Uhle 1903:16ff.; Eeckhout 2008). Uhle did not publish the gravelot associations he encountered at Pachacamac, but only what he considered the most representatives examples of ceramic types and other artifacts. This obviously handicapped later chronological studies. In 1967, Patterson attempted to reconstitute these associations by correlating the inventory numbers of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (where the Uhle collection from Pachacamac is housed) with Uhle's field register. "In general, most of the gravelots date to the Middle Horizon, judging by the Nievería and Pachacamac-style ceramics. The remaining few date to the Late Horizon, judging by the Inca, local Inca, and/or local ceramics they contain. None of the graves he excavated seems to have contained large quantities of goods" (Thomas Patterson, personal communication, 1995).

In sum, it appears that Nievería is a central coast fancy style that emerged from the Late Lima style at the end of the EIP and coexisted with it through MH1, incorporating influences from foreign areas such as the north and south coast and central highlands. While the Lima style *sensu stricto* disappeared, Nievería continued to be produced in MH2, coexisting with Pachacamac and other Wari-related styles. What remains unclear is the absolute chronology, since there are only two dates available from excavations of the Italian Mission at Cajamarquilla in the 1960s (Alessio et al. 1967; Ziolkowski et al. 1994:405), and they come from poorly documented contexts with a mix of Late Lima and Nievería sherds (Segura Llanos 2001:130). I will discuss them in the third part of this chapter.

The Pachacamac Style

Uhle (1903:22–25, Plate 4) is the first archaeologist to identify a style he called "Tiahuanaco" at Pachacamac. Objects of that style were subsequently collected by Baessler (1902–1903) and Gretzer (Schmidt 1929) for the Berlin Museum in the nineteenth century. Menzel (1964, 1968, 1977) provides a detailed description and gives the name "Pachacamac" to the style, dividing it into two phases, A and B, corresponding to MH2A and MH2B, respectively.

Pachacamac ware is of excellent quality: thin, hard, and homogeneous, with a polychrome surface finish and a series of forms that suggest ceremonial and elite use, since there are no cooking or storage shapes but only serving and drinking vessels decorated with mythical motifs. The style includes necked bottles, face neck jars, anthropomorphic bottles, double-spout and bridge bottles, single-spout bottles, modeled jars in the form of feline or human heads, tumblers, deep dishes, flasks, "teapots," and cumbrous bowls (Menzel 1964). It is worth noting that almost all of these forms already existed in earlier local styles, with the exception of tumblers, face neck jars, and modeled head jars. Tumblers are probably a local version of Wari and Tiwanaku *keros*, and face neck jars could be related to MH1 Conchopata, while head jars could be inspired by either Viñaque skull pots (Menzel 1964:58) or Moche portrait bottles (Figures 18.8–18.11). The distribution area of the Pachacamac style was the central and north coast (Lumbreras 1974:157), with a variant called Ica-Pachacamac on the south coast (Menzel 1964).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

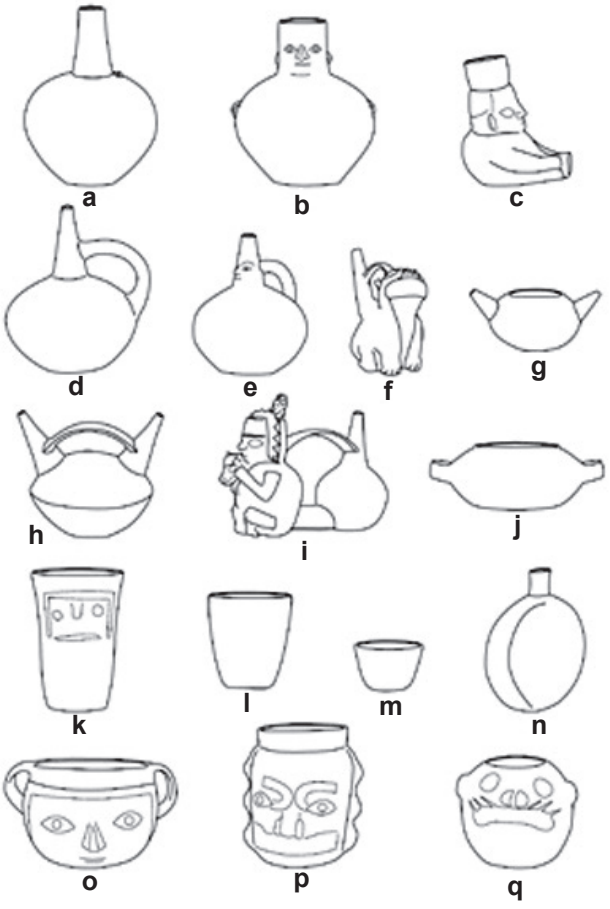


Figure 18.8. Pachacamac A/B vessel forms.

Figure 18.9. Pachacamac A anthropomorphic bottle (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Inv. AAM46-7-3).

Figure 18.10. Pachacamac B bowl from Cemetery 1 at Pachacamac (Ych04-A20). Photo by Olivier Papegnies.

Menzel differentiates phase A from phase B Pachacamac wares on the basis of decorative motifs and details, which supposedly represent change through time (Menzel 1964:59–61) (Figure 18.12). Pachacamac A corresponds to a prestigious ware whose vessel forms and ornamental motifs derive from Nievería and from various foreign Wari-related styles (Atarco, Robles Moqo, Conchopata, Viñaque) (Menzel 1968:162). I agree with Lumbreras (1974:157, Figure 169), who considers that the Pachacamac style shows strong influences from the previous Lima style, notably in the forms. The representational motifs with mythical contents are mainly inspired by SAIS iconography, as for example the front-faced Staff God, profile angels carrying serpentine sticks, and especially the griffin, perhaps the very symbol of Pachacamac, also based on features of MH1 Conchopata iconography (Menzel 1964:19–20, 59–60; 1968:162–3; 1977:31).[7] This fantastic animal is represented in profile in attitude of running. It consists of a feline body, the head and wings of an eagle, and human hands and feet instead of paws or talons; it carries a scepter and its bones are represented by bars in the center of the limbs, as in Tiahuanaco Phase IV, Conchopata, and even Pukara iconography (see Cook 1994:Plate 54) (Figure 18.13).

Menzel's Pachacamac B is the oldest style Uhle found in the cemetery at the foot of the Painted Temple (Menzel 1968:150; Ühle 1903:21), and it corresponds to what most earlier authors called Coast Tiahuanaco (Bennett 1946, 1949; Strong and Corbett 1943; Stumer 1956). While Pachacamac A is characterized by very conservative conventions (in reference to the Wari style), Phase B shows more advanced features (Menzel 1968:149). Among its mythical motifs is the profile angel head, based on but a slightly modified version of MH2A

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

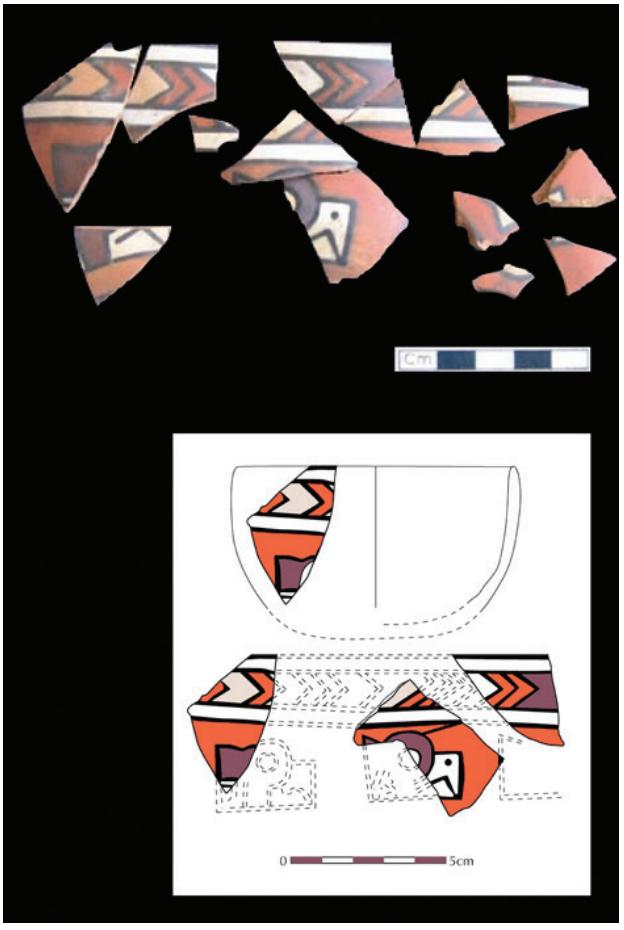


Figure 18.11. Fragments of Pachacamac B bowl from Unit 58 at Pachacamac U58-ad-10. Drawing by José Ramirez.

Wari angels (Menzel 1968:160). The griffin enjoyed significant popularity during Middle Horizon 2 but was gradually simplified: the scepter and the "bone bars" disappear; the head, the extremities of the members, and sometimes the whole body are often replaced by simple lines (Figure 18.14); the head alone is also represented, with or without mythical attributes (Figure 18.10). Among the new themes (inspired by Atarco and other Wari styles) in Pachacamac B griffin iconography are a serpentine strip terminated by a feline head at each extremity, as well as trophy heads (Menzel 1968:166).

Although Menzel's exclusive attribution of Pachacamac style iconography to the SAIS must be tempered in view of the local contributions discussed above, there was unquestionably an influx of new icons and a shift from traditional snakes, marine species, and ambiguous representational themes toward Staff God and attendant iconography. Can we therefore conclude, following Menzel, that a new ideology was spread from Huari to Pachacamac and elsewhere? Uhle found no complete vessel or intact tomb in his excavations of MH2A and few MH2B tombs at Pachacamac, but as he notes, "The graves containing objects of this class were the oldest in the cemetery and therefore most damaged by subsequent burials . . . we may, therefore, assume that originally this oldest period was far more numerously represented in these graves than it would appear at the present moment; many fragments of pottery decorated in the Tiahuanaco style, dating from early graves and destroyed by later burials, were picked up during our explorations" (Uhle 1903:22). This statement requires further discussion.

First, at the Berlin Museum, there is an impressive collection of about 50 cups decorated with SAIS motifs, as well as another 19 MH2 face neck jars (a type not found by Uhle in his excavations) and other artifacts collected on Baessler and Gretzer's ninteenth-century expeditions (Baessler 1902–1903; Kaulicke 2000; Knobloch 1989:115; Schmidt 1929). This is, to my knowledge, the biggest collection of Pachacamac-style pottery in the world, but it only consists of 100 artifacts or so, which is not much in comparison with most of the other ceramic styles from ancient Peru. We have no contextual data for these vessels, although their Pachacamac origin seems secure.

Second, Cemetery 1 has been heavily and continuously looted since the conquest, a process that exacerbated the local prehispanic custom of inserting new graves even when they disturbed or destroyed older ones (Eeckhout 2010; Uhle 1903:22, 41). As a consequence, the chance of finding intact MH2 burials and material has declined steadily over time. Nevertheless, during our excavations in a preserved part of this cemetery (2004–2008), we found two clear examples of MH2 Pachacamac-style bowls decorated with the Griffin icon: one complete and another represented by fragments (Figures 18.10 and 18.11). Both seem to pertain to Phase B (Knobloch, personal communication, 2004, 2008). The contexts of the discoveries have been atomic mass spectrometer (AMS) dated, which I will discuss later, but what is noteworthy here is that it confirms Uhle's statement in the sense that they have been found in secondary contexts: one as an offering[8] and the other as a disturbed funerary gravelot.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that we have been excavating the site of Pachacamac for 15 years (1993 to 2008), collecting several hundreds of thousands of sherds and other artifacts, digging to sterile in different sectors of the settlement, without ever finding any evidence related to the Pachacamac style, except the two

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

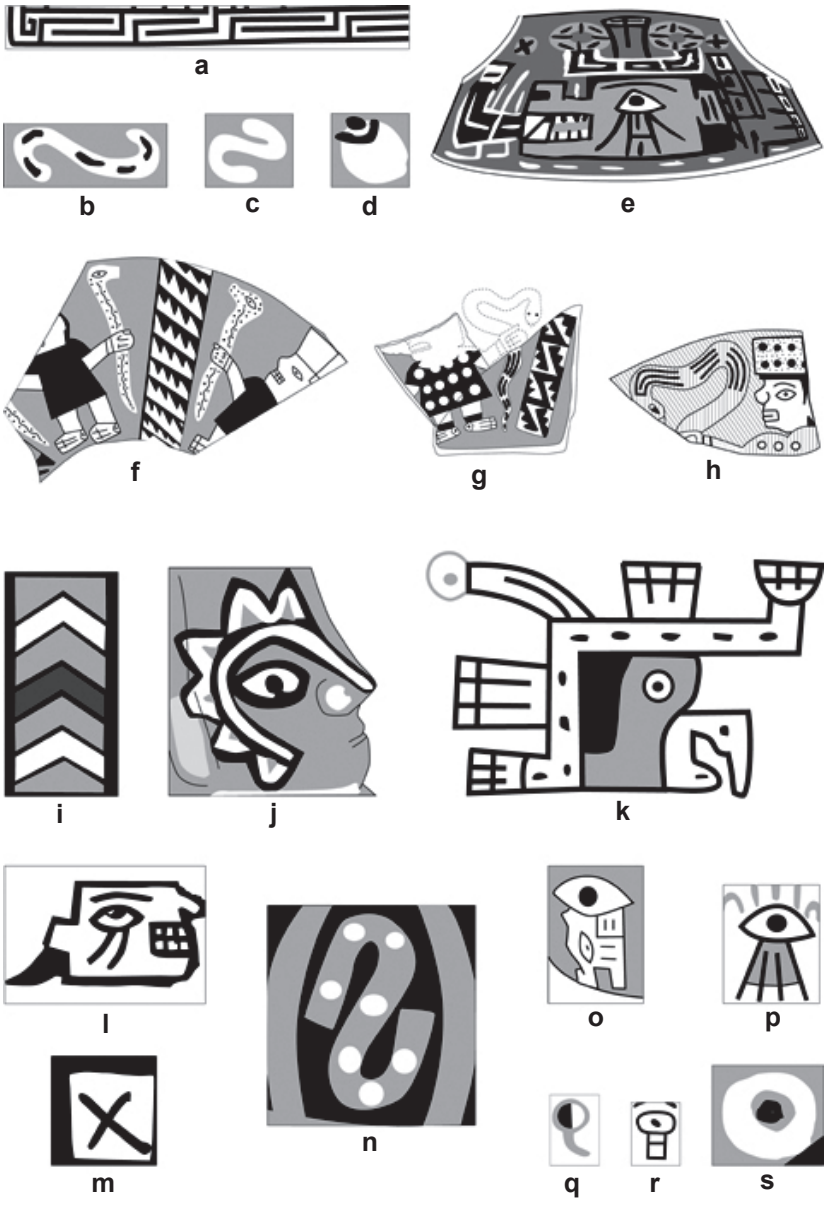


Figure 18.12. Pachacamac A/B decorative motifs and details.

objects I just mentioned. This has also been true for all scholars who have worked at the site, as an in-depth review of available bibliography reveals (Eeckhout 1999, 2010; Shimada 1991).

What can be deduced from such a paradoxical situation? First, the Pachacamac style, if really made at Pachacamac,[9] was never produced in large amounts but in reduced quantities for a restricted number of users or purposes (such as exceptional funerary contexts or special ceremonies). Second, the archaeologically documented scarce occurrence of the style is limited to the Sacred Precinct and associated Cemetery 1 (i.e., the most sacred part of the site) and to this area only. Outside Pachacamac, the style is found in elite graves, jointly with other Wari-related fancy styles, as, for example, at San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque (Castillo 2000, 2001; Rucabado and Castillo 2003). Therefore, one can suggest that Pachacamac style and SAIS iconography it conveyed was a highly restricted elite style used by a limited class of personages who were in contact with Wari elite and ideology and probably related to the highest sphere of power, be it religious, secular, or a combination of both (see Isbell 2004; Knobloch 1989). The remainder of the local population was not affected

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 18.13. Pachacamac A Griffin (after Baessler 1902–1903:364).

Figure 18.14. Pachacamac B Griffin (after Baessler 1902–1903:366).

in the same way since SAIS icons, even if integrated in the iconographic repertory from MH2 on, are found together and even mixed with traditional iconography, as an examination of gravelots shows. The main problem is that Menzel considered the Pachacamac style to have been the dominant style of MH2, with others systematically attributed to later periods. A review of associations, the examination of so-called Epigonal iconography, and the help of absolute dates facilitate a revaluation of this view and reconciliation of field data with current stylistic sequences, as we shall see below.

The Epigonal Style

Uhle writes, "We designated as the Epigone style that cultural type which, although closely related to the style of Tiahuanaco, is inferior to its famous prototype in almost every respect" (Uhle 1903:26). This is what has been known subsequently as the Epigonal style, identified in the graves situated under the north wall of the Temple of Pachacamac. The most common forms include bottles, jars, low bowls, incurved bowls, tumblers, and goblets (Figure 18.15).

It is executed in three or four colors—in the latter case, a deeper red being usually added to red, white, and black—crudely painted in impure pigments and without luster. Among its more pronounced features of design are small white rectangles (usually in rows) each containing a short bar; square faces, with or without feather headdresses, and with the nose joined to the upper border; panels with rays or stripes or bars; pairs of half-interlocked open spirals or curves smooth or serrated; double or triple bars or step-pyramids projecting from the rim toward the center of bowls, usually from opposite sides; and large dots or small circles, especially in rows (Kroeber 1926:271–272) (Figures 18.16–1820).

Epigonal pottery is found in large quantities at Pachacamac and in the Rímac Valley, Ancón, Chancay, Supe, and, following Kroeber (1926:271), "in somewhat variant forms as far north and south as Moche and Ica."

It should be emphasized that artifacts in the Epigonal style were associated with those of Pachacamac B style in the deepest graves found at Pachacamac, but Uhle (1903:26), followed by Strong and Corbett (1943:86–87), considered Epigonal pottery later than what they called Tiahuanaco (Pachacamac B). "The associations with articles of more recent dates seem to prove that the specimens in the Tiahuanaco style were ancient ones at the time when these burials took place, since a grave must be dated by the youngest objects found in it." To use current terminology, it thus seems that Uhle identified graves containing MH2B material as MH3 (or 4) if they included ceramics he assumed to belong to the later phases.

Menzel (1964) followed Uhle's proposal, although this reasoning shows obvious flaws. Uhle assumed that fancy Pachacamac style had to be older than Epigonal style, despite the fact he never found a single "pure" Pachacamac-style gravelot but only associations with Epigonal.[10] Nevertheless, Menzel (1968:150 n. 318) dated the Pachacamac style to MH2 (more precisely MH2B for what concerns Uhle's "Tiahuanaco" finds at Pachacamac) and Epigonal as belonging exclusively to MH 3 to 4. We will examine other sites where the MH2 Pachacamac style is found, but to make a comparison, Uhle's inference for the Middle Horizon is comparable to the argument that in a Late Horizon gravelot with a mix of Imperial Cuzco and Local Inca ware, the former was necessarily older than the latter, because of its aesthetic and technical qualities. In short, from the beginning, there has been confusion of style and time.

A brief review of Pachacamac-style related archaeological contexts shows that there is a recurrent mix of this style with supposedly later styles, especially Epigonal, in the gravelots. This is the case at Chimu Capac in the Supe Valley, where Kroeber (1925:246) argued that both styles were contemporaneous. Menzel (1977:31, Figures 47–54) simply states that MH2 ware at Supe is less refined than at Pachacamac and denotes a stronger northern influence. At Ancón, Strong (1925) explains that Middle Ancón I tombs contain two types of pottery: local

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

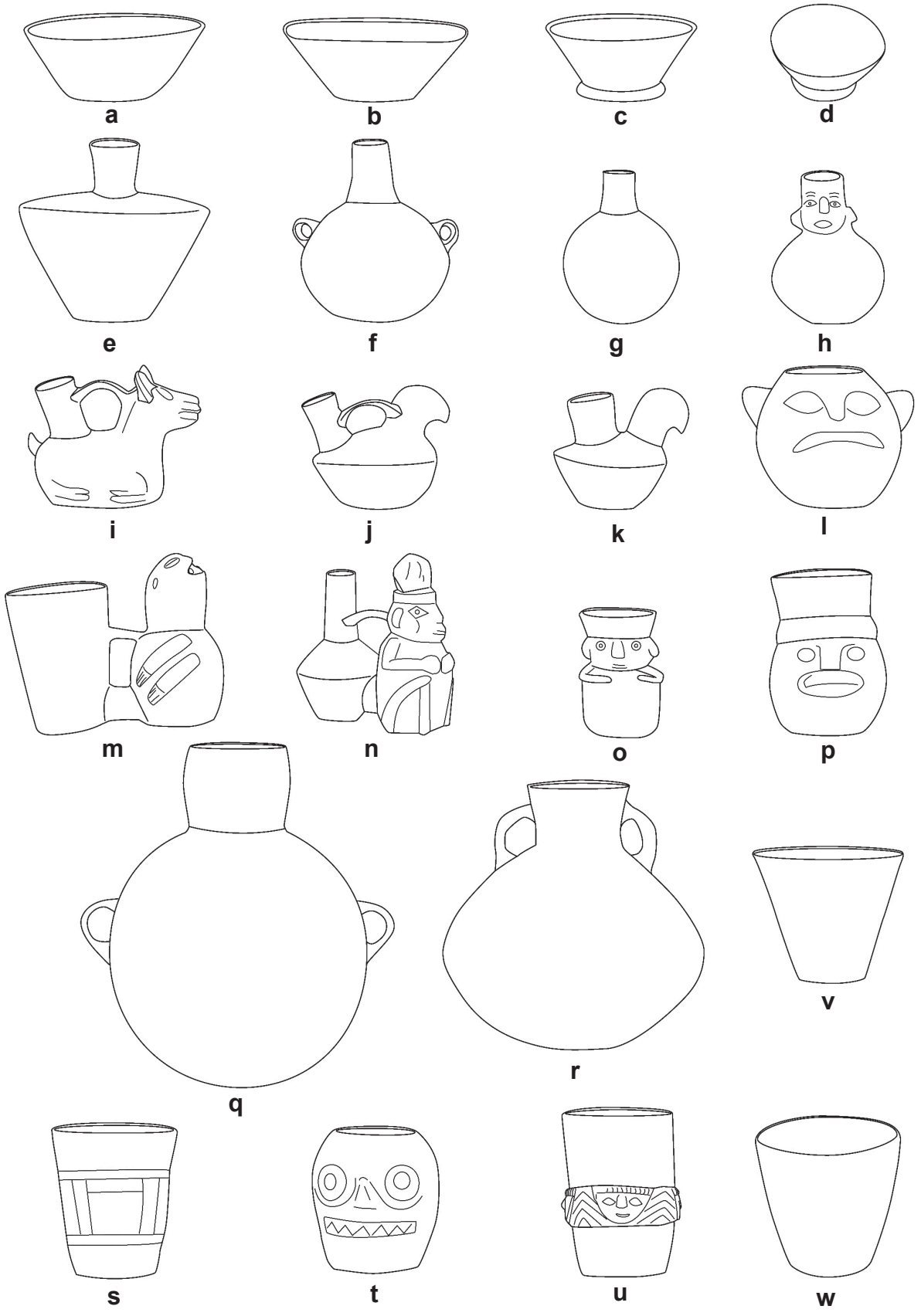


Figure 18.15. Epigonal vessel forms.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

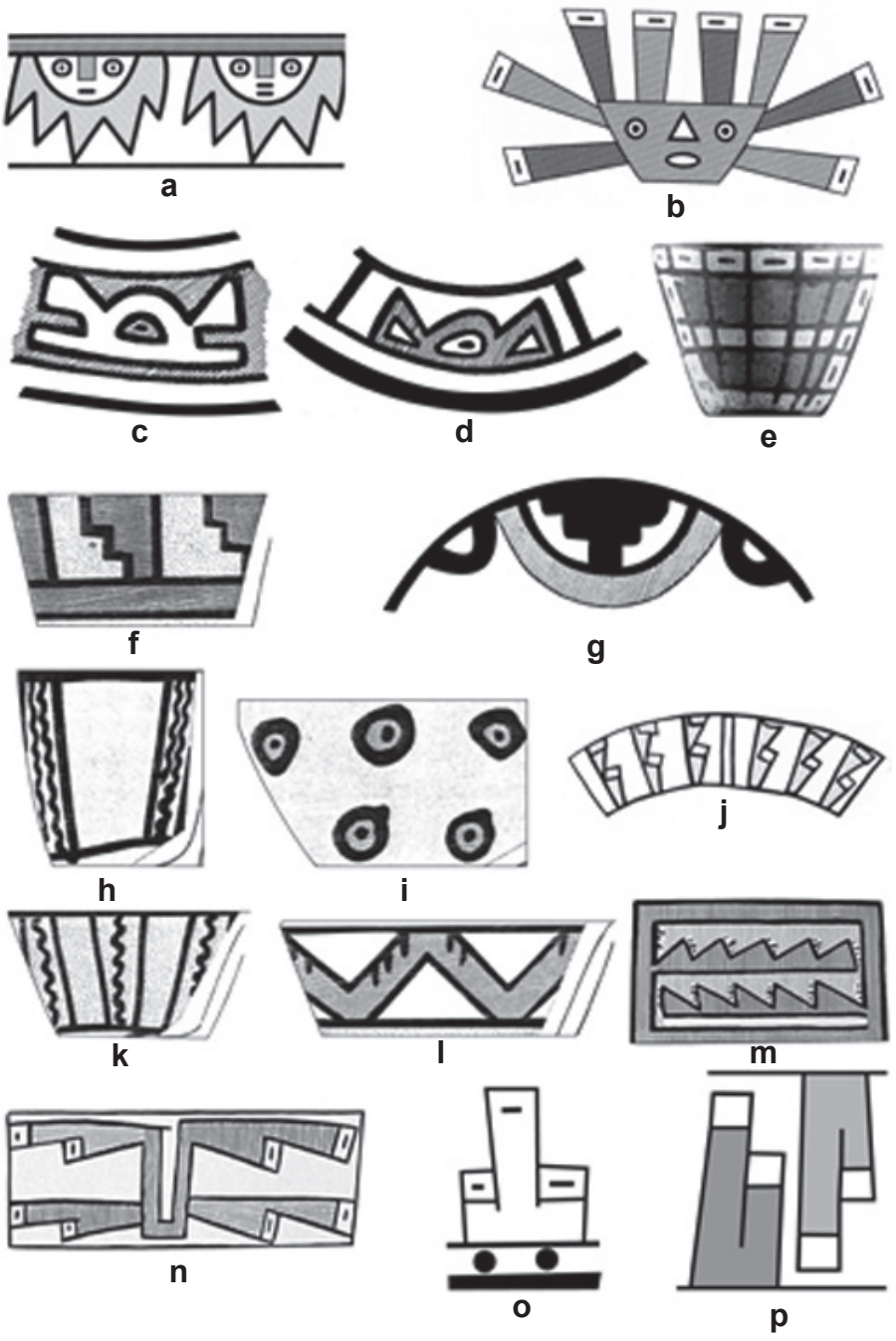


Figure 18.16. Epigonal style decorative designs.

type incised Teatino (see below) and polychrome foreign styles (Pachacamac, Epigonal), Moche, and others. "These styles are not isolated in separate burials but are found intermixed with the one-color incised local type in every case" (Strong 1925:184). Excavations conducted by Ccosi Salas and Gonzalez in the 1950s at Ancón show a surprising hiatus between MH1B and MH3 (Ravines 1977, 1981); perhaps this is best explained by the simple fact that allegedly, MH3 pottery was already produced in MH2. Kaulicke (1997:55–57), analyzing Ancón funerary contexts from published information, strictly follows Menzel's stylistic sequence for dating the material and related tombs, so no reappraisal is proposed.

At Pachacamac, numerous graves close to the main temple contain Epigonal material (Uhle 1903:26–34). This also occurs at Ancón and Supe; all authors, including Menzel (1977:31), emphasize the fact that Pachacamac-style material is scarce while Epigonal is fairly common.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 18.17. Epigonal bottle (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Inv. AAM46-7-44).

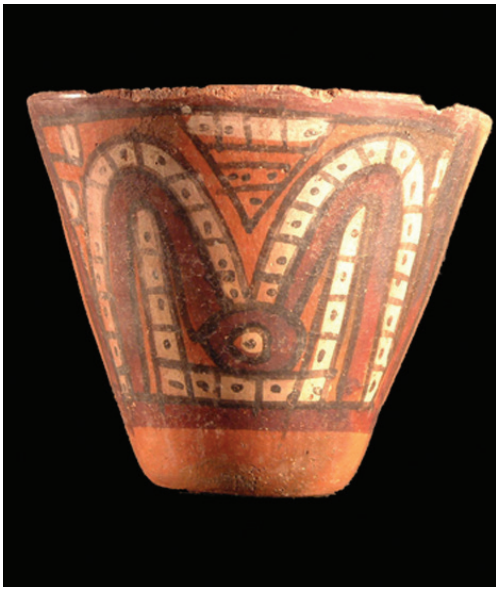


Figure 18.18. Epigonal goblet (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Inv. AAM46-7-50).

Figure 18.19. Epigonal small tumbler from Cemetery 1 at Pachacamac (Ych05-A46). Photo by Olivier Papegnies.

Figure 18.20. Epigonal tumbler from Cemetery 1 at Pachacamac (Ych05-A66). Photo by Olivier Papegnies.

As a working hypothesis, I propose the following alternative explanation:

1. Pachacamac and Epigonal appear together and coexist in MH2, the former being the elite style and the latter the commoners' version.[11]
2. Pachacamac style disappears at the end of MH2 (perhaps correlated with the decline of Wari power) while Epigonal continues to be produced and used.

This would account for the apparent inconsistencies between field data and stylistic analysis, for even if it is logical to deduce the age of a tomb on the basis of its latest contents (as Uhle affirmed), when one does not know if one style is younger or older than the other, it is more appropriate to assume that they are both of the same age. Indeed, chronology is the real problem at Pachacamac, as for Middle Horizon in general. Of course, ^{14}C dates will help resolve this problem, as we see below.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The Teatino Style

Although originally named "Teatino" by Tello (1956:322), this style is best described by Strong (1925), Bonavia (1962), and Villacorta and Tosso (2000). Most of the ware is oxidized, but the resulting color is generally brownish or even grayish (Bonavia 1962:48). Oval bottles with straight necks and small two-handed ollas are the most common forms, but there are also mammiform jars similar to those of Nievería and Late Lima, face neck flasks, tripod vessels, tambourine-form jars, and even "teapots" that probably had the same unknown use as Lima and Nievería ones, although having a distinct shape. A kind of "collar" at the base of the bottleneck is also a typical feature of the style (Villacorta and Tosso 2000:91) (Figure 18.21). Decoration is very typical of the style, since it consists of prefire geometric incisions at the base of the neck and sometimes in the upper part of the body (Bonavia 1962:51–53; Menzel 1977:45; Villacorta and Tosso 2000:85–91). Designs are formed by zigzag and angular lines and punctate areas (Figures 18.22–18.24).[12] Teatino style is found from Huaura to the north bank of the Chillón, with special importance in the Chancay area (Villacorta and Tosso 2000:83). It is a coastal style that could have its origin in the central highlands (Bonavia 1962:70–71), but data are insufficient to argue this hypothesis.

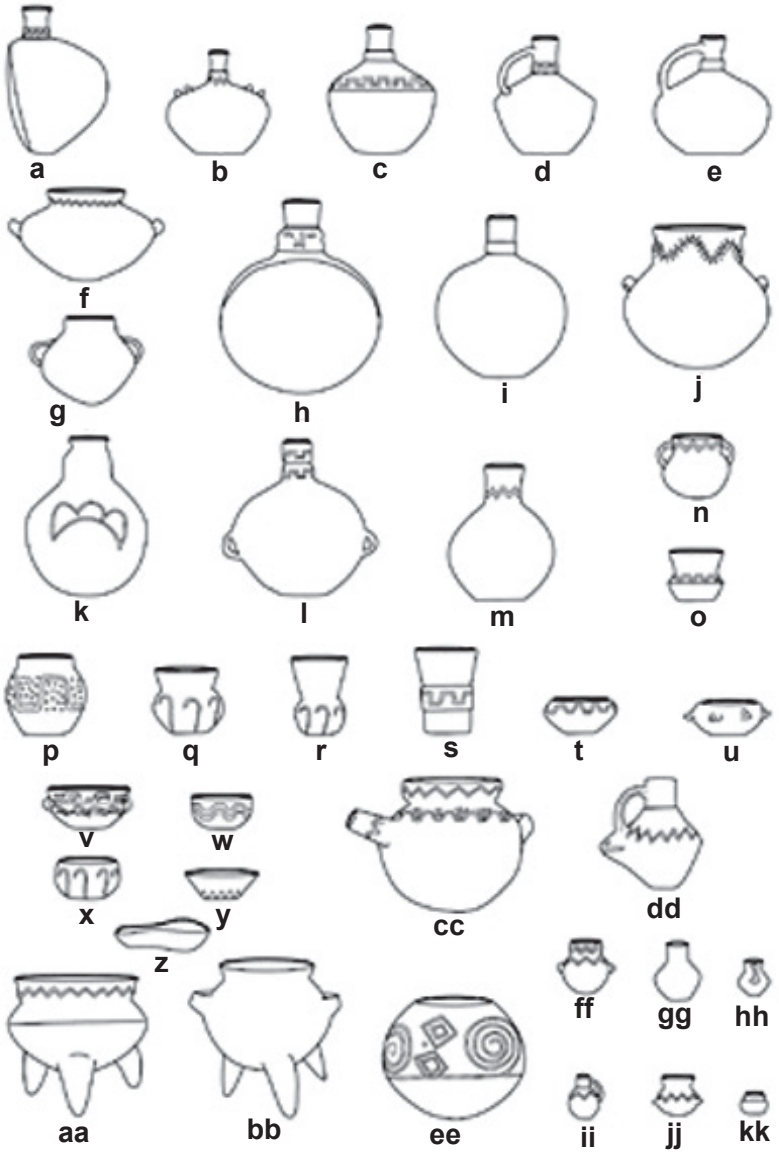


Figure 18.21. Teatino vessel forms. (after Bonavia 1962).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

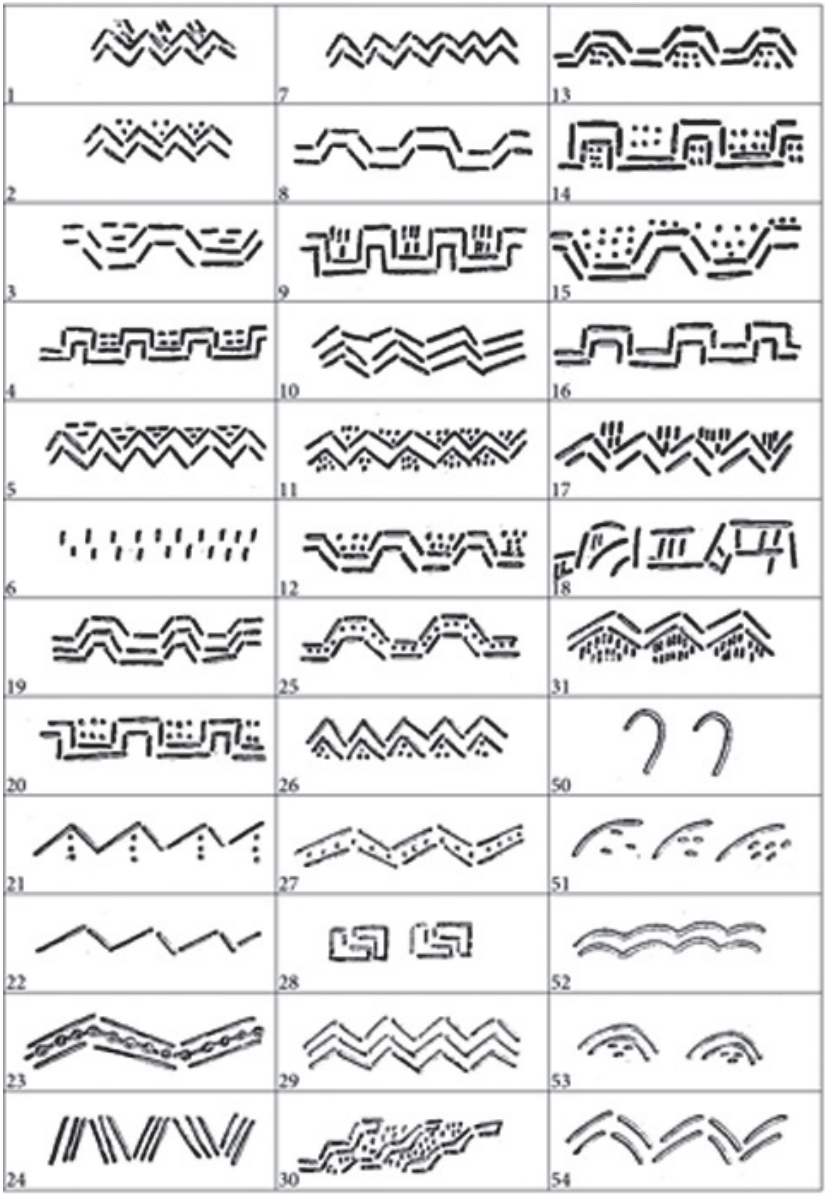


Figure 18.22. Teatino decorative designs. (after Bonavia 1962).

Menzel (1977:45) dates the Teatino style from MH1B through MH3 because "forms resemble shapes associated with Huari-related pottery styles of the coast to the north, notably Supe," but as I have stated, several forms already existed before Wari contact in the Late Lima and Nievería styles, and stratigraphic data from Ancón show that Teatino coexisted there with Late Lima before the appearance of Epigonal and Wari-related materials (Bonavia 1962:57–59, 74). Teatino belongs to a local tradition, constituting the main part of local funerary material up to end of MH, since it is found jointly with Pachacamac, Nievería, Epigonal, Casma/Supe Press-Molded, and Three-Color Geometric (Bonavia 1962; Strong 1925:152; Villacorta and Tosso 2000:97–111). It was then replaced gradually by other styles, although it persisted until the beginning of the LIP, with progressive stylistic changes due to innovations coming from the north coast (Menzel 1977:44–7). In my opinion, Teatino constitutes a good example of continuity in local traditions despite Wari and SAIS intrusion. Indeed, there are few examples of Teatino vessels with Wari influence (Villacorta and Tosso 2000:111) or showing SAIS motifs (see one exception in Bonavia 1962:Pl. VII–5). Because of the links with Late Lima shapes, the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 18.23. Teatino *kero* (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Inv. AAM46-7-20).

Figure 18.24. Teatino bowl (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Inv. AAM46-7-21).

similarity with some Early Ychsma shapes, the relative simplicity of decoration, and the huge amounts of Teatino material, I consider it a "popular" style.

Villacorta and Tosso (2000:112) emphasize the recurrence of an icon found all over the central and north-central coast (Figure 18.25). This male personage wears a headband or high headdress from which hang long braids that end in snake heads. He is usually depicted on face neck bottles with rounded shoulder epaulettes. Villacorta and Tosso (2000:112) interpret him as a late version of Figure C from the famous Moche Ceremony Scene (Donnan 1976), mixed with the mountain theme (the epaulettes) that would denote a highland—supposedly

Figure 18.25. Teatino face-neck bottle (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Inv. AAM46-7-111).

Wari—influence. Although I agree with the Moche influence, I do not see any Wari influence: first, there are to my knowledge no specific representations of mountains in Wari or Wari-related iconography, much less in the form of epaulettes; second, there are dozens of Moche III to IV pots showing such epaulettes, unquestionably schematized mountains associated with a central individual with fangs and occasionally snakes and other features (see Giersz et al. 2005:Figures 2–99). In Teatino, there are numerous examples where this icon is associated with snakes or marine animals such as lobsters. As we shall see, this set of iconographic features is shared with other regional styles and represents, in my perspective, part of the common coastal mythological background that existed at least from the EIP and came into contact with Wari iconography.

The Casma/Supe Press-Molded Style

There is no consensus on the name of this style (see Prümers 2000:296 n. 4). Since it is found from Casma to Supe, at sites such as Chimu Capac (Supe) and El Castillo (Huarmey), it seems advisable to emphasize both its geographical distribution and its technical peculiarities. Indeed, it can be defined briefly by the technique used to produce it (i.e., molds for making vessels and their designs), usually in the form of adorned panels on the body of deep dishes, bowls, tumblers, bottles, flasks, and little jars (see Bernal Rodríguez 2006; Carrion Cachot

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2005 [1959]; Kroeber 1925:Plate 71, 74k,75; Menzel 1977:31ff., Figures 51 and 55; Prümers 2000:295–300, Figures 4 and 6; Tello 1956). "Some design outlines and the mold made grooves marking design details were retraced manually with a pointed tool after the mold had been removed and before the vessel was fired, presumably to make the designs more easily visible" (Figure 18.26; Menzel 1977:32).

Based on the material published by Carrion Cachot (2005 [1959]), which is the best illustrated to date, Bernal Rodríguez (2006) has proposed a convincing classification into four main type-scenes: (1) scenes with copulating personages; (2) scenes with two fighting individuals wearing split headdresses; (3) scene with a frontal anthropomorphic being who can be (a) holding plants, (b) surrounded by two felines under a double-headed arch, or (c) surrounded by birds; and (4) scenes with felines and double-headed snakes (Figures 18.27 and 18.28).

Bernal Rodríguez (2006:10–20) shows that all of these scenes have antecedents in EIP Moche and Recuay iconography, so that the supposed Wari influence suggested by Menzel must be reevaluated. Menzel argues that the most important religious scene of the style

> is a sky scene with a Central God in front-face posture. . . . The Sky God is male. An arc over his head represents the sky. . . . The arc usually ends in a serpent head at each end and has a serrated top border. The rest of the sky scene is filled with depictions of stars, animals and rarely "angel" figures. . . . In painted cloth this scene is shown almost to the exclusion of others. All other depictions at Chimu Capac are relatable to the Sky God scene in a subordinate or secondary role [Menzel 1977:33].

I agree with Menzel on this point, and I would add that painted textiles with the Sky God scene are to be found all over the north-central and central coast during these times. Unfortunately, in most cases, they come

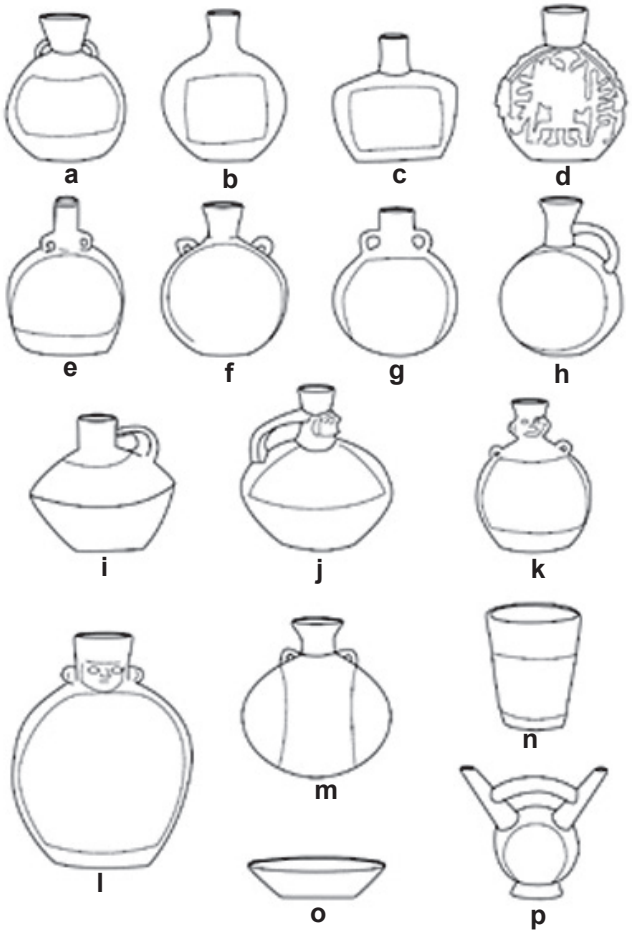


Figure 18.26. Casma-Supe press molded vessel forms.

Figure 18.27. Examples of scenes in Casma-Supe press molded style iconography (after Carrión Cachot 2005 [1959]).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 18.28. Casma-Supe press molded bottle (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Inv. AAM10123).

from undocumented contexts, so that their chronological position and precise origin are difficult to determine on stylistic grounds alone. Nevertheless, we have some examples of excavated material of this kind from Chimu Capac (Menzel 1977:56–59) and Pachacamac (as I will explain later). First I would like to emphasize several recurrent features of the Sky God scene:

1. The double-headed arched serpent recurrently appears as part of the headdress, or similar appendages of the divinity, who also frequently wears a snake belt (Carrion Cachot 2005 [1959]:Figures 26, 29, 30, 31, 35, etc.).
2. The most common posture of the main God (front face, fully human body, and arms extended at the sides) is not "basically of the Huari tradition" as Menzel (1977:33) asserts, since numerous examples of this posture can be found in Moche iconography (Castillo 1989; Giersz et al. 2005; Gölte 1994). However, even if one accepts Menzel's inferences, these are obviously details within a larger corpus of iconography, which is mainly Moche derived and coast inspired.
3. The main figure is recurrently associated with animals (mainly felines, snakes, birds, fishes, and other marine species) and plants, as both Bernal's classification and a review of related textile iconography show.[13]

This set of iconographic elements (snakes, plants, and animal association) also appears in other MH local styles, such as Teatino and Early Ychsma.

Menzel (1977:32) attributes the largest part of Casma/Supe Press-Molded vessels to MH3 to MH4 "on stylistic grounds." Prümers (2000:299) argues that it belongs to Epoch 2 and thus constitutes the local ware contemporaneous with Nievería and Teatino on the central coast. He also states that "Huari influence in the iconography has been overestimated," explaining that published vessels have been selected to show supposed Wari influence, while in the survey of collections he directed in the Casma, Huarmey, and Supe Valleys, this kind of iconography is scarce and limited to bottles, specifically double-spout and bridge ones (i.e., those that by their very form show some Wari influence). He notes that in Carrion Cachot's work, illustrations are almost always limited to bottles, and he agrees with Bernal's conclusions about the northern roots of this iconography. Wari influence, then, is best recognized as limited to the adoption of a few vessel shapes (Prümers 2000:299). Considering the presence of classic MH2 Wari material (Pachacamac, Atarco, etc.) in the tombs excavated by Uhle (Strong 1925), as well as in surface collections at the Castillo de Huarmey (Prümers 2000:295–296, Figures 5, 8), although in small amounts, one could infer that contacts with Wari did not affect the Casma/Supe area in such profound ways as Menzel imagined. More plausibly, fancy Wari-related material would have been a mark of prestige, perhaps managed by local elites, although archaeological evidence is lacking for formulating a detailed hypothesis, as Kaulicke (2000:347) laments.

The Three-Color Geometric Style[14]

"Three-color Geometric is characterized by its restriction to red, white, and black; its overwhelming or exclusive use of geometric as opposed to representational designs; a mediocre execution; and a dull finish. Characteristic of its designs are red stripes or broadish lines on a white ground, their angles filled with small black-bordered enclosures which often contain a dot or dash. The red 'framework' is most typically a step, a zigzag, or a pair of zigzag lines crossing to form a row of diamonds. The little black-bordered outlines are, correspondingly, rectangles, isosceles triangles, and diamonds. . . . Related to the foregoing are red-white-black diagonally disposed squares, zigzag bands between stripes, zigzag bands containing S-scrolls, and smaller figures . . . several of which lean towards Epigonal" (Kroeber 1926:272).

The name "Three-Color Geometric" is somewhat problematic since vessels are frequently painted with four colors, especially in the Early LIP (Feltham and Eeckhout

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2004:648, n. 4). As a result, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish Epigonal vessels with geometric designs from Three-Color Geometric vessels with four colors.

Three-Color Geometric is found from the Lurín Valley north to Ancón and Chancay. It includes forms such as jars, low bowls, incurved bowls, and goblets (Figures 18.29–18.32; Kroeber 1926:275).

All scholars agree on a Late MH to Early LIP date for Three-Color Geometric pottery (Bueno Mendoza 1982; Feltham and Eeckhout 2004:646–648; Franco Jordan 1998; Kroeber 1926:291; Paredes Botoni 1990; Shimada 1991; Strong 1925; Strong and Corbett 1943), but there are no absolute dates available. Fortunately, our recent excavations in Cemetery 1 at Pachacamac are providing datable funerary contexts with Three-Color Geometric (see below).

Regarding excavation associations, Three-Color Geometric has been encountered with Epigonal both at Pachacamac (Eeckhout, personal observation, 2008; Uhle 1903:Plate 7) and in Chancay (Kroeber 1926:291). It seems that in both cases, Three-Color Geometric appeared later and lasted longer than Epigonal, since it also occurs isolated or associated with later styles, as in Ancón (Ravines 1981:142–149; Strong 1925:185).

The nonfigurative decoration typical of the Three-Color Geometric style has usually been interpreted as an example of general decline on the central coast in post-Wari times (Menzel 1977). It is true that some iconographic details, such as white circles with black outline and a central black dot, could have their roots in Wari-related styles. Nevertheless, if one considers the general aspect of Three-Color Geometric motifs and composition, they show close relationships with earlier local Late Lima style, in the sense that both are essentially geometric, based on zigzag and angular parallel lines, diamond patterns, and so on. Some similarities can also be found with the contemporaneous Teatino style, whose decoration is similar to Three-Color Geometric, except that it

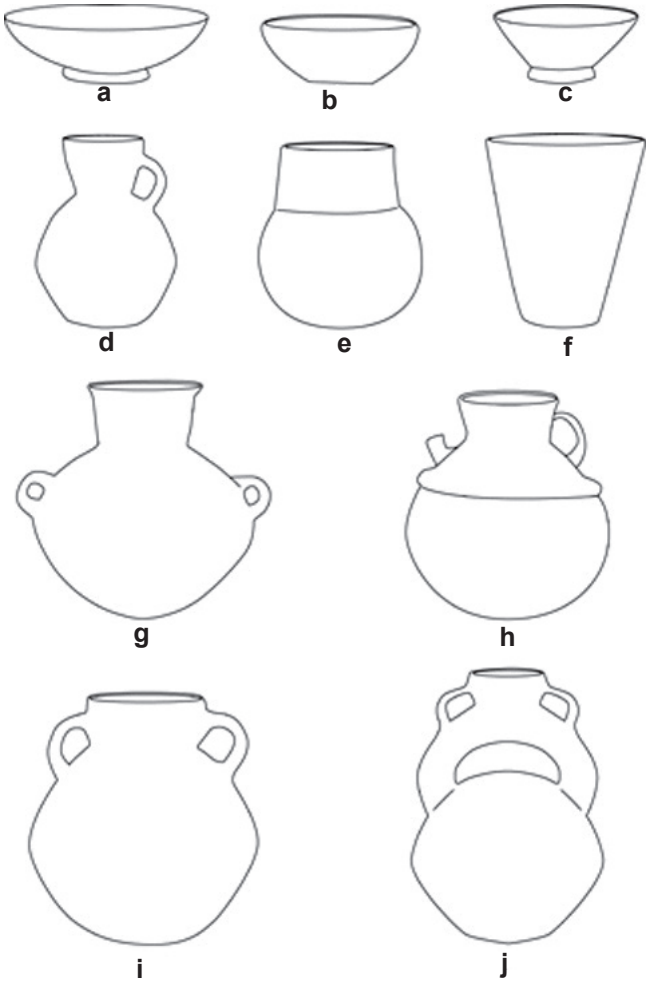


Figure 18.29. Three-Color Geometric vessel forms.

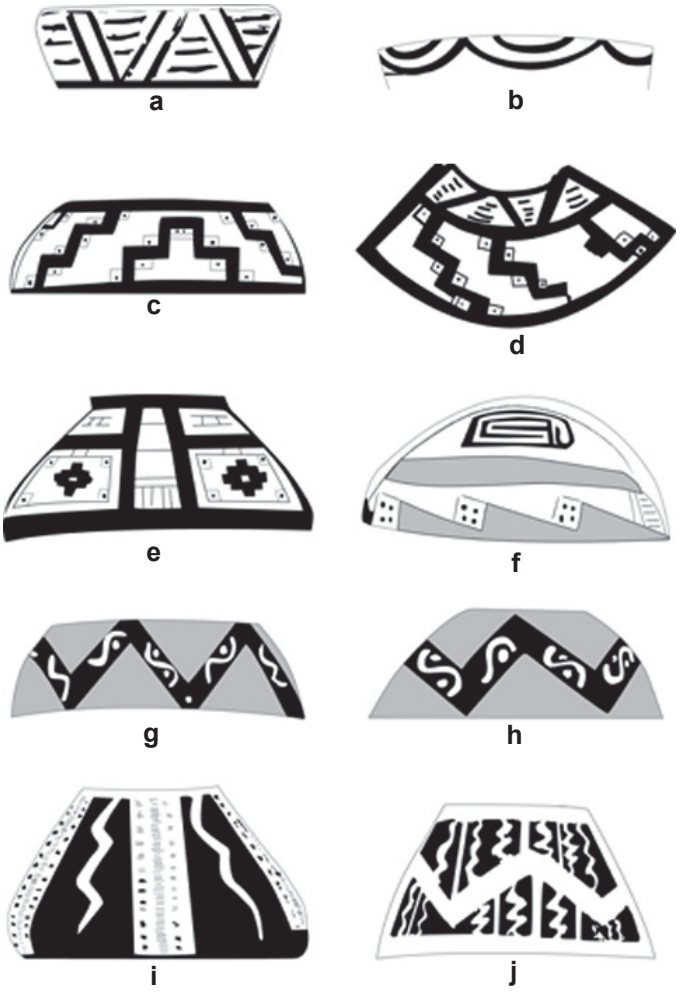


Figure 18.30. Three-Color Geometric decorative designs.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 18.31. Three-Color Geometric Jar from Cemetery 1 at Pachacamac (Ych05-A109). Photo by Kusi Colonna-Preti.

Figure 18.32. Three-Color Geometric plate from Cemetery 1 at Pachacamac (Ych05-A81). Photo by Kusi Colonna-Preti.

is incised, not painted. We have no idea of the possible meaning of such motifs, but as a hypothesis, I would suggest they could refer to the schematic snakes and fishes of Lima and earlier Interlocking styles (cf. Kroeber 1954; Patterson 1966).

The Early Ychsma Style[15]

Early Ychsma is an orange oxidized ware with occasional red, black, and white geometric motifs, generally painted on the upper half of the vessels, with a crude finish and frequent traces of fire clouding or other defects of careless manufacture. Following Vallejo (2004:606–607), it can be subdivided into two successive phases, A and B, with Early Ychsma A influenced by the Huaura style of Late MH (Vallejo 2004:602–606). However, from my perspective and from experience in Early Ychsma funerary contexts at Pachacamac, this pottery looks very much like Three-Color Geometric, except that vessel shapes are more numerous (Vallejo 2004:Figure 3).[16] Alternatively, I suggest that Vallejo's Early Ychsma B is the "real" Early Ychsma, with a reduced number of shapes: mainly ollas, jars, and jugs with spherical or inverted pear-shaped bodies, occasional small vertical handles, and high necks (Figures 18.33–18.35). Early Ychsma iconography is simple and mainly geometric (Figure 18.36); "in the best cases only secondary motifs of (MH) Epoch 2 are converted into the main or only motifs for vessel decoration." (Vallejo 2004:602). All in all, the style appears to have been poor and domestic. It seems that Ychsma skills were best expressed in weaving, wood carving, and monumental building, not in pottery.

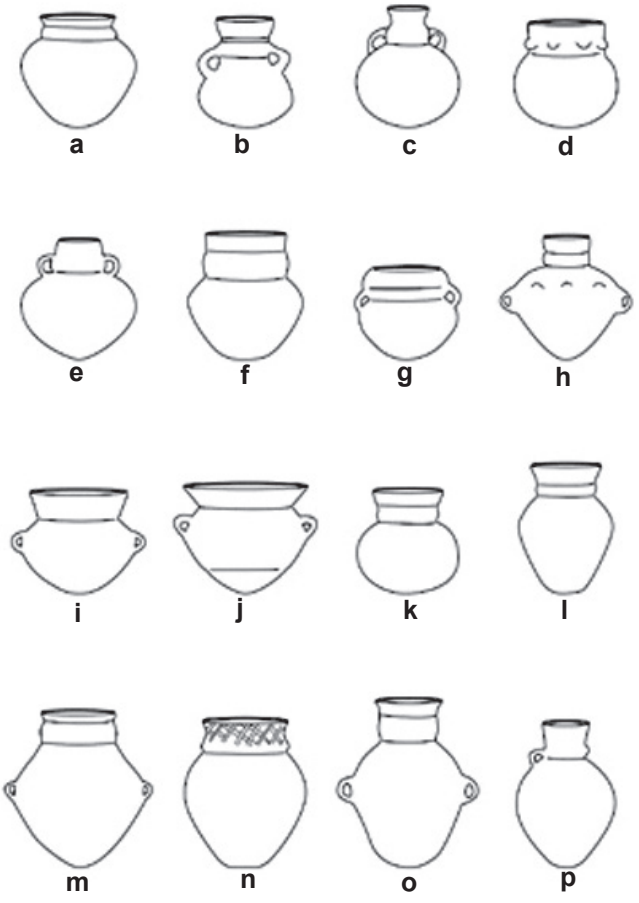


Figure 18.33. Early Ychsma vessel forms (after Vallejo 2004:Figure 4).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 18.34. Early Ychsma jar from Cemetery 1 at Pachacamac (Ych08-A182). Photo by Kusi Colonna-Preti.

Figure 18.35. Early Ychsma *olla* from Cemetery 1 at Pachacamac (Ych05-A59). Photo by Olivier Papegnies.

As previously stated (above, Note 12), central coast textiles of the MH and Early LIP are very numerous but difficult to classify in terms of chronology and exact origin, since most come from undocumented contexts. An important exception is a textile from Uhle's excavations, which was classified by him as "Tiahuanaco," that is, Menzel's Pachacamac B (Uhle 1903:Plate 4.1). What interests us here is not so much the exact age of the textile (which could be either MH2 or MH3) but its peculiar iconography and the fact that the style is unquestionably local (cf. Uhle 1903:Plate 4.2, a typical Wari textile design). Indeed, what is shown is a front-face male figure holding a *tumi* in the right hand and a severed head in the other. He is surrounded by multiple snake appendages and flanked by two profile attendants (unfortunately less well conserved) showing similar characteristics. Two heads and two small figures, all with crowns, complete the composition to the right.

This decapitator theme is well documented throughout the Andes since Formative times (Cordy-Collins 2001), so this cannot be considered a specific Wari trait. The snake appendages and special headdress are related to EIP Moche iconography (Knobloch 1989:122) and are comparable to MH Casma/Supe examples (Carrion Cachot 2005 [1959]:Figure 55). Possible Wari elements in this textile are only details: the rounded nose of the left attendant, the stepped-cross motif on the main figure's belt, and the tear symbol beneath the attendant's eye. All in all, we are facing the same kind of situation as the Casma/Supe Sky God scene.

Another example of such a scene at Pachacamac during the MH is the famous wooden idol discovered in 1938 in the rubble fill covering the steps of the Painted Temple (Figures 18.37 and 18.38). One of the sculpted Janus figures on the top wears a tunic and a headdress covered with snakes and fishes, while the other is associated with maize cobs. The rest of the thick pole is adorned with engraved figures as well. Although there is not space here to discuss this complex iconography, its tight links with Casma/Supe Press-Molded scenes are apparent. Serrated arcs with snake heads, snake belts and headdresses, profile felines, Moche-like "Moon Spirit Man" iconographic features (cf. Menzel 1977:63), plants, and severed heads, as well as the general style of the motifs, all seem to relate to well-known north-central coast art (see Carrion Cachot 2005 [1959]; Eeckhout 1999:87–90; Lavalle and Lang 1991:Figure 34). The only motif that could refer to Wari is the griffin-like being (Figure 18.38 No. 6, Figure 18.39), although this image is not represented in any way in the Pachacamac style but seems to constitute a local version of the same theme (Editor's note: See the discussion by Bernier and Chapdelaine, Chapter 19, this volume, of the same or closely related image from a Moche perspective).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

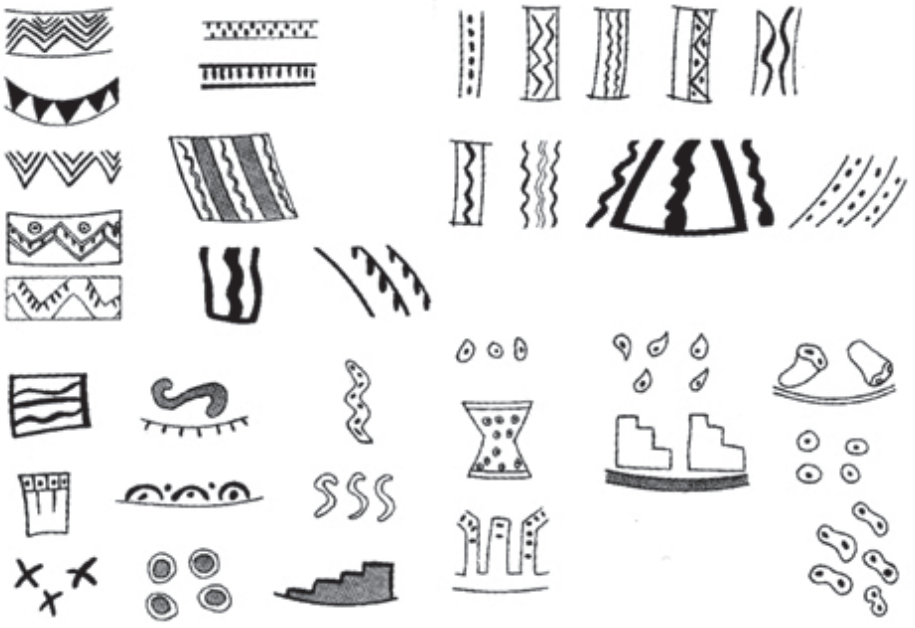


Figure 18.36. Early Ychsma decorative designs (after Vallejo 2004:Figure 2).

Figure 18.37. Pachacamac wooden idol Janus "snake" figure. Photo by Olivier Papegnies.

Figure 18.38. Drawing of Pachacamac wooden idol engraved figures.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 18.39. Griffin motif on the Pachacamac wooden idol. Photo by Olivier Papegnies.

In sum, religious imagery of the Late MH at Pachacamac illustrates north-central coast themes with some Wari influence in stylistic details. The main divinity that appears in Uhle's textile, as well as the wooden Idol, has the same attributes and cultural associations as Casma/Supe's Sky God (Figure 18.27) and is also very similar to its primitive version in the Teatino style, which Villacorta and Tosso call the Teatino icon (Figure 18.25). As its characteristics recur all over the coast from Lurín to Casma (at least), I propose to call it the Coastal Icon. Its characteristics can be defined as follows:

1. An anthropomorphic figure with a snake, snake-like headdress, or braids that can be represented either full body or as the head only.
2. This figure generally appears frontally and, when represented full body, wears a snake belt and holds different attributes such as a feathered staff, plants, *tumi*, severed head, and so on.
3. This figure is recurrently associated with plants and animals such as felines, snakes, fishes, and other animal species.

This "Coastal Icon" appears to represent continuity of coastal mythology from the EIP through MH into later periods. It may sometimes be associated with SAIS iconography but is generally distinct.

Middle Horizon Styles and Chronology on the Central and North-Central Coast of Peru

Sixteen radiocarbon dates relating to the styles discussed in this chapter (Table 18.1) throw light on the absolute chronology of the central and north-central coast. My criteria for selecting the samples were (1) provenience from contexts excavated by controlled stratigraphy and (2) close association with sherds or complete vessels. Twelve of the dates come from Pachacamac (including nine from the Ychsma Project, most of them published here for the first time). All in all, these are not many dates, and there is an obvious imbalance in the sample. Readers must keep this in mind. The fact that many different ceramic styles are found at Pachacamac is helpful for our understanding of local and regional dynamics, but it is quite possible that the "life span" of a particular style will require revision in light of more data, absolute dates, and information from outside Pachacamac. For my discussion, I will consistently consider a 2-sigma (95.4 percent) range of confidence, calibrated with OxCal v.3.9 (2003), except where otherwise indicated.

Six dates are associated with the Late Lima style; they range from AD 540 to 1162. The first two dates (Gds-293 and Beta-184648) are from Pachacamac and associated with Late Lima only,[17] while the other four are from contexts with a mix of Late Lima and Nievería pottery. If we combine the two first dates in an OxCal plot, we obtain a range of AD 650 to 780. If we combine the four dates related to Lima and Nievería, we obtain a range of AD 670 to 780. This result is quite interesting since it confirms the contemporaneity of these two styles, something that contextual and stylistic analyses have demonstrated. This stylistic closeness is illustrated in a superb example of a Nievería anthropomorphic bottle showing a man holding a Late Lima decorated jar on his shoulder (Segura Llanos 2004:Fotos 4–5). As Segura Llanos asserts, "Not only is there a coexistence of these styles in the concrete product of the potter, but also a type of relationship not yet sufficiently explored" (Segura Llanos 2004:110, translation by author). I agree with Segura Llanos, but I think a closer examination of contexts can provide a better definition of each style's life span.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 18.1. ^{14}C dates related to Central Coast MH styles.

Style	Lab. No.	Comments and Association	BP	Cal. 68.2%	Cal. 95.4%	Reference
Late Lima	Gds-293	Pachacamac/mud floor with domestic occupation including Late Lima sherds	1300 ± 45	AD 660–730	AD 650–830	Unedited
	Beta-184648	Pachacamac/wood associated with Floor 1 of Urpay Wachak Temple, Final Lima	1350 ± 70	AD 620–730	AD 540–870	Shimada et al. (2004:519)
	Hd-21614	Huaca 20 Maranga/charcoal from a hoath	1442 ± 29	AD 600–650	AD 550–660	Falcón 2002 (MacKay and Santa Cruz 1999)
	Hd-21929	Huaca 20 Maranga/charcoal from a hoath	1252 ± 18	AD 715–750	AD 680–820	Falcón 2002 (MacKay and Santa Cruz 1999)
Nievería	R-301	Cajamarquilla/charcoal from deposit including Nievería and Late Lima sherds	1100 ±100	AD 852–1026	AD 753–1162	Ziolkowski et al. (1994:405)
	R-302	Cajamarquilla/charcoal from deposit including Nievería and Late Lima sherds	1160 ± 50	AD 860–967	AD 777–994	Ziolkowski et al. (1994:405)
Pachacamac	Utc-15208	Pachacamac/guinea pig bone from an offering inside a Pachacamac 2B bowl	1018 ± 42	AD 970–1040	AD 950–1070	Unedited
	Gds-288	Pachacamac/charcoal from a hoath associated with constructive fill containing an offering of Pachacamac 2B fragmented bowl	990 ± 40	AD 990–1050	AD 980–1160	Unedited
Epigonal	Utc-15233	Pachacamac/seeds within a mummy bundle—gravelot includes a small Epigonal tumbler	973 ± 38	AD 1080–1160	AD 990–1170	Unedited
	Utc-15234	Pachacamac/seeds within a mummy bundle—gravelot includes a small Epigonal face neck bottle and TG	989 ± 35	AD 990–1040	AD 980–1160	Unedited
Teatino		No dates available				
Three-Color Geometric	Utc-3682	Pachacamac/ashes and charcoal from constructive fill containing TG sherds	1018 ± 27	AD 996–1027	AD 970–1040	Eeckhout (1999:381)
	Utc-15234	See above—Epigonal				
Casma/ Supe Press-Molded		No dates available				
Early Ychsma	Utc-15235	Pachacamac/seeds within a mummy bundle—gravelot includes various Early Ychsma vessels	969 ± 37	AD 1080–1160	AD 990–1170	Unedited
	Utc-15230	Pachacamac/wood within a mummy bundle—gravelot includes Early Ychsma vessel	1044 ± 36	AD 970–1030	AD 890–1040	Unedited
	Utc-15226	Pachacamac/plant within a mummy bundle—gravelot includes several Early Ychsma vessels	1020 ± 50	AD 970–1040	AD 890–1160	Unedited
	Utc-15232	Pachacamac/plant within a mummy bundle—gravelot includes several Early Ychsma vessels	1168 ± 39	AD 780–900	AD 770–980	Unedited
	Beta-184644	Pachacamac/Hoath associated with Floor 7 in Pilgrim's Plaza—Late Pachacamac—transitional Early Ychsma	950 ± 50	AD 1080–1160	AD 1000–1220	Shimada et al. (2004:519)

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

A review of excavation data reveals important differences between Huaca 20 (MacKay and Santa Cruz 2000) and Cajamarquilla (Segura Llanos 2004). At Huaca 20, Nievería and Late Lima sherds are mixed together from Phases 3 through 7. If the sherds and radiocarbon samples are contemporaneous (Table 18.1), and we combine the two dates, the result, AD 660 to 720, is almost the same as Pachacamac dates associated exclusively with Late Lima contexts (see above).

At Cajamarquilla, where pure Nievería pottery contexts occur, dates are later; Segura Llanos (2001:130) suggests that samples from the 1960s Italian Mission "proceed from unclear context." And indeed, both come from huge trenches with poorly documented stratigraphic and contextual data (Alessio et al. 1967; Sestieri 1971). However, plotting the two dates gives a result of AD 770 to 990, which is later than the Pachacamac and Huaca 20 dates, with only a slight overlap of 10 years.

It is dangerous to speculate further on the possible meaning of these dates. However, I propose as a conservative estimate that Late Lima would date at least from AD 650 and last until AD 780. Nievería would begin in AD 660 (earliest confidence range at Huaca 20) and last until AD 990 (latest confidence range at Cajamarquilla). In other words, both styles occur together, but Late Lima had a shorter life span. This is supported by the fact that we have associations of Nievería with the Pachacamac style but do not have associations of Pachacamac with Late Lima.

Pachacamac B vessels are quite scarce, but two contexts with safe association allow absolute dating. A Pachacamac B vessel was smashed in situ or purposely deposited in the layer. Consequently, the date (Gds-388) could be contemporaneous or a *terminus ante quem* for the sherds, if they came from elsewhere at the moment the fill was formed with the ceramic offering. The second sample (Utc-15208) is a complete bowl decorated with a typical MH2B Pachacamac Griffin (Figure 18.10). It was discovered in a disturbed part of Cemetery 1 (not looted, but disturbed by later MH/LIP burials), and it had a guinea pig inside, which was obviously directly associated with this artifact at the moment it was disposed in the cemetery, certainly with the original (lost) context. In other words, even if that bowl was in a secondary context, the guinea pig inside should date the primary context from which it came, near to the fabrication time of the bowl itself. Calibrations give a range of AD 980 to 1160 for the fragmented bowl and AD 950 to 1070 for the complete one. Combining these two dates gives a result of AD 980 to 1050. I consider that the complete bowl pertains to the latest manifestations of Pachacamac B, since it comes from a context disturbed by Early Ychsma burials and was probably situated in the upper and latest part of the MH2 cemetery. The fill where the fragments of the other Pachacamac bowl were found is related to a huge wall and other structures, with absolutely no trace of MH occupation. Consequently, I infer that the bowl was found by the builders of these structures while laying the foundations. They probably collected the sherds that bore the special icon (the Griffin) and used them as an offering. Thus, the most plausible interpretation of the date is that it gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the Pachacamac B style. In sum, the two dates are indicative of the final production of the Pachacamac B style, which would be around AD 980 to 1050. We have neither evidence nor absolute dates for the beginnings of the style on the central coast, but if we refer to absolute dates for MH2 as calculated by Isbell and Knobloch (2009), it could be around AD 850/900. The life span of the Pachacamac style would then be from AD 850/900 until AD 980/1050.

Two dates are available for the Epigonal style, both from tombs we recently excavated in Cemetery 1 at Pachacamac (Table 18.1; see also Eeckhout 2010). The two dates are quite similar but when combined, OxCal produces two almost equally probable calibrations, AD 990 to 1070 (2 sigmas, 51.4 percent) and AD 1080 to 1160 (2 sigmas, 44 percent). Consequently, and considering the individual dates, I suggest a conservative estimate for Epigonal to be AD 990 to 1160. This fits nicely with archaeological analyses, allowing overlap or coexistence of Pachacamac and Epigonal from at least the end of the tenth century to the disappearance of Pachacamac-style objects around the middle of eleventh century (i.e., during two or three generations). Of course, the radiocarbon dates should be considered late in Epigonal-style history, since one of the tombs contained a Three-Color Geometric vessel, a later style that has not been found associated with the Pachacamac style.

Three-Color Geometric sherds have been found in other sectors of the Pachacamac site. The nature of the context where one sample was taken (construction fill) suggests that the date would be a *terminus post quem* for the style. Three-Color Geometric style would then date later than AD 970 to 1040, but probably only slightly later considering the Utc-15234 date for Epigonal, discussed above, from a context containing both Epigonal and Three-Color Geometric (see Table 18.1). Indeed, considering the absence of association with Pachacamac-style vessels, we must infer that Three-Color Geometric

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

appeared later, probably around the middle of the eleventh century.

Early Ychsma is dated, at least provisionally, thanks to three gravelots from Cemetery 1 and charcoal from a domestic occupation under the Pilgrim's Plaza, about 100 m northwest. These dates are surprisingly early, ranging from AD 890 to 1220. When combined, they result in a calibrated confidence range of AD 990 to 1040. Consequently, Early Ychsma was contemporary with Epigonal and Three-Color Geometric and might even have coexisted with the latest manifestations of the Pachacamac style. But since there are no recorded associations with Pachacamac or Nievería, I propose AD 1000 to 1220 for Early Ychsma.

There is no absolute date for Teatino or Casma/Supe Press-Molded, so we must depend on associations with dated styles for estimating their age range. As we have seen, Teatino coexisted with Late Lima before Epigonal and Wari-related associations. This means it existed before AD 780 (last manifestation of Late Lima) and probably appeared sometimes during the eighth century AD. Since it is also found with Three-Color Geometric, we can deduce that Teatino survived until at least AD 1050 and probably somewhat later. I estimate an AD 750 to 1100 span for Teatino ceramics.

Casma/Supe Press-Molded has been found in association with Teatino and Nievería at San José de Moro and with Wari-related material in its area of origin, the Casma/Supe zone. From an iconographic perspective, it shows close connections with Late MH material from the site of Pachacamac (textiles and the wooden Idol). Taking into account these data, I propose an AD 850 to 1100 duration for the style.

Finally, what do these new studies tell us about MH chronology in general? In her original publications, Menzel (1964, 1968) provided no absolute dates for the MH and its subdivisions but simply commented that "at a conservative estimate, subject to correction when more radiocarbon determinations are available, the Middle Horizon dates from about A.D. 800 to about A.D. 1100" (Menzel 1964:2–3). Some years later, she proposed absolute dates for each epoch and phase, on the basis of the famous Ica master sequence (Menzel 1977). A brief review of recent literature reveals a general consensus on absolute dates for the Middle Horizon. Most authors date it from the sixth to the eleventh centuries, with 50- to 100-year discrepancies (Cook 2004; Glowacki and Malpass 2003; Gonzalez Carré 2007; Isbell 2001, 2006; Jennings 2006; Pérez Calderón 1999; Williams 2001). Subdivisions into epochs and phases are also quite consistent, with the MH2 period beginning in the eighth century AD and lasting some 100 to 150 years. Nevertheless, at Cerro Baúl on the edge of Wari territory, Williams documented MH1B-MH2 diagnostic Chakimpampa material with a date from AD 780 to 980 (Williams 2001:80), which seems comparatively quite late. Castillo (2001; Rucabado and Castillo 2003) reports finding MH2 vessels of different styles at San Jose de Moro, citing a date of AD 800 to 950 on the basis of associated Transitional Moche material. Isbell and Knobloch (2009) convincingly argue that comparison and combination of Huari and Tihuanaco calibrated radiocarbon dates suggest AD 500/550 to 650/700 for Epoch 1A, AD 650/700 to 800/850 for Epoch 1B, and AD 850/900 to 1000 for Epoch 2. Furthermore, there are difficulties defining styles exclusive to MH3 and MH4 epochs, and some authors—particularly for the Wari core area—do not differentiate MH2 styles from those of subsequent phases (Castillo 2000; Rucabado and Castillo 2003) or express strong doubts about the relevance of these subdivisions and associated ceramic styles (Kaulicke 2001; Prümers 2000:298–299).

The present study fits the absolute chronology proposed by Isbell and Knobloch (Figure 18.40). Indeed, it appears that MH1 would include Late Lima, Nievería, and Teatino, lasting from AD 650 (or possibly a bit earlier) to 850/900, and probably including the intrusion of Wari iconography into the Pachacamac sequence. Epoch 2 would last until AD 1000/1050. During this phase, Teatino continued to be produced, while Casma/Supe and Epigonal styles coexisted with Wari-related material. Epoch 3 would begin with the disappearance of the Pachacamac style around AD 1050 and last until the end of Epigonal, a century later. Epoch 4 would then begin around AD 1150 and also last a century or so.

Of course, this is still speculative, and there are some uncertainties about the scenario. First, it relies on a handful of dates, most of them from the same site—Pachacamac. Second, MH Epochs 3 and 4 are based on the supposed post-Pachacamac span of the Epigonal style (i.e., the "last survival" of Wari-related iconography). This is problematic, and future research will have to determine if the retention of these phases is justified. Indeed, several styles coexisted throughout Epochs 2 and 3: Teatino, Casma/Supe Press-Molded, Three-Color Geometric, and Early Ychsma, the latter surviving into Epoch 4. Finally, ongoing research at Pachacamac has revealed more Early Ychsma burials, some of them possibly older than those cited here. This could mean that the style has roots deeper in time and could constitute a

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

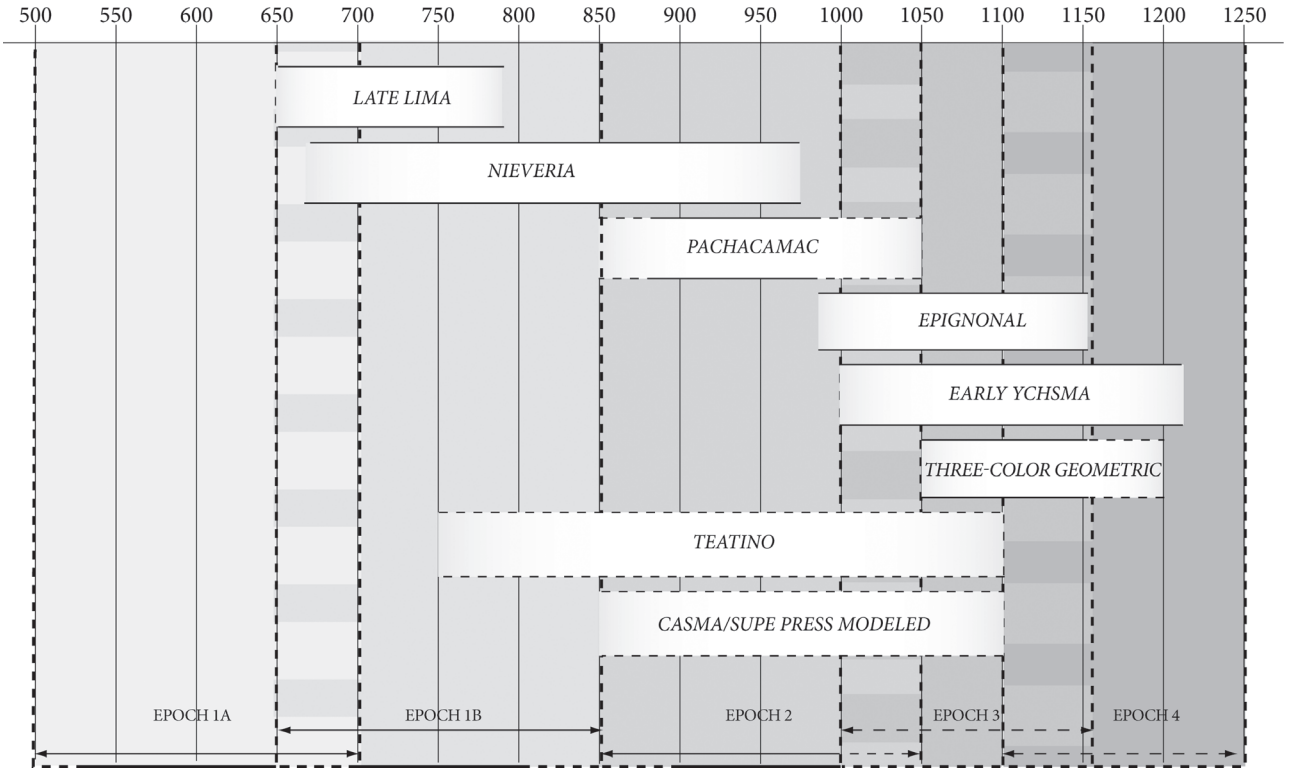


Figure 18.40. Absolute chronology of Middle Horizon Central Coast styles.

tradition parallel to Teatino, for example, spanning the Middle Horizon without much influence from foreign contacts such as Wari.

Conclusions: SAIS and Wari on the Central Coast, Funerary Patterns, and Religious Beliefs

From the eight styles discussed in the preceding pages, it appears that two kinds of pottery can be distinguished on the basis of manufacture, technical quality, richness of iconography, and contextual origin (e.g., affluent tomb or sacred precinct vs. residence, trash midden): elite material (Nievería and Pachacamac) and popular material (all the other styles). Epigonal might be considered somewhat of an "in-between class" since it bears some iconography directly inspired by the SAIS, but its technical quality and general aspect show that it was not made with as much care as the upper-class styles; it was much more abundant and sometimes hardly differentiated from other popular styles such as Three-Color Geometric. Nievería was probably the regional elite style at the moment of Wari contact, so it makes sense that it was the first affected by iconographic innovations and quite logical that it is found together with the earlier examples of fancy SAIS styles, including Pachacamac. What happened to Late Lima is very puzzling, since even though some shapes continued to exist in Late MH and LIP styles, its technique, manufacture, and decoration quality declined dramatically. Its diamond-shaped and triangular patterns, geometric designs, and motifs such as marine species and snakes, as well as the red, white, and black colors, are found in Three-Color Geometric and/or the Early Ychsma style, but the decline in skill and technical quality is something that has not been convincingly explained. The apparent hiatus in locally popular ware between Late Lima and Early Ychsma at Pachacamac and other Lurín/Rímac sites is another gap to be filled.

Casma/Supe Press-Molded shows some examples of excellent quality and very detailed iconography. However, as we have seen, its north-coast roots are much more prominent than its SAIS features. I consider it to be more a continuation of the coastal mythical complex, with some SAIS additions, through the MH. The style's interactions with the central coast during this period were a decisive factor in the transformations of regional religious iconography. Indeed, what I call the Coastal Icon and associated pantheon (snakes, felines, marine animals, and plants) seem to have gained importance throughout the MH, concurrently with Wari

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

imagery, which probably referred to another set of beliefs, as I will explain below.

Elite and popular kinds of pottery coexisted throughout the MH and are frequently found together in the same gravelots. Of course, there were tombs and contexts with only popular material, and these were the more numerous, which is quite logical if one accepts the present model—that is, fancy and other vessels do not correspond to a chronological succession (promoting an idea of decadence) but were rather different kinds of artifacts consumed by different classes of people in the same society. Individuals from the upper and/or superior class (or rank) had access to all kinds of material while consumption of fancy and decorated pottery was more restricted as one went down the social scale (or outside the special ranks). This also accounts for the differences in iconographic elaboration and details: fancy material was directly inspired by SAIS iconography, to the degree that a common pool of iconographic features and designs was shared among fancy MH styles like Conchopata, Viñaque, Atarco, Robles Moqo, Pachacamac, and Nievería derived, as Menzel brilliantly demonstrated. The owners and users of such vessels were obviously fully aware of mythological and religious signification of this complex iconography and the probable meanings of subtle differences, which would only have been salient to those versed in the social distinctions they conveyed. Craftsmen had Wari artifacts at hand, at least when they began to produce the Pachacamac-style vessels (however, it should be remembered that no evidence for the production of this pottery has been found at the Pachacamac site or anywhere on the central coast).

For the commoners, things were different, in the sense that they combined their traditional beliefs with newly imported ones but were probably not aware of the subtleties of religious matters. Nevertheless, they wanted to express their faith. In addition, considering the tremendous difference in quality of the manufacture as well as the scarcity of Pachacamac-style material, it is likely that fancy material was made by a special class of craftsmen, while popular styles were mass produced by less skilled artisans, probably members of the common class as well. If I were to draw interpretations through comparison with the Western world, during the Middle Ages, one would find different kinds of artifacts in cathedrals, commoners' tombs, and hamlet churches, although the basic iconography and beliefs were the same. Furthermore, golden crucifixes and elaborately painted triptychs coexisted with simple wooden crosses and folk art representations of saints and the Christ.

A common set of beliefs—more elaborate for the concerns of the elite and simplified to basic expression among the people—is for me the real revolution brought by Wari and SAIS iconography to the central coast of Peru and probably in all regions that experienced the Wari and Tiahuanaco phenomena throughout the Andes. This "new religion," as Menzel affirmed, brought about a crucial and rapid transformation for the whole society that, in my opinion, was related to afterlife ideology. Evidence of this is found in the drastic change in burial customs in the first half of the MH, when the diversity of EIP regional and local funerary patterns was replaced by uniformity in body position and mortuary treatment (Bonavia 1991:362; Kaulicke 1997, 2000; Ravines 1977, 1981). The dead were now seated and wrapped, fixed in fetal attitude as if they expected some kind of rebirth, or perhaps continued consciousness, in a certain way, waiting for their heirs and descendants to honor and consult them (see Salomon 1995).

Such an abrupt change requires some kind of mythical scenario, in which some SAIS icons played a major role, especially the front-face deity and its attendants. In this sense, SAIS and related mythology and beliefs brought something new and exciting for central coast populations: the possibility of an afterlife in some way comparable to earthly life, as well as continued contact with one's descendants—at least for some individuals of special rank. Comparable religious ideas might have existed before, but Wari presented a full and structured system with deities, mythology, funerary cult, and corpse treatment prescribing curation of mummy bundles. Traditional gods were apparently less related to issues of afterlife than to subsistence, fertility, and fecundity, as the Coastal Icon's attributes seem to suggest. Of course, traditional religious matters were still important, and that is why both SAIS and local imagery coexisted throughout the MH, sometimes mixed, or blended, and sometimes separate. However, the synthesis of both religious traditions is not to be found during the MH, at least if we refer to iconography. Rather, it emerges in later testimonies describing Pachacamac at the time of Spanish conquest, in which the deity combines the attributes of oracle, creator of the universe, master of earthquakes, provider of food and life, curer of diseases, and patron of the dead.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to Duccio Bonavia, Steve Bourget, Victor Falcón Huayta, Jane Feltham, Bill Isbell, Patricia Knobloch, Adam Michzinsky, Tom Patterson, Rafael Segura Llanos, Luis Felipe Villacorta, Carlos Rengifo, Klaas Van der Borg, and Francisco

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Vallejo for having generously shared with me their scholarly experience and unedited writings, as well as provided me insightful comments on different questions raised throughout this chapter. Olivier Papegnies and Kusi Colonna-Preti (for the Ychsma Project ceramic photos) and Nathalie Bloch (for all the drawings) deserve my warmest thanks. Finally, I thank all the Ychsma Project staff at Pachacamac and Sergio Purini, of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire of Brussels, for providing me facilities for studying the Peruvian ceramic collections.

Notes

1 Recent works (Isbell and Knobloch 2006; Knobloch 1991:249) suggest that fancy Chakipampa A and associated Conchopata would be dated MH 1B rather than MH 1A, as Menzel proposed.

2 The debate over the definition of Wari is extensive but is it not the focus of this chapter, so I present my position only briefly. I share Isbell and McEwan's opinion that interpretations of Wari depend on where scholars conduct their field research, on their intellectual and academic affiliation, and on their theoretical commitments (Isbell and McEwan 1991:5). Considering these parameters, I think that the most realistic view of Wari on the central and north coast is expressed, for example, in a recent article by Justin Jennings (2006). This author proposes that Wari control by the Ayacuchan center would be limited to a few colonies that exchanged prestige artifacts with the capital and interacted with local populations through an ideology that accentuated social difference (Jennings 2006:277; see also Kaulicke 2000). I believe this ideology is expressed in the contexts where most SAIS motifs are found on the Peruvian coast: the burials and, by extension, afterlife and the ancestors.

3 Elliptical bowl with a conical or tubular handle on one side and a conical or tubular spout on the other.

4 It is worth noting that not all the vessels presented by d'Harcourt belong to the Nievería style, since there is also Late Lima (Pl.II.1, Pl.IV.2), Pachacamac (Pl.II.5, Pl.IV.3) and even Late Chancay (Pl.II.4). Some of d'Harcourt's Nievería vessels from Lima museum collections have been included by Shady (1982) in her corpus.

5 As Chris Donnan and Donna McClelland (1979, 1999) have shown, Wrinkle Face dominates the iconographic register in Late Moche times. Wrinkle Face is an anthropomorphic personage with fangs and a snake belt (see also Castillo 1989; Gölte 1994). Interestingly, his main "companion" is Iguana, who also combines anthropomorphic and reptilian elements.

6 Gayton (1927:Plate 95m) illustrates an anthropomorphic modeled bottle made in local orangeware she considers "Chimu" (i.e., Moche) influence. Bourget considers it "a mix of two different Moche subjects: the person who handles a vase and the one who holds a child" (Steve Bourget, personal communication 2008). These two subjects were especially frequent in Moche IV (i.e., the late part of the EIP). In my opinion, this example suggests that Nievería potters had some visual knowledge of Moche iconography, sufficiently complete to create new synthesis. This could be explained by recurrent contact, direct or indirect, with north coast cultures before Wari.

7 Knobloch (1989:115) argues that "specific vessel shapes and icons can be seriated to form an Epoch I style group." The griffin would pertain to that group.

8 Franco and Paredes Botoni (2000) also describe an offering of broken MH2 ceramics in a cache at the summit of the Old Temple of Pachacamac.

9 In the present state of research, only two ceramic workshops or production units have been identified at Pachacamac: one in Pyramid with Ramp No. 1 (Jiménez Borja 1985), the other in Pyramid with Ramp No. 3 (Eeckhout and Farfán 2001). Both are related to the Late Intermediate Period. Bueno Mendoza (1982:26) expresses doubts about the Pachacamac and related Ica-Pachacamac styles as defined by Menzel, which he considers styles produced outside of Pachacamac.

10 Uhle himself, years later, expressed his doubts about this scheme (Kroeber 1926:271 n. 14). Kroeber (1927:634, 1949) hypothesized that both styles were contemporaneous: "Coast Tiahuanaco comes in two manners: a hard, smooth, finished ware tending toward fairly elaborate designs executed with care in four, five or sometimes even six colors; and a softer, roughly made, unpolished ware, with simple sloppy designs in three or four colors. Since the second manner seemed decadent, Uhle called it 'Epigonal,' meaning thereby subsequent as well as inferior. But even at the time of his distinction of them at Pachacamac, and subsequently, the two manners have been found associated, sometimes in one and the same grave. Epigonal, if the name is retained at all, therefore denotes merely a low-grade variant, without necessarily any time difference" (Kroeber 1949:438).

11 See Kroeber (1925:246) for a similar interpretation and detailed argumentation.

12 Teatino has not been reported at Pachacamac until now, but there is a type known as Zoned Punctate (Punteado-en-Zonas; cf. Díaz Arriola and Vallejo Berrios 2002; Eeckhout 1999; Feltham 1983; Feltham and Eeckhout 2004; Franco 1998, 2004; Strong and Corbett 1943; Vallejo 2004), which presents the same kind of decoration. There are also shapes similar to Teatino ones that we recently excavated from Cemetery 1, but following Luis Felipe Villacorta (personal communication, 2008), they are not Teatino but local.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

13 Carrion Cachot 2005 [1959]:Figures 28–36, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 84–86, 90–97 (felines), Figures 102–103 (birds), Figures 26, 41–58, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73–81, 90–97 (plants); Lavalle and Lang 1991:Figures 42–50, 60; Menzel 1977:Figures 56–61; Ugarte Elespuru 1995:L.11, 19, 22, 31, 52–57, 59–60. It is worth noting that most of the painted textiles are attributed to Chancay or the north coast (cf. Ugarte Elespuru 1999).

14 This style has been known by several different names (see Eeckhout 1999:28). I prefer Three-Color Geometric because this is the most popular among current scholars working on this material.

15 The local Lurín-Rímac style of late MH through later periods has received many names (Huancho, Sub-Chancay, Black-and-White-on-Red, etc.) and as many different classifications (see Eeckhout 1999). Fortunately, some consensus has emerged in recent years, and the term "Ychsma" has been adopted since the *Coloquio sobre Arqueología de la Costa Central de Perú en los Períodos Tardios* held in Lima in 2004 (Eeckhout 2004). Following the proposals of Francisco Vallejo (1998, 2004), the Ychsma style has been divided into three phases (Early, Middle, and Late) and six subphases, covering the later part of MH through the Late Horizon.

16 Recent excavations in Huancho have led Vallejo to revise his opinion regarding influence of the Huaura style on the Early Ychsma. It now seems that Huaura was much more restricted and separate from other styles than previously thought (Francisco Vallejo, personal communication, 2008).

17 Shimada et al. (2004:519) recognize a phase, Final Lima, which probably equates to Late Lima or Patterson's Lima 8 to 9 (Segura Llanos 2004), although some other authors use this terminology for Nievería (see Goldhausen 2001).

References

Alessio, M., F. Bella, F. Bachechi, and C. Corstesi
1967 University of Rome Carbon-14 Dates. *Radiocarbon* 9:346–367.

Baessler, Arthur
1902–1903 *Altperuanische Kunst. Beitrage zur Archaeologie des Inca-Reichs.* 4 vols. Ascher, Berlin.

Bennett, Wendell C.
1946 Archaeology of Central Andes. In *Handbook of South American Indians (Vol. II)*, edited by Julian H. Steward, pp. 61–147. Bulletin 143. Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C.
1949 Architecture and Engineering. In *Handbook of South American Indians (Vol. V)*, edited by Julian H. Steward, pp. 1–61. Bulletin 143. Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C.

Bernal Rodríguez, Vanessa
2006 Influencias norteñas en la iconografía Casma: Un análisis comparativo. *Revista Electrónica de Arqueología PUCP* 1(3). http://revistas.pucp.edu.pe/arkeos/content/view/97/ (last accessed May 22, 2008).

Bonavia, Duccio
1962 Sobre el estilo Teatino. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 31:43–94.
1985 *Mural Paintings in Ancient Peru*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
1991 *Peru Hombre e Historia I. De los origenes al siglo XV*. Ediciones Edubanco, Lima.

Bueno Mendoza, Alberto
1974–1975 Cajamarquilla y Pachacamac: Dos Ciudades de la Costa Central del Perú. *Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropologia Americana* 37(46):171–211.
1982 *El Antiguo Valle de Pachacamac: Espacio, Tiempo y Cultura*. Editorial de Los Pinos, Lima.

Carrion Cachot, Rebecca
2005 [1959] *La religión en el antiguo Perú*. Instituto Nacional de Cultúra, Lima.

Castillo, Luis Jaime
1989 *Personajes míticos, escenas y narraciones en la iconografía mochica*. Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2000 La presencia de Wari en San José de Moro. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:143–179.
2001 The Last of the Mochicas: A View from the Jequetepeque Valley. In *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, edited by Joanne Pillsbury, pp. 307–332. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Cook, Anita
1994 *Wari y Tiwanaku: entre el estilo y la imagén*. Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2004 Wari Art and Society. In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman, pp. 146–167. Blackwell, Oxford.

Cordy-Collins, Alana
2001 Decapitation in Cupisnique and Early Moche Societies. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by E. Benson and A. Cook, pp. 21–33. University of Texas Press, Austin.

d'Harcourt, Raoul
1922 La céramique de Cajamarquilla-Nivería. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 14:107–18.

Díaz Arriola, Luisa, and Francisco Vallejo Berrios
2002 Identificación de Contextos Ichma en Armatambo. *Arqueología y Sociedad* 14:47–75.

Donnan, Christopher B.
1976 *Moche Art and Iconography.* Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Donnan, Christopher B., and Donna McClelland
1979 *The Burial Theme in Moche Iconography*. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
1999 *Moche Fineline Painting: Its Evolution and Its Artists*. The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, Los Angeles.

Eeckhout, Peter
1999 *Pachacamac durant l'Intermédiaire récent. Etude d'un site monumental préhispanique de la Côte centrale du Pérou*. British Archaeological Reports International Series, 747. Hadrian Books Ltd, Oxford.
2008 The Coastal Icon and Press-Molded Casma-Supe Vessels at the MRAH. *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire* 79 :321–333.
2010 Nuevas evidencias sobre costumbres funerarias en Pachacamac. In *Max Uhle (1856–1944). Evaluaciones de sus investigaciones y obras*, edited by Peter Kaulicke, Manuela Fischer, Peter Masson, and Gregor Wolff, pp. 151–163. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Eeckhout, Peter (editor)
2004 Arqueologia de la Costa Central del Perú en los Periodos Tardios. Special volume of *Boletin del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 33(3).

Eeckhout, Peter, and Carlos Farfán
2001 *Proyecto Ychsma. Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Estudios de Restauraciones en el Sitio de Pachacamac, Segunda temporada (2000)*. Informe final al Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Lima.

Falcón Huayta, Victor
2002 Datación Radiocarbónicas en la Cultura Lima. Paper presented at the Seminario Internacional sobre Datación Radiocarbónica, Lima.
2003 El motivo interlocking a tráves del ídolo de Playa Grande. *Arqueológicas* 26:163–178.

Feltham, Jane P.
1983 The Lurin Valley, Peru: A.D.1000–1532. PhD dissertation, Institute of Archaeology, University of London, London.

Feltham, P. Jane, and Peter Eeckhout
2004 Hacia una definición del estilo Ychsma: aportes preliminares sobre la cerámica tardía de la pirámide III de Pachacamac. In *Arqueologìa de la Costa Central del Perú en los Periodos Tardios*, edited by Peter Eeckhout, pp. 643–680. Volúmen especial *del Boletin del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 33(3).

Franco Jordan, Regulo
1998 *La Pirámide con Rampa n°2 de Pachacamac. Excavaciones y Nuevas Interpretaciones*. Trujillo.
2004 Poder religioso, crisis y prosperidad en Pachacamac: del Horizonte Medio al Intermedio Tardío. In *Arqueologìa de la Costa Central del Perú en los Periodos Tardios*, edited by Peter Eeckhout, pp. 465–506. Volúmen especial *del Boletin del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 33(3).

Franco Jordan, Régulo, and Ponciano Paredes Botoni
2000 El Templo Viejo de Pachacamac: Nuevos aportes al estudio del Horizónte Medio. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:607–630.

Gayton, Anna H.
1927 *The Üble Collections from Nieveria*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley.

Giersz, Milosz, Krystof Makowski, and Patrycja Przadka
2005 *El mundo sobrenatural de los Mochicas*. Universidad de Varsovia, Polonia, and Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Glowacki, Mary, and Michael Malpass
2003 Water, Huacas, and Ancestor Worship: Traces of a Sacred Wari Landscape. *Latin American Antiquity* 14(4):431–448.

Goldhausen, Marco
2001 Avances en el estudio de la iconogrfía Lima. *Arqueológicas* 25:223–266.

Gölte, Jürgen
1994 *Iconos y Narraciones. La reconstrucción de una secuencia de imágenes Moche*. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

Gonzalez Carré, Enrique
2007 *Historia Prehispánica de Ayacucho*. Lluvia Editores, Lima.

Guerrero, Daniel, and Jonathan Palacios
1994 El surgimiento del estílo Nievería en el valle del Rímac. *Boletín de Lima* 91–96:275–311.

Isbell, William H.
2001 Wari: crecimiento y desarollo de la capital imperial. In *Wari. Arte Precolombino Peruano. Catálogo de Exposición Centro Cultural el Monte, Sevilla enero-marzo 2001*, edited by Luis Millones, pp. 99–172. Fundación el Monte, Sevilla.
2004 Palaces and Politics in the Andean Middle Horizon. In *Palaces of the Ancient New World*, edited by Susan Toby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury, pp. 191–246. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
2006 Landscape of Power: A Network of Palaces in Middle Horizon Peru. In *Palaces and Power in the Americas from Peru to Northwest Coast*, edited by Jessica Joyce Christie and Patricia Joan Sarro, pp. 44–98. Texas University Press, Austin.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Isbell, William H., and Patricia Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.
2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development, and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In: *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 165–210. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Isbell, William H., and G. F. McEwan
1991 A History of Huari Studies and Introduction to Current Interpretations. In *Huari Administrative Structure, Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and G. F. McEwan, pp. 1–18. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Jennings, Justin
2006 Understanding Middle Horizon Peru: Hermeneutic Spirals, Interpretative Traditions, and Wari Administrative Centers. *Latin American Antiquity* 17(3):265–286.

Jijon y Caamano, Jacinto
1949 *Maranga, Contribucion al Conocimiento de los Aborigenes del Valle del Rimac, Peru*. La Prensa Catolica, Quito.

Jiménez Borja, Arturo
1985 Pachacamac. *Boletín de Lima* 38:40–54.

Kaulicke, Peter
1997 *Contextos funerarios de Ancón. Esbozo de una síntesis analítica*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2000 La Sombra de Pachacamac: Huari en la Costa Central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:313–359.
2001 Cronología, identidad, urbanismo y estado en los Andes Centrales y surcentrales entre los siglos V a X d.C.: algunas reflexiones finales. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:481–530.

Knobloch, Patricia J.
1989 Artisans of the Realm: Art of the Wari Empire and Its Contemporaries. In *Ancient Arts of the Andean World*, edited by Shozo Masuda and Izumi Shimada, pp. 107–123. Iwanami Shoten, Publishers, Tokyo. English Translation (© Knobloch, 1988) with pagination from the Japanese volume added.
1991 Stylistic Dates of Ceramics from the Huari Centers. In *Huari Administrative Structure, Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and G. F. McEwan, pp. 247–258. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Kroeber, Alfred L.
1925 *The Üble Pottery Collections from Supe*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley.
1926 *The Üble Pottery Collections from Chancay*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley.
1927 Coast and Highland in Prehistoric Peru. *American Anthropologist (n.s.)* 29(4):625–653.
1949 Art. In *Handbook of South American Indians (Vol. V)*, edited by Julian H. Steward, pp. 398–476. Bulletin 143. Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C.
1954 *Proto-Lima: A Middle Culture of Peru*. Fieldiana Anthropology, 44. Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago.

Lanning, Edward P.
1967 *Peru before the Incas*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Lapiner, Alan
1976 *Pre-Columbian Art of South America*. Harry N. Abrams, New York.

Lavalle, José Antonio de, and Werner Lang
1991 *Arte Precolombino. Tercera parte: Pintura*. 3rd ed. Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú, Bacno de Crédito del Perú en la Cultúra, Lima.

Lumbreras, Luis Guillermo
1974 *The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*. Translated by Betty J. Meggers. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

MacKay, Martín, and Raphael Santa Cruz
2000 Las excavaciones del proyecto arqueológico Huaca 20 (1999 y 2001). *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:583–595.

Menzel, Dorothy
1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–105.
1968 La Cultura Huari. *Las Grandes Civilizaciones del Antiguo Peru, 6*. Compania de Seguros y Reaseguros Peruanos, Lima.
1970 La Cultura Huari. In *100 años de arqueología en el Perú*, edited by Rogger Ravines, pp. 527–540. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.
1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Üble*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Mogrovejo, Juan Domingo R.
1995 Tapicería en la cultura Lima: un nuevo hallazgo textil en Cerro Culebras. *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* 24:63–72.

Mogrovejo R., Juan Domingo, and Krzystof Makowski
1999 Cajamarquilla y los Mega Niños en el pasado prehispánico. *Iconos* 1:46–57.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Mogrovejo R., Juan Domingo, and Rafael Segura
2000 El Horizonte Medio en le conjunto arquitectónico Julio C. Tello de Cajamarquilla. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:565–582.

Narváez Luna, José Joaquín
2006 *Sociedades de la Antigua Ciudad de Cajamarquilla*. Avqi Ediciones, Lima.

Palacios, Jonathan, and Daniel Guerrero
1992 Potrero Tenorio: un enterramiento ritual de ofrendas del estílo Nievería en el valle del Rímac. *Pachacamac* 1:75–100.

Paredes Botoni, Ponciano
1990 Pachacamac. In *Inca-Peru. 3000 Ans d'Histoire. Catalogue de l'exposition présentée aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles*, pp. 178–95. Imschoot Uitgevers, Gand.

Patterson, Thomas C.
1966 *Pattern and Process in the Early Intermediate Period Pottery of the Central Coast of Peru*. University of California Publications in Anthropology, 3. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Pérez Calderón, Ismael
1999 *Huari. Misteriosa ciudad de piedra*. Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Ayacucho.

Prümers, Heiko
2000 "El Castillo" de Huarmey: una plataforma funeraria del Horizonte Medio. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:289–312.

Ravines, Rogger
1977 Prácticas funerarias en Ancón (primera parte). *Revista del Museo Nacional* 42:153–295.
1981 Prácticas funerarias en Ancón (segunda parte). *Revista del Museo Nacional* 45:89–166.

Reiss, Wilhem, and Alfons Stübel
1880–1887 *The Necropolis of Ancón in Peru: A Contribution to our Knowledge of the Culture and Industries of the Empire of the Incas*. 3 vols. Translated by A. H. Keane. Ascher, Berlin.

Rucabado Yong, Julio, and Luis Jaime Castillo
2003 El Período Transicional en San José de Moro. In *Moche: hacia el final del milenio*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica, pp. 15–42. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo y Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Salomon, Frank
1995 "The Beautiful Grandparents": Andean Ancestor Shrines and Mortuary Rituals as Seen through Colonial Records. In *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices*, edited by Tom D. Dillehay, pp. 315–54. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Schindler, Helmut
2000 *The Norbert Mayrock Art Collection from Ancient Peru*. Staatliches Musuem für Völkerkunde, Munich.

Schmidt, Max
1929 *Kunst und Kultur von Peru*. Propyläen Verlag, Berlin.

Segura Llanos, Rafael
2001 *Rito y Economía en Cajamarquilla*. Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2004 La cerámica Lima en los albores del Horizónte Medio y algunas notas para el debate. In *Puruchuco y la Sociedad de Lima: Un homenaje a Arturo Jiménez Borja*, edited by Luis Felipe Villacorta Ostalaza, pp. 97–118. Concytec, Lima.

Sestieri, Pellegrino Claudio
1964 Excavations at Cajamarquilla, Peru. *Archaeology* 17(1):12–17.
1971 Cajamarquilla, Peru: The Necropolis of the Huaca Tello. *Archaeology* 24(2):101–106.

Shady Solís, Ruth
1982 La cultura Nievería y la interacción social en el mundo andino en la época Huari. *Arqueológicas* 19:7–108.

Shimada, Izumi
1991 Pachacamac Archaeology. Retrospect and Prospect. In *Pachacamac: A Reprint of the 1903 Edition by Max Üble*, pp. VII–LXVII. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Shimada, Izumi, Rafael Segura, María Rostworowski de Diéz Canseco, and Hirokatsu Watanabe
2004 Una nueva evaluación de la Plaza de los Peregrinos de Pachacamac: aportes de la prímera camapaña 2003 del Proyecto Arqueológico Pachacamac. In *Arqueología de la Costa Central del Perú en los Periodos Tardios*, edited by Peter Eeckhout, pp. 507–538. Volúmen especial *del Boletin del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 33(3).

Strong, William D.
1925 *The Üble Pottery Collections from Ancón*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley.

Strong, William D., and John M. Corbett
1943 A Ceramic Sequence at Pachacamac. In *Archaeological Studies in Peru, 1941–42*, edited by William D. Strong, Gordon G. R. Willey, and John M. Corbett, pp. 27–122. Columbia University Studies in Archaeology and Ethnology, New York.

Stumer, Louis
1956 Development of Peruvian Coastal Tiahuanacoid Styles. *American Antiquity* 22(1):130–48.

Tello, Julio C.
1956 *Arqueología del valle de Casma*. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Ugarte Elespuru, Juan Manuel

1995 *Las telas pintadas precolombinas de la costa Peruana*. Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Fondo Editorial, Lima.

1999 Las Telas Pintadas Prehispánicas de la Cultura Chancay. In *Tejidos Milenarios del Perú*, edited by Jose Antonio de Lavalle and Rosario de Lavalle de Cardenas, pp. 537–552. Integra AFP, Lima.

Uhle, Max

1903 *Pachacamac. Report of the William Pepper, M.D., LL.D. Peruvian Expedition of 1896*. Department of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Vallejo, Francisco

1998 *Secuencia cronológica en base a la cerámica Ichma*. Separata del Primer Coloquio de Arqueología del Valle del Rímac durante el Período Intermedio Tardío. INC—Museo de Puruchuco, Lima.

2004 El estílo Ychsma: características generales, secuencia y distribución geográfica. In *Arqueología de la Costa Central del Perú en los Periodos Tardios*, edited by P. Eeckhout, pp. 595–642. Volúmen especial *del Boletin del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 33(3).

Villacorta, Luis Felipe, and Walter Tosso

2000 El Estilo Teatino: Nuevas perspectivas. *Arqueológicas* 24:79–127.

Williams, Patrick Ryan

2001 Cerro Baúl: A Wari Center on the Tiwanaku Frontier. *Latin American Antiquity* 12(1):67–83.

Ziolkowski, Mariusz S., Mieczyslaw F. Pazdur, Andrzej Krzanowski, and Adam Michczynski

1994 *Andes: Radiocarbon Database for Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru*. Andean Archaeological Mission of the Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University, and Gliwice Laboratory of The Institute of Physics, Silesian Technical University, Warsaw and Gliwice.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 19: Introduction

Interacting Polities on the North Coast of Peru
The Moche and Wari Dilemma

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 19, Hélène Bernier and Claude Chapdelaine evaluate the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) and, more specifically, Wari influence on the Moche cultures of the north Peruvian coast, resolving a long-contested dispute. In the 1940s, Gordon Willey (1953) and Rafael Larco Hoyle (1948) documented a collapse in Moche culture that was accompanied by significant shifts in settlement patterns as well as new ceramic styles inspired by southern highland polychrome pottery. At that time, it was also popular knowledge that Moche culture represented a single political unit that had been ruled from a capital at the Huacas de Moche, at least in the later centuries of the Early Intermediate Period, so the clash of two great polities, ending with the defeat of one, was an appealing explanation. Abandonment of the Moche capital, decline of its major centers, and breakdown of its political organization were all attributed to conquest from the south, which came progressively to be identified with aggression by an emerging Wari empire.

During the 1970s, extensive archaeological research in the Moche Valley, studies at Pampa Grande, and other centers prompted reevaluations of the Wari conquest hypothesis. Still more recently, vast programs of investigation and conservation have been carried out at numerous Moche sites, promoting new understandings of ritual, political organization, religious imagery, craft production, agriculture, elite mortuary practices, ceramic styles, and absolute chronology. Bernier and Chapdelaine provide a current evaluation of what these new discoveries mean for Moche and the old Wari influence or Wari conquest arguments. Their conclusions are based on a wide range of carefully documented considerations, including new formulations of the chronology and political organization, as well as themes and techniques in art and architecture, especially potential relations and hybridizations in ceramics, mural painting, and textiles.

Bernier and Chapdelaine's conclusions are definitive, establishing a clear direction for SAIS research on the north coast, in the future. There is no convincing evidence for colonization or for indirect rule of Moche by the Wari. Furthermore, some similarities that were observed, such as alternating geometric color schemes and front-face beings holding vertical objects in extended hands, are better understood as derived from different antecedents—that may share ancient Andean roots—but direct introductions from Wari into Moche are not convincing.

Conversely, significant new evidence of cultural interactions has been documented between specific Moche centers and particular foci of Wari culture. These discoveries lend credence to long-cited cases of Wari influence among the Moche and provide evidence for new understandings of cultural dynamics operating

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

during the Middle Horizon. Most clearly documented are numerous fancy Wari ceramics present in elite graves at San José de Móro, in the lower Jequetepeque Valley. This Wari pottery is always in a minority, accompanying more abundant offerings of Late Moche ceramics. Furthermore, in some of the same graves but also in other contexts at this time, Cajamarca pottery appears as well. And finally, Moche-Wari fusion vessels occur. Apparently, San José de Móro's intercultural relationship was not with the Huari capita, but with a provincial Wari node located in the adjacent highland Cajamarca Valley. Perhaps, as the prestige of old Moche ritual and politics collapsed, at least some Moche survivors reached out to new sources of prestige—alliance with a Wari-Cajamarca polity. What was this Wari provincial culture like? Were Moche elites intermarrying with its highland lords? Be that as it may, new scientifically excavated Wari artifacts from San José de Móro provide a new first step toward developing an improved understanding the Moche-Wari relationship.

As understandings of actual Moche and Wari interactions are illuminated, it also seems desirable to consider an issue that Bernier and Chapdelaine barely touch upon. How should we understand seemingly ancient traditions shared by Moche and the SAIS? In particular, what of the sacrificer or decapitator theme so popular in Moche and in several SAIS cultures, although decapitators seem to turn into Profile Attendants in many Late SAIS styles. Are these similarities significant? If so, what accounts for the prominence in both cultures? And, of course, what influences might Moche have had on Wari, especially during Moche's ascendency toward the end of the Early Intermediate Period? For example, some of the art at Conchopata depicts narrative scenes of realistic humans that seem more consistent with Late Moche art than with the rigid stylization of SAIS antecedents. The investigation of Wari-Moche interaction should not assume unidirectionality but explore interaction.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Larco Hoyle, Rafael

1948 *Cronología Arqueológica del Norte del Perú*. Sociedad Geográfica Americana, Buenos Aires.

Willey, Gordon R.

1953 *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Virú Valley, Perú*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 155. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 19

Interacting Polities on the North Coast of Peru
The Moche and Wari Dilemma

Hélène Bernier and Claude Chapdelaine

It is widely assumed that the Wari established the first political empire in the Andean area, expanding from the Ayacucho Basin at the beginning of the Middle Horizon (Isbell 2006:46; Isbell and McEwan 1991; Isbell and Schreiber 1978; Schreiber 1992). Direct archaeological evidence of Wari imperialism in the highlands stretches from Cajamarca to Cuzco, covering more than 1,000 km and including *quechua* and *puna* ecological zones. The centralized empire was administered from the capital of Huari and from strategically located secondary provincial centers. However, Wari political domination was not exerted on a continuous territory, as areas under direct Wari political control alternated with regions under indirect control and cultural influence. The vast area subject to this mosaic of control was ethnically and ecologically diverse and expanded rapidly during the seventh century AD (Figure 19.1) (Glowacki and McEwan 2001:33, 39; Schreiber 1992:268–269; Williams et al. 2001:70).

The Wari empire extended tentacles over a vast area and established contacts with polities outside its boundaries, as evidenced by the broad geographical distribution of Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) art (see Chapters 8, 17, and 18, this volume). However, the limits of the Wari territory are not well defined. To the south, the site of Cerro Baúl in the Moquegua Valley seems to mark the southernmost Wari presence, overlapping Tiwanaku territory (Feldman 1989; Williams et al. 2001; Williams and Nash 2002). Viracochapampa and Marca Huamachuco show important Wari investments in ceremonial architecture in the north highlands (J. R. Topic and Topic 2000), while a few sites in the Cajamarca region probably represent the northern end of Wari indirect political control (Schreiber 1992:271). Portable arts from the south and central coast during the Middle Horizon show strong ties to Wari (Isla 2001; Kaulicke 2000; Schreiber 2000), although architectural evidence of Wari presence is rare. The site of Pataraya, located in the Andean foothills in the upper Nazca drainage, is a small Wari enclosure and was probably related to the production of coca leaves (Schreiber 1999:169). The site of Sonay, in the Camana Valley, has been identified as a local administrative center (Malpass 2001). However, the architecture and the associated ceramics diverge from Wari canons (Jennings 2006:270; Malpass 2001:65).

This particular study investigates the nature of Wari presence or influence on the north coast of Peru during the Late Moche occupation. Data published recently and in the past are reviewed for new understandings of Moche ceramic and textile iconography, chronology, and the nature of Moche political organization. This review of old and new data calls into question the domination of the north coast of Peru by the Wari expansionist state during the Middle Horizon and reaffirms the Moche as a strong system of political entities sharing a common ideological base.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

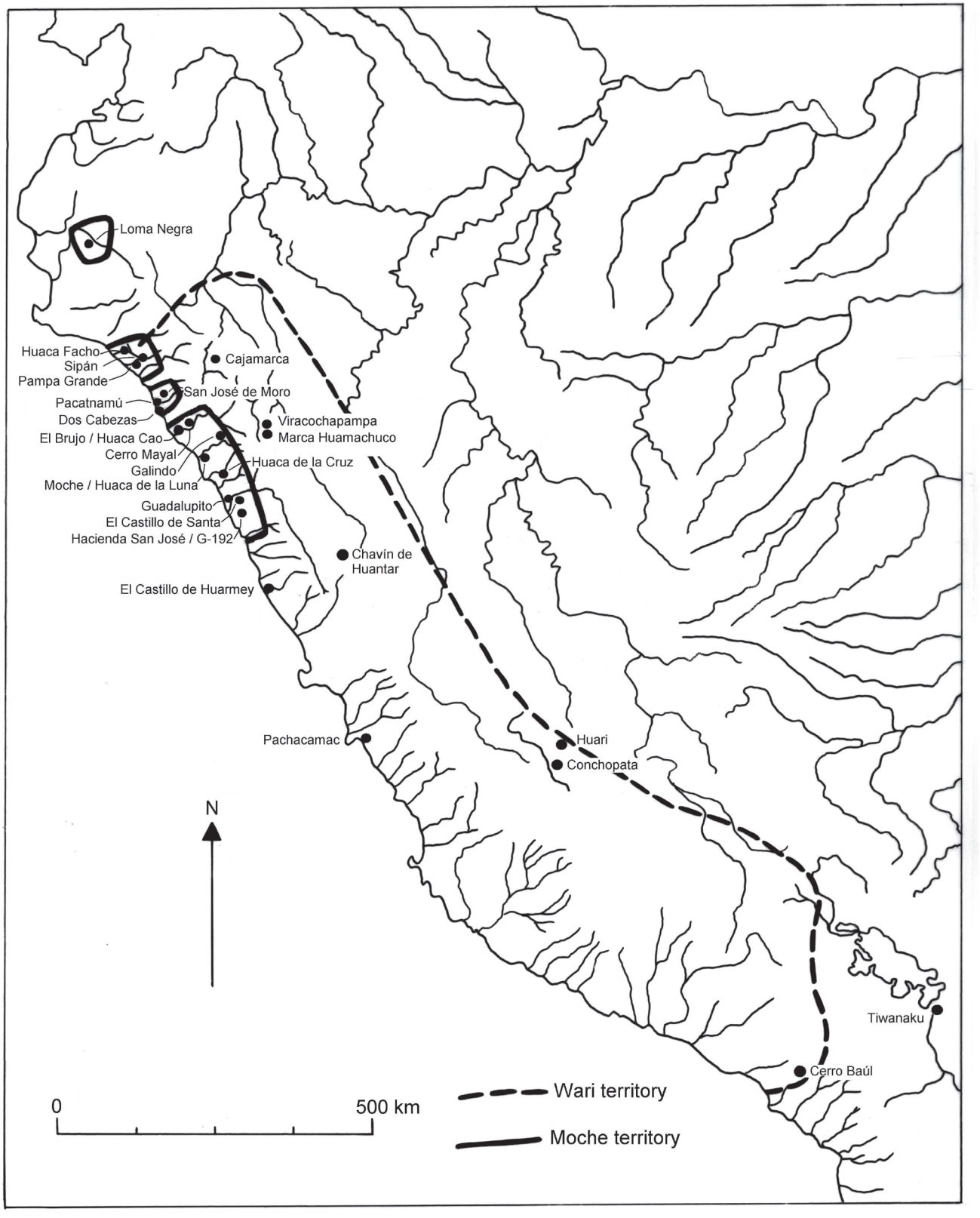


Figure 19.1. Map of Wari and Moche territories, with sites and regions mentioned in the article (redrawn from Castillo and Uceda 2008; Isbell 2000).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The Moche society flourished on the Peruvian coastal desert between the first and the eighth centuries AD, settling in valleys irrigated by rivers flowing westward from the Andes to the Pacific Ocean (Figure 19.1). Archaeologists now divide Moche society into two spheres with common cultural characteristics in the fields of religion, ritual, and iconography but enough differences in ceramic tradition and political organization to allow the division between northern and southern Moche areas (Castillo and Donnan 1994; Castillo and Uceda 2008:715–718; Shimada 1994a). The southern Moche polity is considered the first expansionist state to emerge on the Peruvian coast, appearing in the fourth century AD (Bawden 1996:227–248; Chapdelaine 2000:125, 2001:69, 2002:81). The northern Moche territory seems to have been politically fragmented across three independent valley systems. Political elites of the Piura, Lambayeque, and Jequetepeque Valleys were able to maintain political autonomy (Castillo and Uceda 2008:718).

Chronological Data

Dorothy Menzel (1964, 1977) established a master chronological sequence of Middle Horizon ceramics with the help of collections made by Uhle, Bennett, and Rowe (Table 19.1). This sequence is still used today as a major reference in the study of Wari archaeology. Menzel's Middle Horizon Epoch 1A (AD 500–600) marks the first appearance of Wari styles outside the Ayacucho region, while Middle Horizon Epoch 1B (AD 600–650) corresponds to the building of Wari provincial capitals, as well as the great geographical expansion of the Wari empire and its associated material culture (D'Altroy and Schreiber 2004:271; Menzel 1964:67; Shreiber 1992:77–78). During Epoch 2A (AD 650–700), the empire underwent reorganization, and the maximum geographical extent was reached during Epoch 2B (AD 700–800). Middle Horizon Epoch 3 (AD 800–850) marked the collapse of Wari (Menzel 1964:70–72; Schreiber 1992:78) (Editor's note: Such early collapse of Wari is no longer likely, given dates approaching AD 1000 from several Wari sites, including Conchopata).

The classic north-coast chronology describes Moche emergence during the first century AD, followed by the consolidation of the state between the fourth and sixth centuries. After major political disruptions during the transition between the Moche IV and V phases, which occurred around AD 600, the state collapsed around AD 750 (Bawden 1995:257). Political tensions and ecological perturbations around AD 600 are considered to have triggered social changes between the Moche IV and V phases[1] (Bawden 1995; Shimada 1994b:122–130, n. 1).

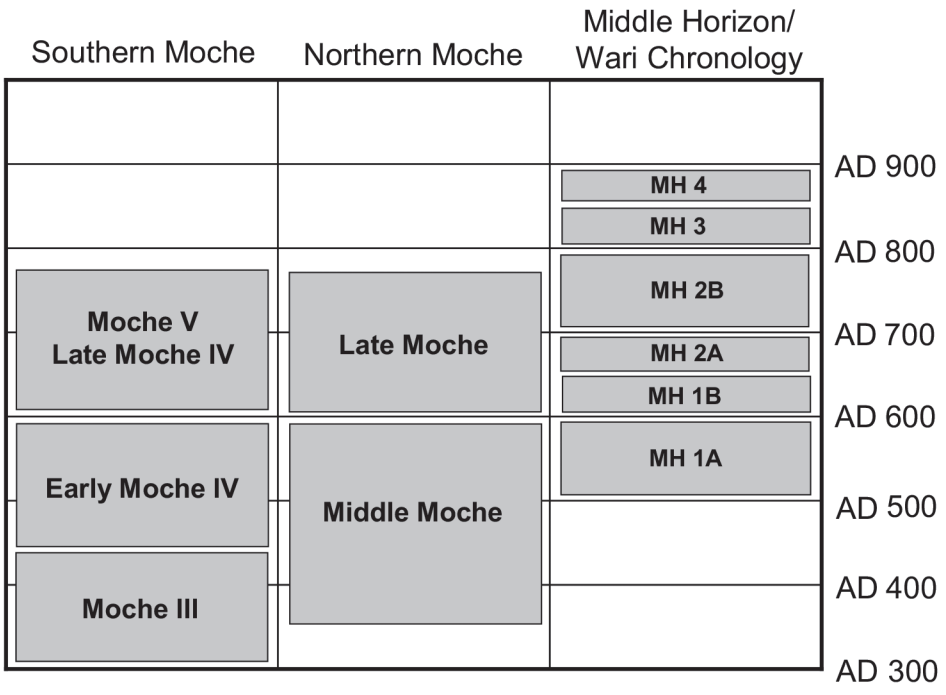
Many new dates from the southern Moche territory clearly indicate that the Moche IV ceramic style persisted for nearly two centuries after AD 600 and was likely still present by AD 750 (Table 19.1). At the site of Moche, also known as Huacas de Moche, a series of radiocarbon dates obtained in domestic Moche IV contexts show a strong apogee occupation during the sixth and seventh centuries AD (Middle Horizon 1A to 2A), as well as a decline during the eighth century or Middle Horizon 2B (Chapdelaine 2000:137). New dates from the Santa Valley support the evidence of a Moche occupation later than AD 600 (Chapdelaine 2008, 2010a). The site of Hacienda San José (site Guad-192) was occupied by Moche IV colonists well into the seventh century AD (Chapdelaine et al. 2003:37–38). At Cerro Mayal, in the Chicama Valley, calibrated dates from a workshop show that Moche IV ceramic vessels were produced from the sixth to the end of the eighth century AD (Russell et al. 1998:82).

The Moche V style was not adopted at the site of Moche or in the Santa Valley, where occupants continued to produce Moche IV ceramics until the seventh century. Furthermore, phases IV and V ceramics were produced contemporaneously for at least a century in the southern Moche state, as midpoints of calibrated dates from Moche V contexts at Galindo, Moche Valley, range between AD 580 and 720 (Bawden 1977:410; Conrad 1974:740; Lockard 2005:125, 2009). Consequently, two chronological subphases can be distinguished for Moche IV ceramics. The Early Moche IV phase would correspond to the Moche territorial expansion, while the Late Moche IV phase would begin around AD 600 and be coeval with the production of Moche V ceramics.

Fewer dates have been published for the northern half of the Moche territory, and the criteria used in Larco Hoyle's (1948) seriation are less relevant in the north, so scholars tend to use a different three-phase chronological framework that parallels the traditional chronology (Table 19.1). Midpoints of calibrated dates obtained in Moche V contexts at Pampa Grande, in the Lambayeque Valley, range from AD 650 to 770 (Shimada 1994b:4). The chronology commonly used in the Jequetepeque Valley considers that the Middle Moche phase (roughly corresponding to Moche III–IV) lasted from AD 400 to 600, while the Late Moche phase (Moche IV–V) lasted until approximately AD 800. The time period between 800 and 950 is considered transitional and is immediately followed by the Lambayeque conquest (del Carpio 2008:82).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Table 19.1 Chronologies of the Southern Moche, Northern Moche, and Wari.



Calibrated dates prove that the Moche polities survived well into the seventh and eighth centuries AD in many valleys located in the northern and southern spheres of their territory. Wari political expansion beyond the Ayacucho Basin is thus contemporary with several Moche polities on the north coast and did not precipitate the fall of the Moche (Chapdelaine 2010b). However, as these expansionist polities were coeval during the first two centuries of the Middle Horizon, it is unlikely that they did not interact. What was the nature of these possible interactions, exchanges, and conflicts between the Moche states and the Wari empire? In what ways do these interactions appear in the material remains?

Previous Research

Until the 1970s, north coastal archaeologists almost unanimously supported the hypothesis that Wari occupied the area through military conquest. The Wari were considered an expansionist state, achieving the size and complexity of a powerful empire. Many maintained that Wari exerted military domination and political control over the north coast, citing the emergence of urban planning (Lumbreras 1974:165–166) and the presence of Wari-derived ceramics (Kroeber 1930:111; Larco Hoyle 1948:37; Willey 1971:161–162) as evidence for conquest. Donnan (1972:85) also argued that the Wari dominated the north coast after eclipsing the Moche. Donnan's hypothesis was supported by the stylistic analysis of Wari-influenced mural paintings associated with the Late Moche occupation at Huaca Facho, Lambayeque Valley, although he cautioned that additional fieldwork was needed to support this model of Wari conquest (Donnan 1972:95).

Since 1980, increasing archaeological information allowed for more complex analyses of the interactions between the Wari and north-coast polities. Excavations revealed that urbanism had developed locally on the north coast from the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. The percentage of pottery vessels and sherds in the Wari artistic tradition was extremely low in the Moche Valley collections (Mackey 1982:322). Clear material evidence of the alleged Wari conquest of the north coast did not appear in the archaeological record. No Wari administrative center was identified. Material evidence for the extraction of tribute from north-coast populations, as well as architecture left by Wari colonists securing the borders, remains to be identified (T. Topic 1991).

Some authors argue that the absence of Wari infrastructure on the north coast does not necessarily indicate the absence of Wari control. D'Altroy and Schreiber suggest that the conquest of complex and centralized societies, like the Moche, may be the most difficult to document archaeologically. To explain

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

the lack of Wari architecture on the north coast, they argue that in areas with preexisting, well-organized political systems, an expansionist empire would not need to establish new infrastructures following a conquest (D'Altroy and Schreiber 2004:276; Schreiber 1992:274–275, 2001:89). Indirect rule through existing infrastructure is well known among archaic empires.

Today, most scholars reject the hypothesis of a successful Wari invasion of the north coast (Bawden 1996:269–271; Castillo 2000:144; Donnan and Mackey 1978:213; Mackey 1982; T. Topic 1991; Wilson 1988:334–335). However, the nature of the Wari presence or influence on the north coast of Peru is a matter of continuing debate.

Moche and Wari Art

In the absence of architectural evidence, interaction between the Wari and Moche polities might be tracked through common themes in the iconography of the portable arts of both cultures, especially SAIS influence on Moche art, or by the presence of SAIS artifacts in the Moche territory before AD 800. Moche art and iconography have been privileged topics of research for the past four decades, especially in the case of ceramics. Indeed, since the early history of Andean archaeology, the abundance of fancy Moche ceramics in public and private collections inspired enthusiasm for Moche art (Kroeber 1925; Larco Hoyle 1945). Discoveries made under the auspices of the Chan Chan–Moche Valley Project of Harvard University and the Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca de la Luna, as well as discoveries of elite burials at Sipán, Huaca Dos Cabezas, and San José de Moro, have stimulated research on Moche iconography (Benson 1972; Bourget 1994, 2006; Donnan 1975, 1978, 1992, 2004, 2007; Donnan and McClelland 1999; Hocquenghem 1987; McClelland et al. 2007). Wari textiles, and more recently Wari ceramics, have held the attention of scholars investigating iconography, artistic canons, and the technology of production, as well as the role of portable arts in the sociopolitical organization of the Wari empire (Bergh 1999; Conklin 1985; Cook 1994, 2004; Isbell 2000; Knobloch 1983; Rodman and Fernandez 2000).

At first sight, Moche and Wari ceramic and textile traditions appear remarkably different. Although the iconographic corpus of each tradition shares common features, it seems that Moche and Wari artists stressed different meaningful elements in the materialization of their respective ideological traditions. Artists from each society also chose highly contrasting artistic canons of representation.

Wari's common decorated vessel shapes are necked jars and beakers (*keros*). Large quantities of oversized urns were also discovered at Conchopata (Isbell 2000; Isbell and Cook 2001). Wari ceramists used polychrome slip painting to create geometric or figurative motifs in richly saturated shades of brown, red, orange, yellow, cream, grey, purple, and black. Motifs are generally simple and composed of uniformly colored areas outlined with black or sometimes white. Geometric designs include stepped blocks, step frets, scrolls, and chevrons. Figurative themes are highly varied. Felines and raptorial birds, represented as simple animals or mythological composite creatures, dominate the corpus of zoomorphic figures. Human figures are generally high-status men wearing geometric tunics and four-cornered hats. Other privileged themes are frontal representations of the principal anthropomorphic deity with rayed, square head and staffs in outstretched hands, as well as profile anthropomorphic birds in dynamic poses. Plants such as corn and *vilca* pods (*Anadenanthera colubrina*) are frequently depicted. Secondary figurative elements include snakes, stylized flowers, and trophy heads. The rendition of animals, anthropomorphic figures, and plants is not realistic; postures are static, features are simplified, faces are generic, and bodies are highly geometrized and conventionalized. Compositions are often repetitive and never narrative.[2] Wari vessels sometimes combine painted and modeled decoration. Some figures are painted on globular vessels, while others are rendered tri-dimensionally, with painted details. Modeled projecting extensions are sometimes integrated with the two-dimensional decoration, such as faces on the necks of jars.

The corpus of textiles from the Wari core area is extremely limited due to poor preservation conditions in the highlands, but fine tapestry tunics appear to have been the privileged textile form produced by Wari weavers to express intricate religious iconography. Most preserved tunics are known or thought to have come from cemeteries on the south and central coasts, where textile preservation is better. Figures woven onto Wari textiles usually appear in bands divided into a succession of squares or rectangles, each containing an image repeated, inverted, mirrored, geometrized, and duplicated in pairs with alternating colors (Conklin 1996; Sawyer 1963). Some tunics are entirely covered with repeated motifs organized within squares. Vertical bands of one color may alternate with columns

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

of squares (Reid 1993:234). Wari textile imagery repeats ceramic imagery, with profile figures strongly predominating (winged composite creatures holding staffs, sticks, weapons, or trophy heads). It is also true that many ceramics showcase textiles, such as tunics on anthropomorphic jars. Profile heads, frontal figures, step frets, interlocked "U" shapes, and stepped crosses are also common (Bergh 1999:36–41), and special themes such as trophy heads and musicians (A. Rowe 1979) are also documented.

Stirrup-spout bottles are the privileged ceramic medium for Moche artists' expression of ideological messages. Jars and flaring bowls were also used, but beakers, oversized urns, and double-spout and bridge vessels are absent from the corpus. Moche ceramists typically produced bichrome slip-painted vessels, with red decoration on a white/cream background. White on red is also present, although to a lesser extent. Steps and waves are the most common geometric designs on Moche ceramics. Figurative themes are extremely varied during the Moche IV classical phase. Common zoomorphic figures include camelids, deer, felines, foxes, rodents, monkeys, bats, and sea lions, as well as a wide array of birds, fish, shells, arachnids, and reptiles. These animals are represented realistically, hybridized, or anthropomorphized. Among male and female human figures, rulers, warriors, prisoners, priests, healers, and fanged deities are recognizable, as well as deformed and skeletal individuals. Corn, squash, and beans are common among a great diversity of plants.[3] Like the animals, they are sometimes hybridized or anthropomorphized. All these figures are represented alone, repeated, or interact to perform a variety of activities represented in diverse narrative scenes. Although possibilities of creating different scenes from all the known Moche figures have an almost infinite number of versions, major trends can be recognized in narrative art. Scenes involving combat, processions, sacrifices, torture, dances, hunts, erotic acts, burials, presentation of offerings, and sailing on reed boats are repeated on many vessels (Bourget 2006; Donnan 1975, 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1999; Hocquenghem 1987).

Moche artists carefully rendered naturalistic details of humans, animals, and plants with great anatomical precision. Exact species and even historical individuals can be recognized in images depicted with a high degree of realism. Supernatural or composite creatures also have highly detailed features of particular animal or plant species occurring in the north Peruvian coastal environment.

The scarcity of preserved Moche textiles, especially at the site of Moche, complicates the study of textile iconography. The few published examples of Moche decorated textiles show that geometric and figurative designs and themes woven in textiles repeat painted and modeled ceramic iconography. For example, four decorated textiles found at Pacatnamú show flowers, geometrized *life* fish,[4] and strombus monsters based on real-life species, as well as high-status individuals standing under a gabled roof decorated with war clubs (Ubbelohde-Doering 1966:72–79). Identical motifs appear on Moche painted ceramics. Like ceramic iconography, textile designs seem to be extremely diversified and naturalistic enough to allow the identification of the plant and animal species represented.

Shared Themes and Canons in Moche and Wari Art

Ceramics

Few themes are common to both Moche and Wari ceramic art. Figurative themes present in both artistic traditions include felines, trophy heads, a frontal figure holding staffs, and a horizontal flying creature. Most of these themes were already present in Moche art before the Middle Horizon 1A and Moche IV phase, so similar images in Moche and Wari art do not result from the direct influence of Wari religious imagery on Moche art.

Felines were privileged animals in the religious and artistic traditions of all Andean societies, including Moche and Wari. As early as the Preceramic Period, feline representations were integrated into ritual contexts (Bird and Hyslop 1985:71–73), and these strong and feared animals were favored symbols of supernatural power and social authority from the Early Horizon onward. In Wari and broader SAIS art, felines are hybridized, anthropomorphized, winged, crowned, and often related to religious contexts. Profile Attendants of the Staff Deity have feline attributes, and incense burners take the shape of felines. Creatures with feline attributes are associated with hallucinogenic *Anadenanthera colubrina* iconography and painted on oversized jars and drinking vessels used in rituals involving maize beer (Figure 19.2).

Felines are depicted very differently in Moche ceramic iconography; they are sometimes anthropomorphized but rarely have attributes from other animals. Felines seem to symbolize the secular aspect of power, although the Moche secular and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 19.2. Wari oversized urn decorated with feline heads (from Aimi 2003).

ideological realms were closely intertwined. Three-dimensional vessels depict felines very naturalistically, either sitting, attacking human prisoners, or held in the hands of rulers. When anthropomorphized, felines generally take the role of warriors or sacrificers in Moche iconography (Figure 19.3) (Bourget 1994:138; see also Benson 1974:9–19). Felines also decorate high-status personal adornments, like headdresses and capes, which were worn by rulers and members of the elite (Uceda 2004). Felines have been depicted on ceramics since the very beginning of the Moche tradition, and a cult of the feline developed from earlier, local traditions.

Frontal figures holding staffs in outstretched hands are central to both Wari and Tiwanaku art and interpreted as representations of a primary deity—the Staff God—often assisted by anthropomorphic winged attendants depicted in profile. Crossed fangs and a square head circled by an interlocking fret band from which emerge rays ending in dots, stylized plants, or animal heads are common characteristics of the Wari Staff God (Figure 19.4). The staffs take the shape of spear throwers or end with *vilca* flowers or snake, feline, bird, and human heads. According to Isbell and Knobloch (2006:342), although Chavín iconography might have contributed slightly to the development of Wari religious representations, Staff God imagery emerged out of widespread southern antecedents, such as the Pucara-style Rayed Head deity and other SAIS styles.

Moche representations of frontal figures with outstretched hands differ greatly. Figures take the Staff God position, but they do not hold simple staffs. They hold snakes, yucca and corn stems, or lances and war clubs, standing in front of mountain peaks or under an arched double-headed snake (Figure 19.5). Figures generally have fangs and headdresses decorated with rectangular appendages, crescents and circles, or octopus tentacles. They appear on molded jars and stirrup-spout bottles from the Moche III and IV phases, most of which are also decorated with white and red slip (see Carrión 1959:61–62; Giersz et al. 2005:116, 178–182). These vessels have been documented in Moche archaeological contexts in the Moche and Santa Valleys (Figure 19.6) (Chapdelaine and Pimentel 2002:34; Tufinio 2004:32). While Carrión (1959) interprets them as fertility deities, Giersz et al. (2005) see them as eagle warriors, owl warriors, and marine

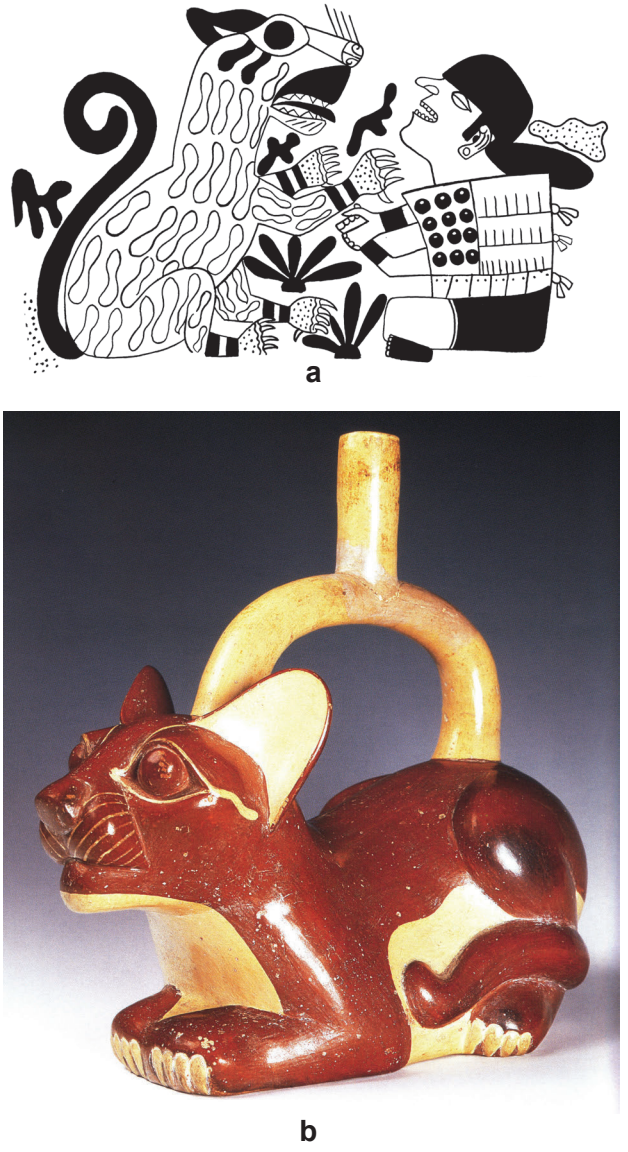


Figure 19.3. Felines in Moche art: (a) Reproduction of a scene painted on a Moche vessel showing a feline and a prisoner (from Kutscher 1983); (b) Moche sculpted vessel showing a feline (from Larco 2001).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 19.4. Wari oversized urn decorated with the staff deity (from Makowski 2004).

Figure 19.5. Moche jar with figure taking the staff deity posture, interpreted as a marine deity by Makowski (from Makowski 2008).

deities. The origin of the Moche frontal figure in the Staff God position remains speculative. Although Menzel (1977:33) suggests that the front-face posture and arms extended at the sides indicate a Wari origin, Moche frontal figures do not show any similarity to the Pucara-style Rayed Head deity.

Moche frontal fanged figures in the Staff God position probably emerged from earlier northern artistic traditions. Similar figures appear on metal adornments recovered in Vicús contexts in the Piura Valley (Figure 19.7) (Disselhoff 1971:37). Furthermore, heads of Moche fanged deities depicted in early phases, show characteristics reminiscent of Chavín and Cupisnique supernaturals, like angular mouths and square eyes with pendant irises (Figure 19.8) (see Campana 1995:234; Giersz et al. 2005:172; Mackey and Hastings 1982:306).

Decapitated heads are present in both Wari and Moche religious iconographies but do not constitute a central theme in either culture. On Wari painted ceramics, severed heads are either represented as isolated elements or in the hands of a supernatural figure named the "sacrificer" (see Cook 2001:140–141; Isbell 2000:Figure 16). On Moche ceramics, decapitated heads appear more frequently in early phases, in the hands of anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. Moche depiction of severed heads and supernatural decapitators is closely related to similar themes in Cupisnique iconography. Human, monster, anthropomorphic spider, bird of prey, and fish decapitators are present in both Cupisnique and Moche (Cordy-Collins 1992, 2001). They also show similar body positions, grabbing the decapitated head by the hair in one hand and a *tumi* knife in the other. A related decapitator is present on a Chavín engraved stone showing a "warrior" holding a severed head, spears, and a spear thrower (J. Rowe 1962:23). In sum, the representation of severed heads and decapitators as "sacrificers" in Moche art predates the Middle Horizon and has deep roots in the local religion of preceding cultures on the north coast of Peru.

Horizontal, anthropomorphic flying creatures can be seen in both Moche and Wari ceramic art. Wari "flying attendants" have anthropomorphic bodies with bent legs and wings or ray-like projections on the back and avian or feline heads, and they carry diverse types of staffs below their bodies (Figure 19.9). Flying attendants are represented in processions and associated with other vessels decorated with the Staff God iconography (see Isbell and Knobloch 2006:333–337). The Wari flying attendant is related to a mythical figure that appears on central-coast ceramics during Middle Horizon 1B or 2A, which Menzel (1964:59–60) calls the "Pachacamac Griffin." The griffin is the central figure of the Pachacamac style, with an avian head and a winged feline body (Figure 19.10). Along with the Staff Deity, the Pachacamac Griffin is thought to be part of a set of figures directly derived from Wari religious iconography

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

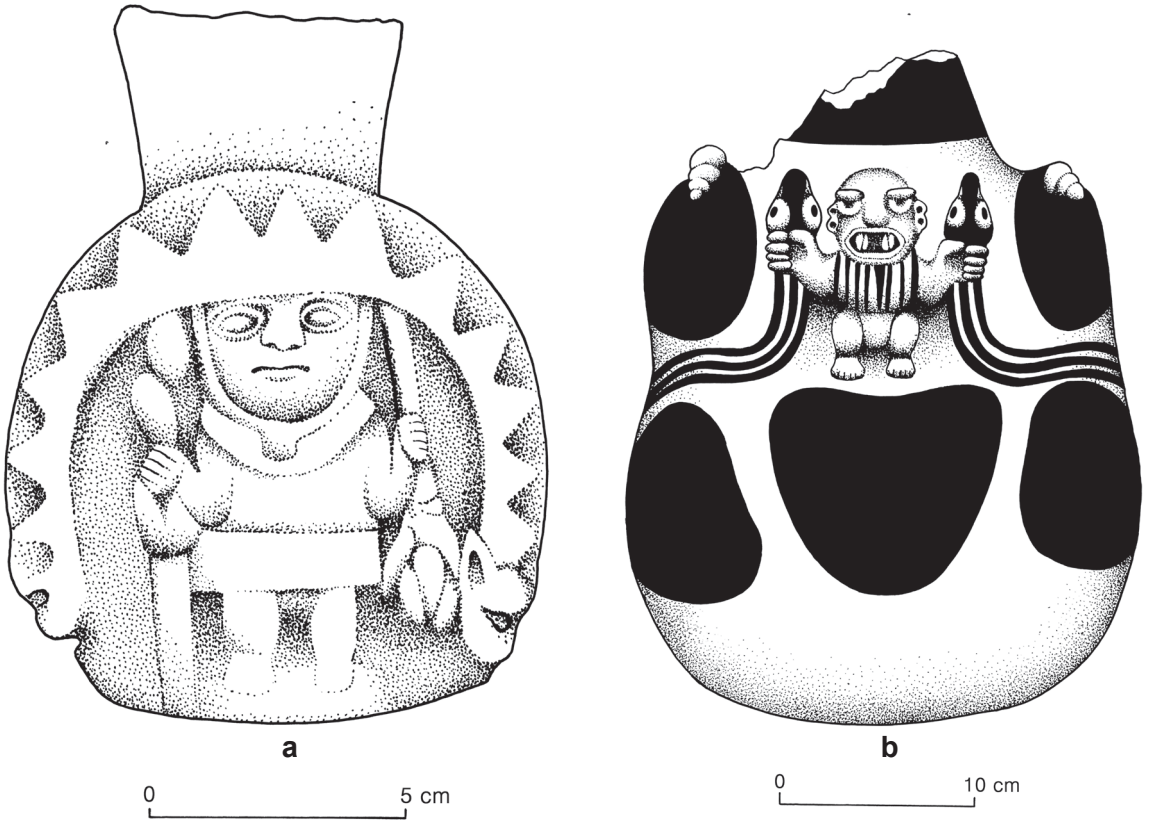


Figure 19.6. Moche jars with figure taking the staff deity posture, recovered in Moche archaeological contexts. (a) Moche IV burial from Hacienda San José / G-192, Proyecto Santa Université de Montréal; (b) Moche III burial from Huaca de la Luna, redrawn from Tufinio 2004.

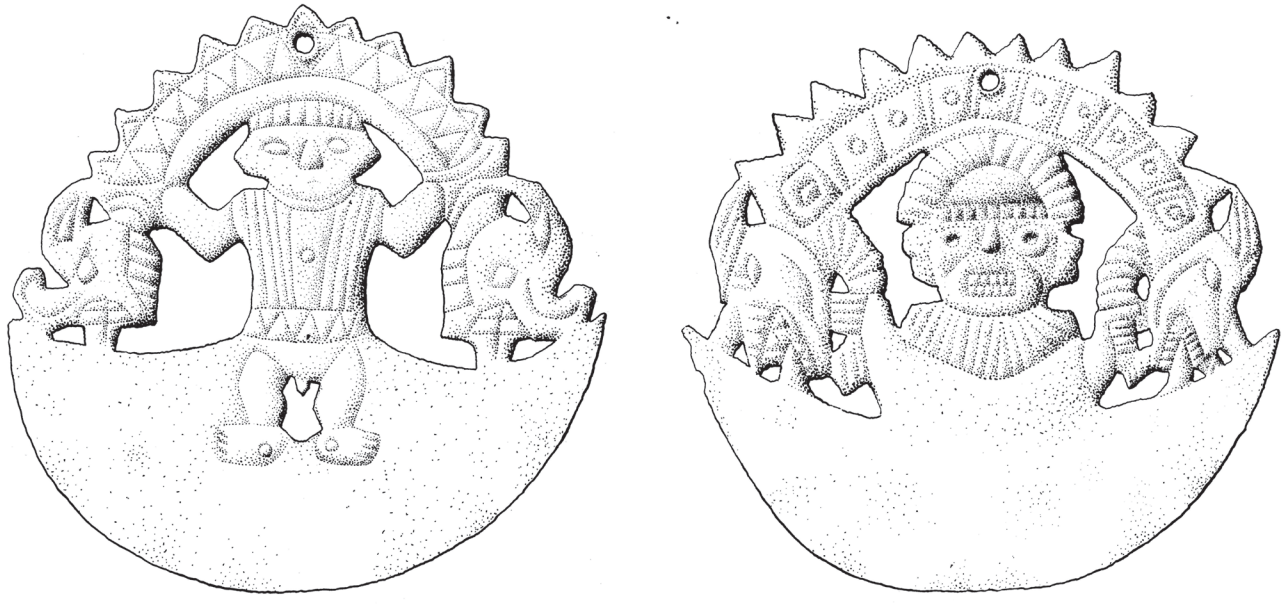


Figure 19.7. Vicús metal adornments from the Piura Valley (from Disselhoff 1971).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

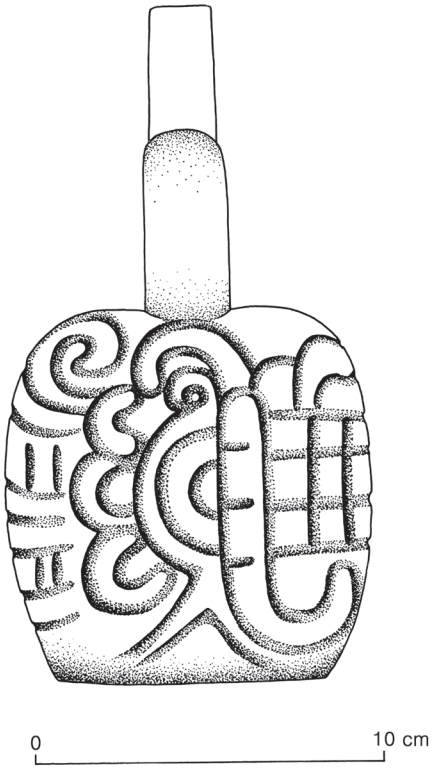


Figure 19.8. Moche vessel decorated with stylized felines, displaying strong influence from Cupisnique art, recovered in a Moche II to III burial at the site of Moche (redrawn from Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2005).

and integrated into the central-coast artistic tradition at the beginning of the Middle Horizon (Menzel 1964:59–60; Shimada 1991:xxv).

A creature similar to the Pachacamac Griffin appears on Moche vessels, flying or floating horizontally in the same body position and in the same direction as the Wari icon (Figure 19.11). Despite the similarity in body positions of Wari and Moche "flying attendants," the latter is likely an archaism from the Early Horizon rather than the result of an influence from southern regions. Moche flying attendants, which have human limbs and feline heads, also occasionally have fins, wear warrior garments, and hold *tumi* knives (Cordy-Collins 2001:25; Donnan and McClelland 1999:34). With their bent legs and weapons, Moche flying attendants are reminiscent of the flying figures carrying knives and trophy heads that were abundantly represented on Paracas mantles during the Early Horizon (Figure 19.12). Moche flying attendants also predate the Middle Horizon. They appear on vessels from the Moche II phase and on a Moche III textile found in the Huaca de la Luna (Figure 19.13) (Montoya 2001:235). It is interesting to note that

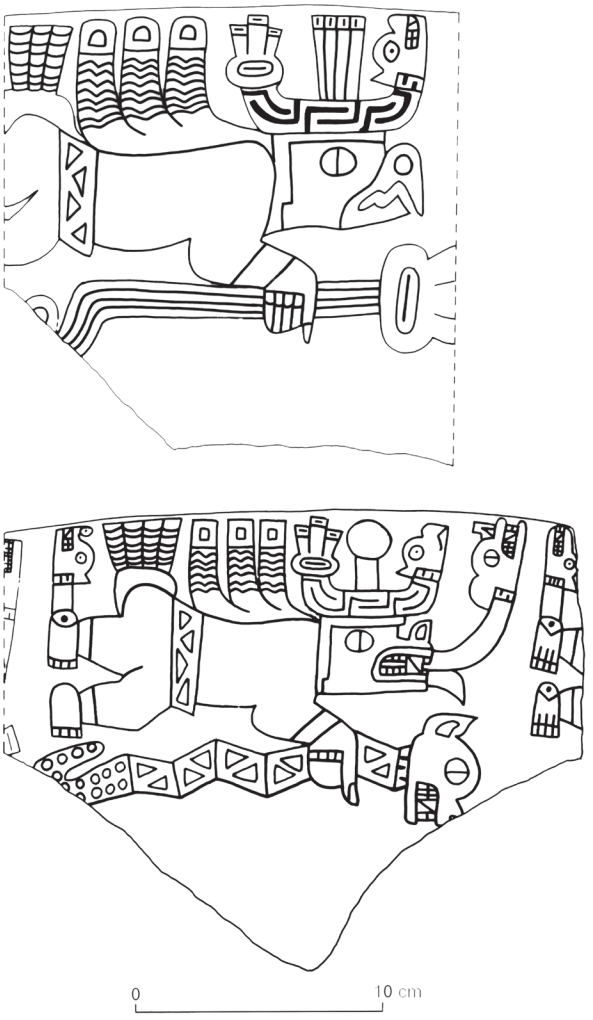


Figure 19.9. Outlines of flying anthropomorphic creatures painted on Wari oversized jars uncovered at Conchopata (redrawn from Isbell 2000).

Figure 19.10. Pachacamac-style vessel decorated with the griffin motif (from Bazán 2001).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

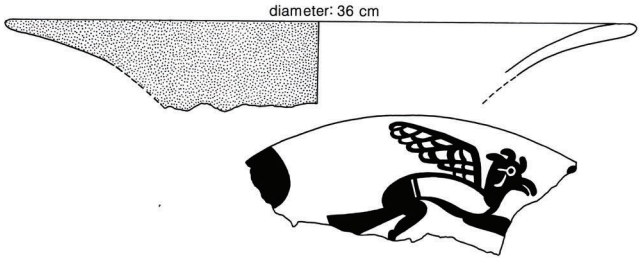


Figure 19.11. Fragments of a Moche flaring vessel decorated with a flying figure (from Guadalupito, Proyecto Santa Université de Montréal).

Figure 19.12. Flying figure stitched on a Paracas mantle (from de Lavalle and Lang 1983).

on the Moche III textile dating from AD 300 to 350, flying figures are inserted in squares of alternating colors and framed with chevrons.

Mural Painting and Textiles

It is known that artists, from the Early Intermediate Period through the Late Horizon, often drew inspiration from textile imagery for the elaboration of painted or sculpted mural friezes. Themes and design layouts of some friezes recall textile patterns, and stepped outlines simulate woven structures (Morales et al. 2002:233; Pillsbury 1993:289, 300–30; Stone-Miller and McEwan 1990:54).

During the 1970s and 1980s, several scholars suggested that some Moche mural paintings dating from the end of the Moche sequence show formal similarities to Wari textile art (Figure 19.14) (Donnan 1972; Mackey and Hastings 1982; Schaedel 1978). Indeed, in 1972, Donnan proposed that the murals of Huaca Facho, Lambayeque Valley (AD 850), display Moche figurative elements enclosed in individual square units with alternating colors recalling the layout of Wari tapestry tunics (Donnan 1972:91–93). Ten years later, Mackey and Hastings (1982:304–308) suggested that three murals from Huaca de la Luna, Moche Valley, reveal a blend of Moche elements and foreign influence from the southern highlands. While the motifs of Huaca de la Luna murals belong to the Moche visual tradition, the formal layout employs a repetitive system of color

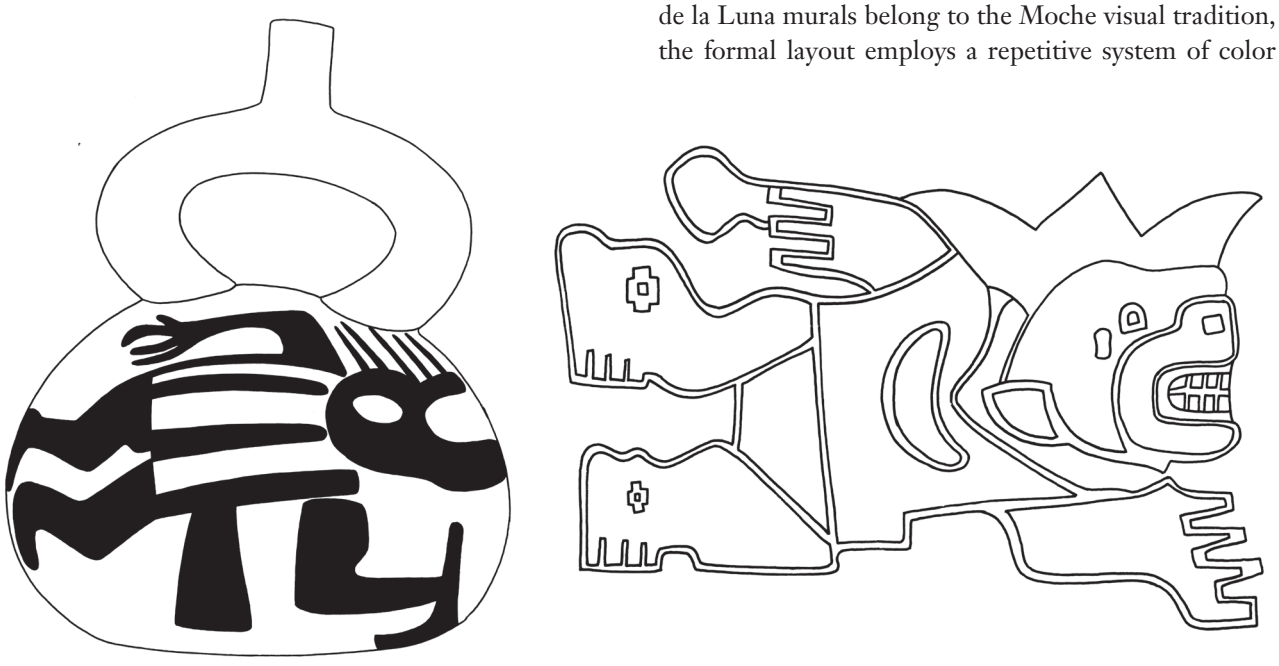


Figure 19.13. Flying figures represented on Moche objects that predate the Middle Horizon. (a) Moche II vessel from the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Hererra, Lima (redrawn from the online catalog # ML003444); (b) Moche III textile from the site of Moche (redrawn from Montoya 2001).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

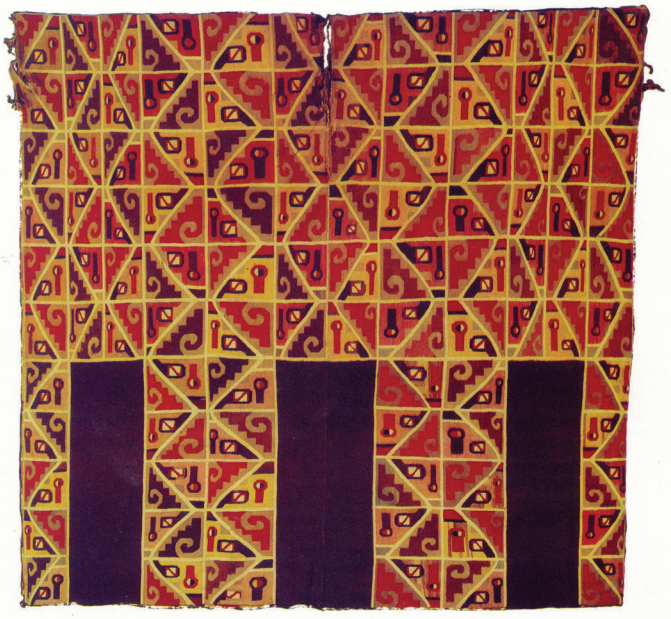


Figure 19.14. Wari tapestry tunic decorated with mirrored figures enclosed in individual squares (from de Lavalle and González 1991).

contrasts seen in Wari textiles. No radiocarbon date is associated with these murals.[5]

Recent discoveries have revealed that similarities between the stylistic canons of Moche murals and Wari tapestry tunics do not result from Wari influence on Moche artists. A painted relief found in the "Recinto Esquinero" in Structure D of Huaca de la Luna shows an inverted symmetry of designs with inverted colors along a diagonal axis. The mural is composed of a series of rectangles crossed by a diagonal line separating a *life* fish and a bird with a spiral tail. These two images undergo a double inversion along vertical and horizontal axes. Colors are also inverted in juxtaposed rectangles (Morales and Torres 1998:198–199) (Figure 19.15). Although these stylistic canons may show some similarities with those of Wari textiles, the Structure D of Huaca de la Luna is associated with Moche III ceramics and was built during the fourth century AD, long before the diffusion of Wari-like textiles beyond the Ayacucho Basin (Uceda et al. 2002:216, 223).

Two grid-like murals from Huaca Cao, Chicama Valley, also depict figures enclosed in a series of squares with alternating colors (Mujica 2007:118–119, 128–129). The murals are associated with the second building phase of Huaca Cao dating from AD 350 to 450; they thus predate the Middle Horizon. Furthermore, one of the grid-like murals shows the Moche "moon animal," which was introduced in Moche I iconography from contemporaneous cultures such as Recuay or Gallinazo (Bruhns 1976:28; Mackey and Vogel 2003:328). Figurative elements enclosed in individual square units with alternating colors are also present in the decoration of Moche I painted ceramic vessels excavated in the southern Moche territory and dating to the first centuries AD (Figure 19.16).

Hybridization of Styles and Importation of SAIS Artifacts into the Moche Territory

Between AD 600 and 650, major transformations occurred in the northern sphere of the Moche territory. While the Moche IV ceramic tradition was still being produced between the Chicama and Nepeña Valleys, a new style defined as Late Moche (northern territory) or Moche V (southern territory) was adopted.

Moche V (southern territory) and Late Moche (northern territory) traditional ceramic vessels are characterized by densely filled images painted with very fine and compact red lines on a white background. Primary scenes and secondary filler elements totally occupied the space, so figurative images became distorted and less naturalistic. Vessels with modeled imagery tend to disappear. Even if there was continuity between Moche V painted decoration and the styles of previous phases, the range of scenes was somewhat narrowed and artists privileged the representation of supernatural characters, often associated with ocean themes (Donnan and McClelland 1999; McClelland et al. 2007). Recurrent scenes represented fanged figures sailing on crescent-shaped boats, confrontations between supernatural creatures, "bean and stick ceremonies," water lily rituals, and burial ceremonies.

Evidence of the Moche V ceramic tradition is rare in the southern Moche territory. A few Moche V vessels with fineline scenes were found in the Chicama Valley and at Galindo, in the Moche Valley (Bawden 1977; Galvez and Briceño 2001:147; Lockard 2005:302–303). According to Galvez and Briceño (2001:155–156), it is possible that the fragments found in Chicama were imported from neighboring valleys in the northern Moche territory. Only dispersed fragments of Moche V were found in the Chao and Santa Valleys (Pimentel and Paredes 2003). On the other hand, the Late Moche ceramic tradition is widespread in the Lambayeque and Jequetepeque Valleys of the northern Moche territory.

A blend of Moche V/Late Moche and Wari ceramic traditions can be observed in a few Moche sites occupied during the Middle Horizon, but Wari-influenced or Wari-derived vessels in Moche contexts are extremely

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

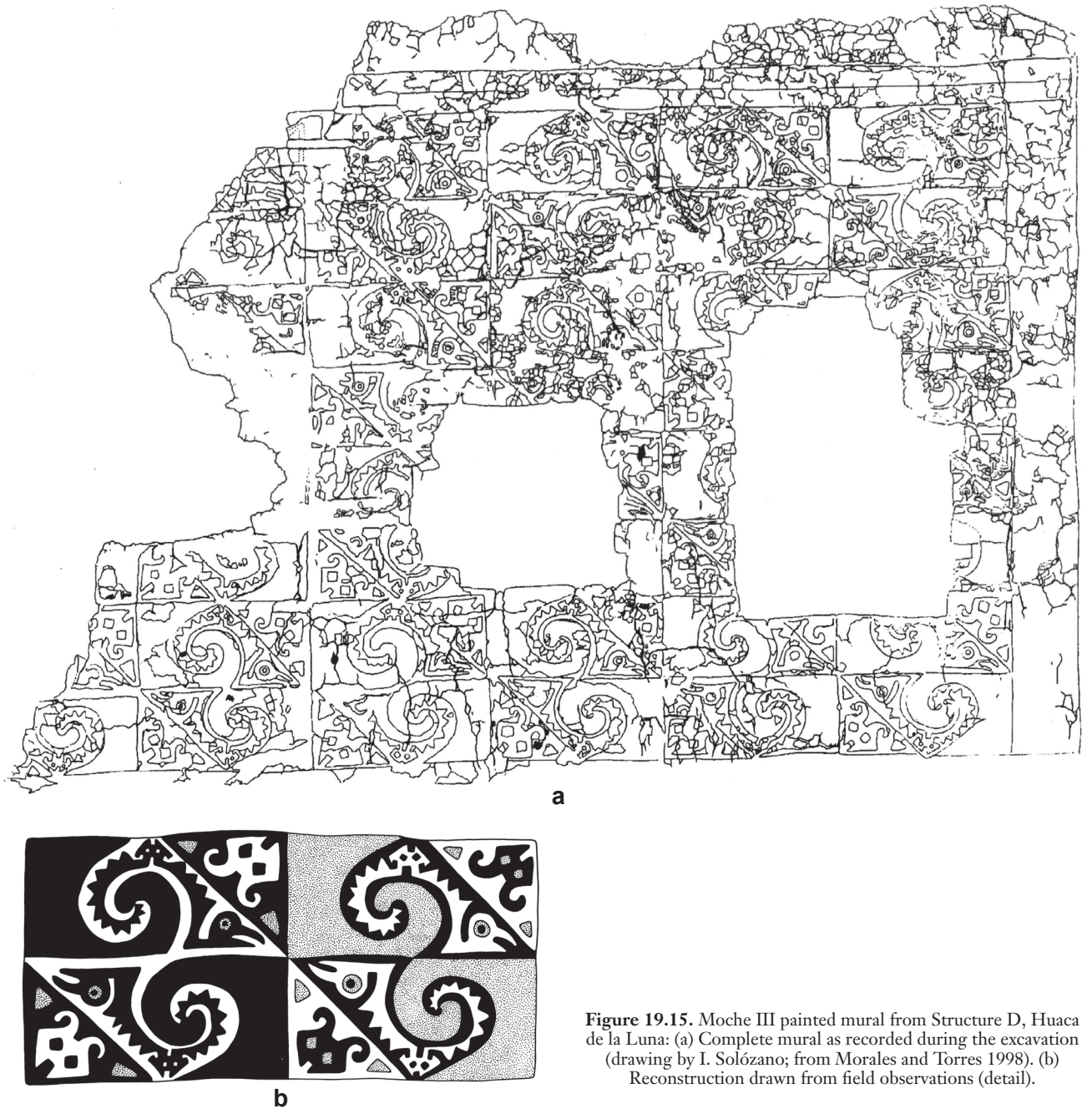


Figure 19.15. Moche III painted mural from Structure D, Huaca de la Luna: (a) Complete mural as recorded during the excavation (drawing by I. Solózano; from Morales and Torres 1998). (b) Reconstruction drawn from field observations (detail).

rare in the southern Moche territory. At Galindo and Pampa Grande, two major Moche V urban centers, no Wari-derived vessels have been found. In the Santa Valley, Donnan (1973:134, Plate 7) reported the discovery of nine ceramic vessels at the site of Cenicero (PV28-97), of which four were decorated with a motif similar to the *serpiente Chakipampa*.[6] The vessels were presumably found in a cache during clandestine excavations, along with a Moche V stirrup-spout vessel decorated with fineline painting (McClelland et al. 2007:151) and four blackware coastal-style jars. In 1973, Proulx published images of two Wari-style polychrome vessels found in the Nepeña Valley. The exact provenience and archaeological context of the vessels is unknown, as is the place of their manufacture. Two of these vessels, a *kero* and a globular jar, show highland Wari decoration. Proulx reported only two sites in which a small number of Wari polychrome sherds were found in situ in the Nepeña Valley (Proulx 1973:57–58, 247). Finally, Donnan (1968) also reported a looter's discovery of three Wari vessels at the site of Sausal, Chicama Valley. The exact date of the context in which the vessels were

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

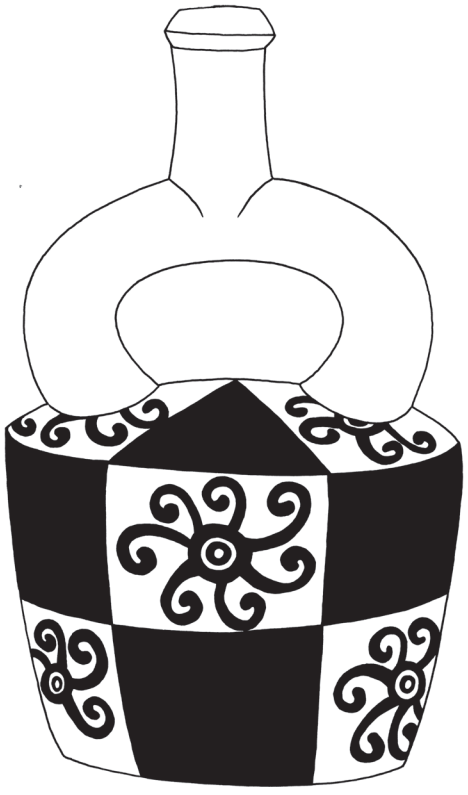


Figure 19.16. Moche I painted vessel showing figurative elements enclosed in individual square units with alternating colors (redrawn from the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Hererra online catalog ML006877).

found is unknown, as well as any possible association with coastal artifacts. The polychrome vessels show a highland Wari decoration style, and according to Donnan, they date from the Middle Horizon 2A. In sum, Wari-influenced vessels from Moche contexts are extremely rare in the southern Moche territory, and all documented vessels lack scientific excavation contexts.

The situation seems different in the northern Moche territory, where some Wari vessels were imported and Wari-derived ceramics were produced in greater quantities, although in a very limited geographical zone. An unusual number of vessels showing a blend of Moche and Wari characteristics have been uncovered at the site of San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley. Most Wari-influenced vessels from San José de Moro bear a typically Late Moche scene or theme, painted with traditional Wari polychrome shapes and black outlines.

Hybrid Moche-Wari vessels were locally produced. Scenes and themes include supernatural figures sailing on reed boats, beans and "bean and stick ceremonies," profile supernatural warriors, weapon bundles, *life* fish, and plants such as manioc and *ulluchus*. These hybrid images are either painted on Late Moche–style stirrup-spout bottles or Wari-style *keros* and double-spout and bridge bottles. Other locally produced, hybrid polychrome vessels from San José de Moro show more affiliation with the Wari style. They depict chevrons, elongated "S" or *serpientes Chakipampa*, and diamonds or Wari *rombos* with heads or volutes (Figure 19.17) (Castillo 2000:169–170; McClelland et al. 2007). In San José de Moro, hybrid vessels and vessels imported from the Ayacucho region were integrated into elite Late Moche burials (Castillo 2000:152). For example, three Wari *keros* were discovered in burial M-U1242, along with locally produced hybrid vessels, as well as Late Moche and Cajamarca vessels (del Carpio and Delibes Mateos 2004:128–129, 135–137).

A hypothetical blend of Moche and Wari textile traditions is extremely difficult to document, due to poor preservation conditions at many major sites. Wari-influenced textiles have been discovered on the north coast at El Brujo, Chicama Valley, but they were found in post-Moche contexts (Rodman and Fernandez 2005:130–131). In the Santa Valley, textiles imported from the highlands were found in Moche contexts at El Castillo (Chapdelaine and Pimentel 2002:62, 65, 68). The identification of these textiles as foreign artifacts is based on an observation of technological features. Weft yarns are interlocked singly between warp yarns rather than around them, as seen in coastal textiles. However, it is impossible at the moment to affirm that woven highland textiles found at El Castillo show clear Wari features (Fernandez, personal communication, 2008). Prümers (2000:300–301, 306) describes a collection of textiles from El Castillo de Huarmey as belonging to the "Moche-Wari" tradition. Prümers's analysis is based on iconography rather than technology, as the author identifies typical Moche motifs inserted into rectangular frames as Moche-Wari imagery. However, archaeological contexts weaken the hypothesis of a Moche-Wari tradition in Huarmey. A small number of textiles have been found in secure archaeological contexts contemporary with the Moche culture. The Huarmey Valley is located at the border of the Moche territory, and no typical southern Moche ceramics were found at El Castillo de Huarmey.

Discussion

The Wari polity is generally considered an empire, as well as the largest and most complex expansion to develop in the Andean area before the Inca empire (Isbell 2006:46; Schreiber 2001). This interpretation is based on the size of Wari territory, covering diverse ecological zones; the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 19.17. Vessels decorated with Wari "rombo" and "serpiente Chakipampa" from San José de Moro (from McClelland et al. 2007).

complexity of Wari political organization, including centralized administration and road systems; and the widespread distribution of Wari-style architecture and artifacts. In peripheral territories conquered by the Wari, one would expect to find material evidence—architectural or artifactual—of the imposition of new political, economic, or religious norms. In a situation of conquest, Wari imperial symbols could either be imposed without modification or strategically altered to accommodate local beliefs and preexisting social structures. Prestigious objects from conquered polities might also be brought to Wari centers (see Schreiber 2005:141–145).

However, no evidence for the imposition of new political, economic, or religious structures can be detected on the north coast of Peru at the beginning of the Middle Horizon. Furthermore, it seems that Moche rulers and craft producers (see Bernier 2010a, 2010b) were not disposed to borrow artistic canons and religious ideas from highland polities, nor were they inclined to acquire highland luxury items. Although Moche objects denoting a Wari influence have been discovered in the past years, their small number and the limited geographical context in which they were found do not support a conclusion of Wari conquest, domination, or even significant interaction.

Shared Themes and Canons

Shared themes in Moche and Wari iconographies indicate shared inspirations rather than Wari influence on the Moche. Many elements drawn from an Andean religious tradition continuing from the Early Horizon are present in Moche art. For example, mural paintings associated with Structure C of Huaca de la Luna (Tufinio 2005:63–64; Uceda 2001:54) and a vessel found in a Moche II to III burial in the Uhle Platform (Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2005:122) at the site of Moche provide clear evidence for employment of Early Horizon canons and motifs by Moche artists, such as profile feline heads with crossed fangs, angular eyes with pendant irises, and substitutions of body parts. Furthermore, themes such as felines, trophy heads, frontal figures holding staffs, and horizontal flying creatures were expressed with different artistic canons in Moche and Wari art.

Felines, trophy heads, "flying attendants," and the Staff God pose have a great time depth in religious traditions of the Peruvian coast, and it is impossible to deny a possible survival of the great Chavín sphere of influence to explain their presence in Moche art (see Bischof 2008:121–126; Burger 1992:153–157, 175; Campana 1995; J. Rowe 1971). These themes were present in Moche iconography before Middle Horizon 1A and the earliest spread of the Wari style outside the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Ayacucho Basin. Inverted symmetry and the inversion of colors in Moche murals also predate the Middle Horizon. Double inversions, as seen on the "Recinto Esquinero" mural and Wari textiles, were present in textile art as early as the Preceramic Period on the north coast (Bird and Hyslop 1985:174, 176, 185, 195). The continuity of these common themes in Moche art throughout the Middle Horizon, as well as the increase in Moche murals organized in a grid-like layout, was not provoked by a wave of Wari influence.

Hybridization of Styles and Importation of SAIS Artifacts

Among all sites of Moche cultural affiliation, San José de Moro occupies a unique position. It is the only site where controlled excavations have revealed Wari vessels associated with numerous Moche vessels, confirming a clear Wari influence in secure archaeological contexts. San José de Moro also occupies a unique position in Moche political geography. We pointed out earlier that Moche society was less monolithic than previously thought. A southern Moche state was centered in the Moche and Chicama Valleys, where strong similarities in the architecture and mural paintings in the major centers of Moche and El Brujo indicate the political alliances between the two valleys.

This southern Moche state can be considered a centralized, expansionist multivalley polity with several large regional centers. On the other hand, in the northern sphere, political power was fragmented with each Moche polity confined to one valley. Regional centers such as Dos Cabezas, Pacatnamú, and San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley, as well as Sipán and Pampa Grande in the Lambayeque Valley, were likely the seats of strong Moche leaders.

Within the Moche world, the southern and northern spheres interacted differently with neighboring polities. In the same vein, the level of interest in importing highland ideas and materials, as well as the degree of receptivity to foreign artistic influence, differed greatly between northern and southern Moche polities. The southern Moche state seems to have established a strong, centralized, and autonomous political economy in which internal trade among coastal valleys prevailed over external trade. Although external trade did allow the Moche population to obtain wool yarn, kaolin, and metals from the highlands, the importation process was limited to raw materials and did not involve symbolic culture. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that the southern Moche state was not participating in the exchange or acquisition of Wari objects and remained impervious to direct, or even indirect, Wari social and artistic influence. The Moche religious and political systems were powerful and prestigious enough to enable rulers of the southern sphere to maintain their authority throughout the era of Wari expansion. The southern Moche state was a strong and distinct polity that should not be considered a peripheral entity of a Wari core.

In the politically fragmented northern territory, Moche rulers in each valley interacted differently with foreign societies. The site of San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley seems to be the sole exception to the scarcity of Wari-influenced objects in Moche territory. However, the presence of vessels imported from Ayacucho and locally made polychrome vessels at San José de Moro does not indicate Wari conquest or political domination. The Late Moche Period was a time of severe internal crisis for the elite, aggravated by environmental decline (Bawden 1995; Shimada et al. 1991). The weakened Moche elite of San José de Moro likely borrowed foreign canons and iconography as part of a strategy to promote its authority. The Wari were probably regarded as a flourishing society in a process of expansion; Moche elite could have expressed relations with Wari elite as a way to gain additional prestige (Castillo 2000:176, 2003:109).

The acquisition of vessels from Ayacucho and later the borrowing of the Wari style were strategies limited to the highest elite and did not involve the broader population. San José de Moro was used essentially as a cemetery and ceremonial center (Castillo 2001:309), and no Wari-derived vessels have been found in Moche domestic contexts. At San José de Moro, Wari or Wari-influenced vessels are not predominant in burials, and when present, they are associated with members of the high elite (Castillo 2000:176, 2003:109). It is also noteworthy that in the production of Wari-influenced vessels, Moche artisans borrowed style rather than subject matter. With the exception of geometrized designs such as *rombos* and *serpientes Chakipampa*, most hybrid vessels show a typical Moche scene painted using Wari artistic canons. Despite the strategic borrowings of stylistic attributes, Moche beliefs still strongly predominate at the end of the Late Moche Period.

Interaction between groups of different polities increased in northern Peru during the Middle Horizon. The intrusion of Wari style in Jequetepeque during the Late Moche Period seems to be related to the growing development of the Cajamarca polity (Castillo 2000:155–158, 2003:110). The first appearance of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Wari-derived ceramics in funerary contexts of San José de Moro at the beginning of the Late Moche phase (Moche Tardío A) coincides with the arrival of imported ceramics from Cajamarca (Bernuy and Bernal 2008:67; Castillo 2000:151; Prieto et al. 2007:165). In most cases, both Wari-derived and Cajamarca vessels were placed in the same tombs, along with Late Moche vessels (Bernuy and Bernal 2008:68).

It is thus possible that the wave of Wari influence reached the Jequetepeque Valley and San José de Moro through the intermediary of the Cajamarca polity. The upper Jequetepeque Valley offers a natural communication route between the coast and the Cajamarca Basin, a strategic location that facilitates contacts with other groups in the highlands and the eastern slope of the Andes. The relation between Wari and Cajamarca polities probably passed through the intermediary of the neighboring Huamachuco region, where Wari presence is well documented (J. Topic 1991). In Ayacucho, kaolin bowls of Cajamarca style were discovered at Huari, in levels contemporaneous with the Wari Period (Bennett 1953:69).

Conclusion

It is no longer possible to assign Moche society strictly to the Early Intermediate Period. New radiocarbon dates confirm that the history of the southern Moche continued during the Middle Horizon, at least until AD 750. The characterization of the Moche as a single and homogeneous force is also no longer adequate. The southern Moche polity was a multivalley expansionist state, while the northern Moche developed into several small polities. The southern Moche, the northern Moche, and the Wari must be considered contemporary polities experiencing development and expansion processes at the same time. These new paradigms force us to take into account new perspectives on the relations between Middle Horizon expansionist states. While most scholars reject the hypothesis of an early conquest of Moche polities by Wari armies and the physical presence of Wari settlers on the north coast, the nature of the Moche-Wari interaction still has to be clarified.

At best, we can consider an indirect Wari influence on Moche elites and high-status objects after AD 600, and this influence was very geographically limited. Wari architecture is absent on the north coast. Few motifs were shared between Moche and Wari iconographies and artistic canons. Although Chavín iconography probably contributed to the presence of similarities in the art of both cultures, the Moche and Wari drew their inspirations independently from artistic traditions dating from the Early Horizon. Some SAIS themes, like the Staff God and the flying attendant, developed from South Andean antecedents of the Titicaca Basin such as Yaya-Mama and Pucara (Isbell and Knobloch 2006). Similar Moche themes seem to have derived from earlier northern traditions such as Cupisnique and Vicús.[7]

The nature and context of Wari-derived artifacts uncovered at San José de Moro indicate that Wari art, considered a product of wealth and prosperity, was strategically borrowed and used as a source of prestige by the weakening Late Moche elite. Exotic materials, unfamiliar goods, and foreign iconography were often highly valued and exploited for political ends in early states (see Helms 1993:160–166). The prestigious nature given to imported Wari ceramics at San José de Moro likely resulted from their connection with distant and sacred places and did not necessarily involve economic and political relationships that included Moche and Wari populations at large. These ceramics were part of a specific agenda for the Moche elite at San José de Moro.

A typical core-periphery relation between the central Wari and the peripheral Moche is not supported by archaeological data and must be rejected in favor of indirect relationship between the two polities. Before the end of the Middle Horizon, the Moche were gradually replaced by emerging states developing locally in Lambayeque (Sicán) and Moche (Chimú) Valleys.

Acknowledgments

We thank William Isbell and Mauricio Uribe for this great opportunity to join the debate on SAIS archaeology and for their judicious comments and helpful critiques on the first draft of this chapter. Original data from the Santa Valley were collected in the framework of the PSUM (Projet Santa Université de Montréal) funded by the SSHRC (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada).

Notes

1 Rafael Larco Hoyle published the first seriation of Moche decorated pottery in 1948, based on gravelots collected in Moche funerary contexts. Larco's seriation is a five-phase chronology based on morpho-stylistic attributes of stirrup-spout bottles (Larco Hoyle 1948). The phases Moche I

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

through Moche V are still used today by archaeologists to reference relative time within the general chronological framework of Moche cultural development. However, as more excavations are conducted and radiocarbon dates become available throughout the Moche territory, the five-phase relative chronology remains valid only in the southern sphere. We know today that vessels showing attributes from different phases were used at the same time in different valleys of the Moche territory and even in different sites in a same valley. Consequently, independent chronological sequences have been developed in each valley. Phases I to V are still used in the southern half of Moche territory, but they correspond to different absolute dates in different sites. In the northern sphere, archaeologists tend to use Early, Middle, and Late phases as relative chronological divisions.

2 For detailed studies and image corpuses of Wari ceramic and textile art, see Bazán (2001), Bergh (1999), Conklin (1996), Cook (1994), Isbell (2000), Janusek (2003), Sawyer (1963), Stone (1987), and Young-Sánchez (2004).

3 For detailed studies and image corpuses of Moche ceramic art, see Donnan (1978), Donnan and McClelland (1999), and Larco Hoyle (2001).

4 The *life* fish is a creature frequently depicted on Moche ceramics, mural paintings, and textiles. It has been identified as a species of *Trichomycterus* living in the muddy bottom of water streams (Bourget 2006:54). Naturalistic images show the *life* with undulating body, asymmetrical fins, and barbels. Geometrized versions show the triangular head and barbels with a stepped contour (Mujica 2007:108, 111).

5 Mackey and Hastings's Murals II and III (also called "Mural Garrido") are associated with the Structure B of the Huaca de la Luna, for which no radiocarbon date is available (Uceda 2001:60). Radiocarbon evidence reveals that the building of subsequent Structure A began during the fifth century AD (Early Intermediate Period) and continued throughout the seventh century AD (Middle Horizon 2B) (Uceda et al. 2002:223). Consequently, the murals associated with the Structure B likely predate the fifth century.

6 *Serpiente Chakipampa* is the name given by Castillo (2000:170) to an elongated "S" decorated with volutes common in Wari art. On coastal ceramics, the "S" has protuberances on the extremities, which sometimes include eyes, and evoke a double-headed snake. The Wari-like vessels published by Donnan are very similar to polychrome pod-shaped vessels discovered at San José de Moro (McClelland et al. 2007:159).

7 Common cultural characteristics in Early Horizon cultures of the North Andes and Titicaca Basin, such as sunken courts, the use of conch shell trumpets, and the representation of spotted felines (see Chávez 2004), probably indicate common earlier roots.

References

Aimi, Antonio
2003 *Perù: tremila anni di capolavori*. Electa, Milano.

Bawden, Garth
1977 Galindo and the Nature of the Middle Horizon in Northern Coastal Peru. PhD dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
1995 The Structural Paradox: Moche Culture as Political Ideology. *Latin American Antiquity* 6(3):255–273.
1996 *The Moche*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Bazán, Pedro (editor)
2001 *Wari: Arte precolombino peruano. Centro Cultural El Monte, Sevilla, enero-marzo 2001*. Fundación El Monte, Sevilla.

Benson, Elizabeth P.
1972 *The Mochica*. Praeger, New York.
1974 *A Man and a Feline in Mochica Art*. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 14. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Bennett, Wendell C.
1953 *Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology Nos. 49–50. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Bergh, Susan E.
1999 Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics. PhD dissertation, Columbia University, New York.

Bernier, Hélène
2010a Craft Specialists at Moche: Organization, Affiliations, and Identities. *Latin American Antiquity* 21(1):22–43.
2010b Personal Adornments at Moche, North Coast of Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 30(1):91–114.

Bernuy, Katiusha Q., and Vanessa R. Bernal
2008 La presencia Cajamarca en San José de Moro: Una evidencia de interacción interregional durante el Horizonte Medio. In *Arqueología Mochica. Nuevos Enfoques*, edited by Luis Jaime Castillo, Hélène Bernier, Gregory Lockard, and Julio Rucabado Yong, pp. 67–80. Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Bird, Junius B., and John Hyslop
1985 *The Preceramic Excavations at the Huaca Prieta Chicama Valley, Peru*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Volume 62, Part 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Bischof, Henning
2008 Context and Contents of Early Chavín Art. In *Chavín Art, Architecture, and Culture*, edited by Wiliam J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter, pp. 107–141. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Monograph 61, University of California, Los Angeles.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Bourget, Steve
1994 Bestiaire sacré et flore magique. Écologie rituelle de l'iconographie de la culture Moche, côte nord du Pérou. PhD dissertation, Université de Montréal.
2006 *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Bruhns, Karen Olsen
1976 The Moon Animal in Northern Peruvian Art and Culture. *Ñawpa Pacha* 14:21–39.

Burger, Richard L.
1992 *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*. Thames and Hudson, London.

Campana, Cristobal
1995 *El arte Chavín. Analisis estructural de formas e imagenes*. Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal, Lima.

Carrión, Cachot de Girard, Rebecca
1959 *La religion en el antiguo Perú*. Lima.

Castillo, Luis Jaime
2000 La presencia de Wari en San José de Moro. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 4. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. 1*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 143–179. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2001 The Last of the Mochicas: A View from the Jequetepeque Valley. In *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, edited by Joanne Pillsbury, pp. 307–332. Studies in the History of Art 63, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XL, National Gallery of Art of Washington. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
2003 Los Ultimos Mochicas en Jequetepeque. In *Moche. Hacía el final del milenio Tomo II*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica, pp. 65–123. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Castillo, Luis Jaime, and Christopher B. Donnan
1994 Los Mochica del Norte y los Mochica del Sur. In *Vicús*, edited by Krzysztof Makowski, Christopher B. Donnan, Ivan Amaro Bullon, Luis Jaime Castillo, Magdalena Diez Canseco, Otto Elespuru Revoredo, and Juan Antonio Murro Mena, pp. 143–178. Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Castillo, Luis Jaime, and Santiago Uceda
2008 Los Mochicas. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 707–729. Springer, New York.

Chapdelaine, Claude
2000 Struggling for Survival: The Urban Class of the Moche Site, North Coast of Peru. In *Environmental Disaster and the Archaeology of Human Response*, edited by Garth Bawden and Richard M. Reycraft, pp. 121–142. Anthropological Papers No. 7. Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
2001 The Growing Power of a Moche Urban Class. In *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, edited by Joanne Pillsbury, pp. 69–87. Studies in the History of Art 63, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XL, National Gallery of Art of Washington. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
2002 Out in the Streets of Moche: Urbanism and Sociopolotical Organization at a Moche IV Urban Center. In *Andean Archaeology I. Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 53–88. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.
2008 Moche Art Style in the Santa Valley: Between Being « à la mode » and Developing a Provincial Identity. In *The Art and Archaeology of the Moche: An Ancient Andean Society of the Peruvian North Coast*, edited by Steve Bourget and Kimberley L. Jones, pp. 129–152. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2010a Moche Political Organization in the Santa Valley: A Case of Direct Rule through Gradual Control of the Local Population. In *New Perspectives on Moche Political Organization*, edited by Jeffrey Quilter and Luis Jaime Castillo Butters, pp. 252–279. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
2010b Moche and Wari during the Middle Horizon on the North Coast of Peru. In *Beyond Wari Walls: Regional Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru*, edited by Justin Jennings, pp. 213–232. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Chapdelaine, Claude, and Victor Pimentel
2002 *La presencia Moche en el valle del Santa, Costa Norte del Perú.* Informe del Proyecto arqueológico PSUM (Proyecto Santa Université de Montréal), Mayo-Agosto 2001, Montreal.

Chapdelaine, Claude, Víctor Pimentel, and Hélène Bernier
2003 *La presencia Moche en el valle del Santa, Costa Norte del Perú.* Informe del Proyecto arqueológico PSUM (Proyecto Santa Université de Montréal), Mayo-Agosto 2002.

Chauchat, Claude, and Belkys Gutiérrez
2005 Excavaciones en la Plataforma Uhle. In *Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca de la Luna, Informe Técnico 2004*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Ricardo Morales, pp. 93–141. Universidad Nacional la Libertad, Trujillo.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chávez, Sergio J.
2004 The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 70–95. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Conklin, William J.
1985 Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition. *Ñawpa Pacha* 21(1983):1–44.
1996 Huari Tunics. In *Andean Art at Dumbarton Oaks vol. II*, edited by Elizabeth H. Boone, pp. 375–398. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Conrad, Geoffrey
1974 Burial Platforms and Related Structures on the North Coast of Peru: Some Social and Political Implications. PhD dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Cook, Anita G.
1994 *Wari y Tiwanaku: entre el estilo y la imagen*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2001 Huari D-Shaped Structures, Sacrificial Offerings, and Divine Rulership. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook, pp. 137–163. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2004 Wari Art and Society. In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman, pp. 146–166. Blackwell, Malden.

Cordy-Collins, Alana
1992 Archaism or Tradition? The Decapitation Theme in Cupisnique and Moche Iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* 3(3):206–220.
2001 Decapitation in Cupisnique and Early Moche Societies. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook, pp. 21–33. University of Texas Press, Austin.

D'Altroy, Terence N., and Katharina J. Schreiber
2004 Andean Empires. In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman, pp. 255–279. Blackwell, Malden.

del Carpio Perla, Martín
2008 La ocupación Mochica en San José de Moro. In *Arqueología Mochica. Nuevos Enfoques*, edited by Luis Jaime Castillo, Hélène Bernier, Gregory Lockard, and Julio Rucabado Yong, pp. 81–104. Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

del Carpio Perla, Martín, and Rocío Delibes Mateos
2004 La Cámara Funeraria del M-U1242 del Area 34. In *Programma Arqueológico San José de Moro, Temporada 2004*, edited by Luis Jaime Castillo, pp. 126–140. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

de Lavalle, José, and José Alejandro González García
1991 *The Textile Art of Peru*. Industria Textil Piura, Lima.

de Lavalle, José, and Werner Lang
1983 *Cultural precolombinas. Paracas*. Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Disselhoff, Hans D.
1971 *Vicús. Eine neu entdeckte altperuanische kultur*. Gebr. Mann Verlag, Berlin.

Donnan, Christopher B.
1968 An Association of Middle Horizon Epoch 2A Specimens from the Chicama Valley, Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:15–18.
1972 Moche-Huari Murals from Northern Peru. *Archaeology* 25(2):85–95.
1973 *Moche Occupation of the Santa Valley, Peru*. University of California Publications in Anthropology Vol. 8. University of California Press, Berkeley.
1975 The Thematic Approach to Moche Iconography. *Journal of Latin American Lore* 1(2):147–162.
1978 *Moche Art of Peru*. Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles.
1992 *Ceramics of Ancient Peru*. Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles.
2004 *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2007 *Moche Tombs at Dos Cabezas*. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

Donnan, Christopher B., and Carol J. Mackey
1978 *Ancient Burial Patterns of the Moche Valley, Peru*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Donnan, Christopher B., and Donna McClelland
1999 *Moche Fineline Painting: Its Evolution and Its Artists.* UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, Los Angeles.

Feldman, Robert A.
1989 A Speculative Hypothesis of Wari Southern Expansion. In *The Nature of Wari: A Reappraisal of the Middle Horizon Period in Peru*, edited by R.Michael Czwarno, Frank M. Meddens, and Alexandra A. Morgan, pp. 72–97. BAR International Series 525. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

Gálvez, César, and Jesús Briceño
2001 The Moche in the Chicama Valley. In *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, edited by Joanne Pillsbury, pp. 141–157. Studies in the History of Art 63, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XL, National Gallery of Art of Washington. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Giersz, Milosz, Krzysztoff Makowski, and Patrycja Przadka
2005 *El mundo sobrenatural Mochica. Imágenes escultóricas de las deidades antropomorfas en el Museo Arqueólogico Rafael Larco Herrera*. Universidad de Varsovia, Polonia, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Glowacki, Mary, and Gordon McEwan
2001 Pikillacta, Huaro y la gran región del Cuzco: nuevas interpretaciones de la occupación Wari de la sierra sur. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 5. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. II*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 31–49. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Helms, Mary W.
1993 *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Hocquenghem, Anne-Marie
1987 *Iconografía Mochica*. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Isbell, William H.
2000 Repensando el Horizonte Medio: El caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Perú. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 4. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. 1*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 9–68. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2006 Landscape of Power: A Network of Palaces in Middle Horizon Peru. In *Palaces and Power in the Americas*, edited by Jessica Joyce Christie and Patricia Joan Sarro, pp. 44–98. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Isbell, William H., and Anita G. Cook
2001 A New Perspective on Conchopata and the Andean Middle Horizon. *In Andean Archaeology II: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 249–305. Springer, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Gordon F. McEwan (editors)
1991 *Huari Administrative Structure. Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Isbell, William H., and Katharina J. Schreiber
1978 Was Huari a State? *American Antiquity* 43(3):372–389.

Isla, Johny
2001 Wari en Palpa y Nasca: perspectivas desde el punto de vista funerario. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 5. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. 2*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 555–583. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Janusek, John W.
2003 Residential Variability at Tiwanaku and Lukurmata. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland Part II: Archaeological and Paleoecological Investigations in the Lake Titicaca Basin of Bolivia*, edited by Alan Kolata, pp. 264–295. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Jennings, Justin
2006 Understanding Middle Horizon Peru: Hermeneutic Spirals, Interpretative Traditions, and Wari Administrative Centers. *Latin American Antiquity* 17(3):265–285.

Kaulicke, Peter
2000 La Sombra de Pachacamac: Huari en la costa central. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 4. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. 1*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 313–358. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Knobloch, Patricia J.
1983 A Study of the Andean Huari Ceramics from the Early Intermediate Period to the Middle Horizon 1. PhD dissertation, State University of New York, Binghamton.

Kroeber, Alfred L.
1925 *The Uhle Pottery Collection from Moche and the Uhle Pottery Collection from Supe*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 21, Nos. 5–6. University of California Press, Berkeley.
1930 *Archaeological Explorations in Peru Part II*. Anthropology Memoirs Vol. II, No. 2. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

Kutscher, Gerdt
1983 *Nordperuanische Gefässmalereien des Moche-Stils*. C. H. Beck, Munich.

Larco Hoyle, Rafael
1945 *Los Mochicas*. Sociedad Geográfica Americana, Buenos Aires.
1948 *Cronología Arqueológica del Norte del Perú*. Sociedad Geográfica Americana, Buenos Aires.
2001 *Los Mochicas, Tomo I*. Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrerra, Lima.

Lockard, Gregory D.
2005 Political Power and Economy at the Archaeological Site of Galindo, Moche Valley, Peru. PhD dissertation, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
2009 The Occupational History of Galindo, Moche Valley, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 20(2):279–302.

Lumbreras, Luis G.
1974 *The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*. Translated by B. Meggers. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Mackey, Carol J.
1982 The Middle Horizon as Viewed from the Moche Valley. In *Chan Chan, Andean Desert City*, edited by Michael E. Moseley and Kent C. Day, pp. 321–331. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Mackey, Carol J., and Charles M. Hastings
1982 Moche Murals from the Huaca de la Luna. In *Pre-Columbian Art History: Selected Readings*, edited by Alana Cordy-Collins, pp. 291–312. Peek Publications, Palo Alto, California.

Mackey, Carol, and Melissa Vogel
2003 La Luna sobre los Andes: una revisión del animal lunar. In *Moche. Hacía el final del milenio Tomo I*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica, pp. 325–342. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Makowski, Krzysztof
2004 *Primeras civilizaciones Tomo IX*. Enciclopedia Tematica del Perú, Empresa Editorial El Comercio, Lima.
2008 El rey y el sacerdote. In *Señores de los reinos de la luna*, edited by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 77–127. Colección Artes y Tesoros del Perú, Banco de Crédito BCP, Lima.

Malpass, Michael A.
2001 Sonay: un centro Wari cellular ortogonal en el valle de Camana, Perú. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 5. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. II*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 51–68. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

McClelland, Donna, Donald McClelland, and Christopher B. Donnan
2007 *Moche Fineline Painting from San José de Moro*. UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, Los Angeles.

Menzel, Dorothy
1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–105.
1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Montoya, María
2001 Textiles Moche en Huaca de la Luna: el Testigo No. 6 de la Tumba 18. In *Investigaciones en la Huaca de la Luna 2000*, edited by Santiago Uceda, Elias Mujica, and Ricardo Morales, pp. 233–242. Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional la Libertad, Trujillo.

Morales, Ricardo, and Neil Torres
1998 Conservación de estructuras y superficies arquitectónicas polícromas. In *Investigaciones en la Luaca de la Luna 1996*, edited by Santiago Uceda, Elias Mujica, and Ricardo Morales, pp. 197–204. Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional la Libertad, Trujillo.

Morales, Ricardo, Neil Torres, Miguel Asmat, Jorge Solórzano, Carlos Gamarra, and Manuel Asmat
2002 Conservación arqueológica. In *Proyecto Arqueológico la Huaca de la Luna. Informe Técnico 2001*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Ricardo Morales, pp. 227–260. Universidad Nacional la Libertad, Trujillo.

Mujica, Elías B.
2007 *El Brujo. Huaca Cao, a Moche Ceremonial Center in the Chicama Valley*. Fundación Wiese, Lima.

Pillsbury, Joanne
1993 Sculpted Friezes of the Empire of Chimor. PhD dissertation, Columbia University, New York.

Pimentel, Victor, and María Isabel Paredes
2003 Evidencias Moche V en tambos y caminos entre los valles de Santa y Chao, Perú. In *Moche. Hacía el final del milenio Tomo I*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica, pp. 269–303. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Prieto B., Gabriel, Solsiré M. Cusicanqui, and Francesca P. Fernandini
2007 Estudio de la cerámica cajamarca tardía y de la cerámica de estilos Huari del Área 35, San José de Moro, valle de Jequetepeque. In *Programma Arqueológico San José de Moro, Temporada 2007*, edited by Luis Jaime Castillo, pp. 163–219. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Proulx, Donald
1973 *Archaeological Investigations in the Nepeña Valley, Peru*. Research Reports Number 13. Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Prümers, Heiko
2000 "El Castillo" de Huarmey: Una plataforma funeraria del Horizonte Medio. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 4. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. 1*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 289–312. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Reid, James W.
1993 Textile Art of Peru. In *The Textile Art of Peru*, edited by José Antonio Lavalle and José Alejandro Gonzáles García, pp. 28–331. Industria Textil Piura, Lima.

Rodman, Amy O., and Arabel L. Fernandez
2000 Los tejidos Huari y Tiwanaku: Comparaciones y contextos. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 4. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. 1*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 119–130. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2005 North Coast Style after Moche: Clothing and Identity at El Brujo, Chicama Valley, Peru. In *Us and Them: Archaeology and Ethnicity in the Andes*, edited by Richard Martin Reycraft, pp. 115–133. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Rowe, Ann P.
1979 Textile Evidence for Huari Music. *Textile Museum Journal* 18:5–18.

Rowe, John H.
1962 *Chavin Art: An Inquiry into Its Form and Meaning*. The Museum of Primitive Art, New York.
1971 The Influence of Chavín Art on Later Styles. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Chavín, October 26th–27th, 1968*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, pp. 101–124. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Russell, Glenn S., Leonard L. Banks, and Jesus Briceño
1998 The Cerro Mayal Workshop: Addressing Issues of Craft Specialization in Moche Society. In *Andean Ceramics: Technology, Organization, and Approaches*, edited by Izumi Shimada, pp. 63–89. MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology, Supplement to Volume 15. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.

Sawyer, Alan R.
1963 Tiahuanaco Tapestry Design. *The Textile Museum Journal* 1(2):27–38.

Schaedel, Richard P.
1978 The Huaca Pintada of Illimo. *Archaeology* 31(1):27–37.

Schreiber, Katharina
1992 *Wari Imperialism in Middle Horizon Peru*. Anthropological Papers No. 87. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
1999 Regional Approaches to the Study of Prehistoric Empires: Examples from Ayacucho and Nasca, Peru. In *Settlement Pattern Studies in the Americas. Fifty Years since Virú*, edited by Brian R. Billman and Gary M. Feinman, pp. 160–171. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
2000 Los Wari en su contexto local: Nasca y Sondondo. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 4. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. 1*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 425–447. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2001 The Wari Empire of the Middle Horizon Peru: The Epistemological Challenge of Documenting an Empire without Documentary Evidence. In *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, edited by Susan Alcock, Terence D'Altroy, Kathleen Morrison, and Carla Sinopoli, pp. 70–92. Cambridge University Press, New York.
2005 Sacred Landscapes and Imperial Ideologies: The Wari Empire in Sondondo, Peru. In *Foundations of Power in the Prehispanic Andes*, edited by Kevin Vaughn, Dennis Ogburn, and Christina A. Conlee, pp. 131–150. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association No. 14. University of California Press, Los Angeles.

Shimada, Izumi
1991 Pachacamac Archaeology: Retrospect and Prospect. In *Pachacamac: A Reprint of the 1903 Edition by Max Uhle*. University Monograph 62. University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
1994a Los modelos de la organización sociopolítica de la cultura Moche. In *Moche, propuestas y perspectivas. Actas del Primer Coloquio sobre la cultura Moche, Trujillo, 12–16 de abril de 1993*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica, pp. 359–387. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo and Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Lima.
1994b *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Shimada, Izumi, Crystal B. Schaaf, Loonie G. Thompson, and Ellen Moseley Thompson
1991 Cultural Impacts of Severe Droughts in the Prehispanic Andes: Applications of a 1500-year Ice Core Precipitation Record. *World Archaeology* 22(3):247–270.

Stone, Rebecca R.
1987 Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics: The Andean Artist. A.D. 500–800. PhD dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Stone-Miller, Rebecca, and Gordon McEwan
1990 The Representation of the Wari State in Stone and Thread: A Comparison of Architecture and Tapestry Tunics. *RES* 19–20:53–80.

Topic, John R.
1991 Huari and Huamachuco. In *Huari Administrative Structure. Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon McEwan, pp. 141–164. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Topic, John R., and Theresa L. Topic
2000 Hacia la comprensión del fenómeno Huari: una perspectiva norteña. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 4. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. 1*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 181–217. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Topic, Theresa L.
1991 The Middle Horizon in Northern Peru. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon McEwan, pp. 233–246. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Tufinio, Moisés
2004 Excavaciones en la Unidad 12A (Ampliación Norte), Plataforma 1, Huaca de la Luna. In *Excavaciones en la Huaca de la Luna 1998–1999*, edited by Santiago

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Uceda, Elias Mujica, and Ricardo Morales, pp. 19–36. Universidad Nacional la Libertad, Trujillo.

2005 Excavaciones en el Frontis Norte y Plaza 1 de Huaca de la Luna. In *Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca de la Luna, Informe Técnico 2005*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Ricardo Morales, pp. 57–89. Universidad Nacional la Libertad, Trujillo.

Ubbelohde-Doering, Heinrich

1966 *On the Royal Highways of the Inca*. Praeger, New York.

Uceda, Santiago

2001 Investigations at Huaca de la Luna, Moche Valley: An Example of Moche Religious Architecture. In *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, edited by Joanne Pillsbury, pp. 47–67. Studies in the History of Art 63, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XL, National Gallery of Art of Washington. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

2004 Los sacerdotes del Arco Bicéfalo: tumbas y ajuares hallados en la Huaca de la Luna y su relación con los rituales Moche. In *Proyecto Arqueológico la Huaca de la Luna. Informe Técnico 2003*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Ricardo Morales, pp. 237–259. Universidad Nacional la Libertad, Trujillo.

Uceda, Santiago, Claude Chapdelaine, Claude Chauchat, and John Verano

2002 Fechas radiocarbónicas para el Complejo Arquitectónico Huacas del Sol y la Luna: una primera cronología del sitio. In *Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca de la Luna, Informe Técnico 2001*, edited by Santiago Uceda and Ricardo Morales, pp. 215–225. Universidad Nacional la Libertad, Trujillo.

Willey, Gordon R.

1971 *An Introduction to American Archaeology Vol. 2: South America*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Williams, Patrick R., and Donna Nash

2002 Imperial Interaction in the Andes: Huari and Tiwanaku at Cerro Baúl. In *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 243–265. Kluwer Academics/Plenum, New York.

Williams, Ryan, Jhony Isla, and Donna Nash

2001 Cerro Baúl: un enclave Wari en interacción con Tiwanaku. In *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP no. 5. Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias vol. II*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, pp. 69–87. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Wilson, David J.

1988 *Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Lower Santa Valley, Peru: A Regional Perspective on the Origins and Development of Complex North Coast Society*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret (editor)

2004 *Tiwanaku. Ancestors of the Inca*. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Part 4

Interpretive Perspectives on SAIS Art

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 20: Introduction

Mothers and Others
Female Images and Life Cycle Rituals in the Southern Andes

William H. Isbell

Cultures that participated in the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS), especially the early ones, appear to have conceptualized the cosmos as profoundly gendered, at least as represented in their art. Yaya-Mama sculptors sometimes carved stone monuments with two faces, male and female, on opposite sides of a column. Pukara artists divided their imagery—including many animals, geometric figures, and even colors—into masculine and feminine principles that were embodied in a profile feline-related male and a front-face female associated with a llama or alpaca (Chávez 1992, 2002). Tiwanaku ceramicists depicted both elite men and elite women among the effigy vessels of the Pariti Offering (Chapter 7, this volume). Haeberli (Chapter 6, this volume) argues that the clothing of the earliest Staff Gods reveals them to be females, while Wari presented male and female Staff Gods side by side on the Pacheco Urns. Indeed, based on my experience with Wari imagery, I believe that women were more frequent subjects for ancient representation than we have generally realized, although diagnostic features of feminine gender have not been identified with security (W. H. Isbell 2007). Careful, gender-sensitive reexamination of SAIS art is desperately needed, and JoEllen Burkholder undertakes the difficult task in Chapter 20. Some readers may find her identifications of women speculative, but her review of the data is valuable, and she convincingly shows what can be achieved when one entertains alternative assumptions about gendered representation in ancient Andean art.

Burkholder takes a macro-scale approach, considering artistic production from numerous cultures/styles, through several millennia, including the Paracas, Siguas 1 and 3, Pucara, La Ramada, Nasca, Tiwanaku, and Wari. Some readers may question whether all of these styles should be considered SAIS, but that is one of the ultimate questions for this volume and all of its authors. Gender is certainly an issue we should be examining in the broadest comparative contexts.

This chapter adopts an interpretive perspective, seeking to identify likely female images and interrogate their possible symbolic meanings, a pursuit that requires the author to reconsider popular criteria for differentiating supernaturals from real-world people in pre-Columbian imagery. The primary media examined are ceramic and textile decorations, but others are included as well, such as rock art and pyroengraved canes. Burkholder organizes her discussion into essential groupings based on categories she argues constitute universal features of femaleness, including life cycle changes. Mothers, fertility, and birth, as well as rebirth and fecundity, constitute one set of themes. Features of birthing, from birthing stance to birthing poles, assist in the identification of mothers, infants, and the principle of consan-

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

guineal continuity. Her suggestion that a "near pair" of Tiwanaku effigy vessels from Pariti, rather than representing a man and an almost identical fat man, represent a man and a pregnant woman is one of many arguments that follow logically from the rejection of the traditional assumption of universal maleness.

A second theme employed is a domain Burkholder names maids and matrons. Here the female life cycle is considered, emphasizing the onset of menstruation and its termination, as especially problematic transformations that surely required explicit social recognition through ritual and symbolic action. Discussion considers relationships between young women and the tending of camelids, female images in prayer and as votive objects, and women as subjects on utilitarian and plainware ceramics.

One of the generalizations that Burkholder abstracts from the corpus of plausibly female imagery is the relative passivity of female images compared with the more active male figures. Although women appear birthing, serving, and tending camelids, they more commonly take static poses, as though they represent cosmic stability itself. This leads Burkholder to suggest that in SAIS cosmology, men are associated with action and change. Women, by contrast, seem to be associated with the stability of cultural continuity. Significantly, this point has been made by modern Andean ethnographers (see B. J. Isbell 1978) as well.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Chávez, Sergio Jorge

1992 The Conventionalized Rules in Pucara Pottery Technology and Iconography: Implications for Socio-Political Development in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, Department of Anthropology. East Lansing, Michigan.

2002 The Identification of the Camelid Woman and the Feline Man: Themes, Motifs, and Designs. In *Pucara Style Pottery. Andean Archaeology Vol. II: Art, Landscape and Society*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 35–69. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Isbell, Billie Jean

1978 *To Defend Ourselves*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Isbell, William H.

2007 Women, Men, and Mythical Beings from Conchopata, Peru. Northeast Conference on Andean and Amazonian Archaeology and Ethnohistory.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 20

Mothers and Others

Female Images and Life Cycle Rituals in the Southern Andes

JoEllen Burkholder

This chapter takes as its main focus two major themes in the study of the material culture of the South Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) and its various components. One of these is the art, iconography, and materials associated with what we would identify as women, female gender, and female gender roles. There is no denying that the role of women in the creation and maintenance of the cultures of the Andean southern tradition has been grossly overlooked, despite several early attempts to consider women and female images (e.g., Chávez 1992; Chávez and Mohr-Chávez 1976; Gero 1992; Hastorff 1991; Lyons 1978; Roosevelt 1988). The reasons for this are multiple and include complicated modes of decoration and design in material culture, the prominence of male images in representational art, and a general predominance of androcentric topics of investigation. As a result of these biases, we have paid relatively little attention to the ways in which women and their interests shaped and maintained the societies we study.

The second topic addressed here is the issue of cultural continuities spanning hundreds, even thousands, of years. As Isbell (1995) has both noted and questioned, we have often been tempted to envision long-term cultural continuities in aspects of Andean social life without questioning how or why such continuities should exist in the face of the rise and fall of major polities, economic systems, and religious traditions. Males have usually been associated with the military conquests, drinking rituals, trade, and state-level religious activities by which we define Andean states and empires and the changes they undergo. We use a vocabulary of "shaman," "priests," "warriors," and "lords" when discussing the agents responsible for social changes. Given the figurative representations in art as well as other aspects of the material record, this association seems justified. If men are primarily responsible for social change in the Andes, then perhaps we need to look elsewhere to explain continuities and connections across space and time.

This chapter asserts that some of the continuities embedded in the cultural traditions of the SAIS need to be attributed to women, their life cycle, and a pervasive cultural current that held females and feminine principles in high regard. Drawing from a number of cultural traditions, this chapter identifies a variety of images that constitute representations of females or feminine principles. These images can be categorized into recurrent themes that pertain to recognizable aspects of the female life cycle. As a biologically based constant, I argue that it may be ties to the female life cycle that provided for some of the continuity and recurrence of these images within the SAIS.

I do not want to argue that there was a single, consistent, female-focused narrative or set of characters that pervaded the cultures of the SAIS. Rather, I want to identify certain themes or issues of particular relevance to women in the southern Andes that found their way

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

into a variety of cultural expressions across the space and time of the SAIS. These recurrent themes rarely made it into the mainstream of the artistic canons. Rather, they existed as divergent, countercultural, or even idiosyncratic expressions and practices, which survived the vacillations of state formation and collapse specifically because they were not part of the cultural mainstream.

Bureaucrats, Beer, and Booty: The Lens of SAIS Archaeology

The biggest limits to the study of females and female images in the SAIS have been the particular issues we as archaeologists have thought it important to address in our research and the androcentric spin our search for answers has taken. Our research questions have privileged realms of culture preconceived of as male domains and "confirmed" as such by the ethnohistoric record. Without trying to argue that we should throw out all preconceptions, I would like to argue that our emphases on certain topics have predisposed us to look more closely and with greater subtlety at predominantly male activities and to see iconography in terms of its usefulness in illustrating males and documenting their actions. A different lens may be needed if we want to see females and their contributions to SAIS cultures.

The development of complex and urbanized cultures has been a major concern within the SAIS sphere. In particular, the themes of bureaucrats, beer, and booty have prevailed. The story goes that cultural complexity and later state-level polities developed alongside (male) entrepreneurial traders, (male) warlords, and/or (male or mostly male) elite priests who developed (male) beer drinking, use of other intoxicants, and ritual as a means of social and political cohesion (e.g., Browman 1981; Cook 2001; Isbell 2004; Isbell and Cook 1987; Janusek 1994, 2004, 2005; Kolata 1993, 1996, 2003; Stanish 2003). This, in turn, fueled a drive for territorial expansion and the booty of exotic goods (e.g., Goldstein 2000, 2003, 2005; Nash and Williams 2004; Vaughn 2004; Wernke 2006). Regardless of the specifics, what all of these narratives have most in common is an emphasis on explaining cultural change. As a fundamental goal of archaeology, the study of cultural change would seem to be unavoidable in our study of SAIS cultures, but it may not be the only thing worth focusing on. In the history of SAIS archaeology in particular, one common feature, often taken for granted, has been cultural continuity. Isbell (1995) suggests that this was the result of a building block concept of cultural development in which, once a foundation for a cultural trait is established, it remains static while other elements are added on top. We ask a lot of questions about why and how things change, as well as what new blocks are stacked on old foundations, but rarely question why, how, or even if things stay the same.

If looking at change has brought us a clearer understanding of men's lives and cultural contributions, then it may be that we need to problematize continuity to gain a clearer understanding of women. We need to ask what interests, concerns, and activities had salience for women over time. Which were perpetual, which were recurrent, and in what kinds of time frames? We need, too, to differentiate between concerns and interests that were class based and/or age specific. One way we can begin to do this is to identify and seriously consider female images, their contexts, and potential semiotic content. Looking not only for indicators of what SAIS societies considered the important aspects of women's lives, we also seek indicators that may inform us about the class-, ethnicity-, and age-based differences in women's lives and experiences that are expressed in material culture. To do this, we need to begin seeking out female images and the feminine reflections of the SAIS, gathering a large enough base that we can begin to see variations in what has until now seemed enigmatic, peripheral, and changeless.

Searching for the Female

It is not always an easy or simple thing to identify females, human or otherwise, in the artistic cannons of western South America, and the SAIS traditions are no exception to this general rule. While it is useful to discuss limits on identifying female images, it is also important to consider the attributes and elements we can use to identify them. Several factors contribute to the difficulty we encounter in studying images of women in the SAIS. Most of these factors come back to elements of style, and even though we can identify different styles within the SAIS, many of the problematic trends occur across the spectrum of traditions. Treated semiotically, we might think of style as a whole integrated language where words, grammar rules, pronunciation, and the social use of the language all affect our ability to understand and meaningfully translate it. As related stylistic "languages," the various cultures that participated in the SAIS probably used many similar iconographic elements and may therefore present similar opportunities and difficulties in identifying female images.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Several visual limits hamper our ability to identify female images. First is the general paucity of human images. Undecorated ceramics predominate in most collections. These are followed in quantity by geometric motifs and representations of the natural world. Of the anthropomorphic images we do have, many are androgynous and most of the rest appear to be male. Interpretive and perhaps methodological issues may have caused us to miss some female images, but regardless, clearly female images do not appear to be abundant in the SAIS traditions. Using the linguistic analogy, we do not have a very large vocabulary for talking about female images.

A second set of impediments derives from the limited contexts of our inquiry. This limits our ability to consider what Sørensen describes as the "materiality of gender" (Sørensen 2000:74–89). In the case of the SAIS, many of the most complete examples of iconography are mortuary furnishings, which come with an array of complicated issues for interpretation (Arnold and Wicker 2001; Shimada et al. 2004). As many items from tombs have been stripped of archaeological context by *huaqueros*, we cannot begin to assess how constellations of images in different media may have combined with the deceased's known gender to create cultural meaning. After tombs, our second great source of iconographically rich materials has been temples and other "ritual" contexts. This affects our understanding of gender because our focus on the elite and the public as a source for "important" cultural meaning disregards many other contexts, including those in which female images may have had greater impact. So not only do we have a small vocabulary, but we also have few grammar rules and limited social contexts from which to begin interpretation.

Indeed, there would seem to be ways to expand our small set of gendered images and bring the extant SAIS collection into gendered context. First, we need to acknowledge that geometric elements may have had gendered significance. Chávez (1992, 2002, 2004) suggests this interpretation for some elements of Pukara pottery decoration, and Zuidema (2007) has done similarly with Chuquibamba textiles. Second, we need to be open to the idea that some plants or animals had gendered connotations. Again, Chávez's identification of domesticated camelids and owls as "female"-related images in Pukara art stands as an example (Chávez 1992, 2002, 2004). Third, we need to give consideration to gender ambiguity and what it might have meant within the SAIS traditions. Some images may have simultaneously represented female and male qualities or have been interpreted as female in one context or by some viewers and as male under other social conditions. In fact, Allen (2002:32–33) suggests that contextual variation in gender is a feature of contemporary Andean cosmologies. Together, these directives provide some means by which we might be able to expand our information about female images, despite the various impediments discussed above.

Female Images in the SAIS

I think it worthwhile to concentrate here on what I consider to be two of three general categories of female images present in the SAIS traditions. I attempt to broaden Lyons's pioneering work examining supernatural beings (Lyons 1978). One class represents images of pregnancy, parturition, and other aspects of mothering. This is an important class of images for increasing our understanding of continuity in Andean societies because, although we have little understanding of ancient practices associated with pregnancy, birth, and childcare, we know that these activities must have taken place in some form if society was to reproduce itself. In this examination, I would like to suggest that there are perhaps more of these images out there than we have previously considered. A second class of images includes what I call here "maids and matrons." While clearly representing females, these images do not clearly draw attention to women as the biological reproducers of society. In fact, the tendency is to view these figures as not doing anything much at all; they sit, stand, kneel, and squat placidly but are rarely described as performing any action or holding any particular social status. This contributes to our perception of women in ancient Andean societies as static, timeless observers of culture rather than active participants. Below, I suggest ways in which we can view these images as reflecting culturally relevant activities rather than just static representations.

Mothers and Others

In the modern, pan-Andean conception, Pachamama is the supernatural mother of the world, providing for the needs of her children through such things as human fertility, agricultural abundance, and success in mining (Damian 1995; García Miranda 1998; Seibold 2001). This hints at the strong cultural value of mothers and motherhood in the Andes, at least among women for whom motherhood constitutes a basis for achieving adult social status as well as grounds for political action, economic participation, and citizenship (Bourque and Warren 1981; Radcliffe 1993; Jenkins 2015). The

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

fact that this is also a highly ranked value for women in Catholic religion (Stevens 1973; Westwood and Radcliffe 1993) suggests that the contemporary place of Pachamama, mothers, and mothering is more historic invention than an example of cultural continuity from prehistoric times. The artistic tradition of SAIS cultures, however, has a deep record of female images that portray the biological aspects of motherhood, dating back at least to the middle of the first millennium BC (Figure 20.1). The images I consider here derive from Paracas, Ocucaje, Siguas, Nasca, Wari, and Tiwanaku traditions. Within the context of these traditions, these types of images are rare but they do appear to represent a distinct and identifiable set of themes that is repeated in different media and different styles across many SAIS cultures.

Occulate Mothers-to-Be

Both the Paracas and related Ocucaje cultures produced images in linear style dubbed "Occulate Beings" by Menzel et al. (1964). Some of these images are anthropomorphic, while others take feline or avian forms. We may debate whether or not or to what degree these images represent supernatural or mortal beings. The anthropomorphic versions sport streamer-like hair, often with faces or animals at the terminus, and have concentric oval eyes and broad "smiling" mouths. Thus, they exhibit one of the features considered a marker of supernatural status—kenning[1]—but not the crossed fangs or divided eyes usually associated with supernatural beings (Lyons 1978; see also Paul 1986). As a being potentially intermediate between mortal and supernatural, these images merit consideration for what they might be able to tell us about women and the place of female images within SAIS traditions.

Paul's study of textiles from Paracas Necropolis is striking for the regularity with which potentially female images occur in the collection, but related figures also appear in Ocucaje painted textiles in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología in Lima, illustrated in volumes by Lumbreras et al. (1979a:32–33, 36–37, 1979b:63–64). These female images include Paul's "Symmetrical Occulate Being," consisting of an anthropomorphic figure with arms curved upward, an outward bend where the knee should be, and a smaller figure inverted on/in the larger figure's abdomen (Figure 20.2; see also Paul

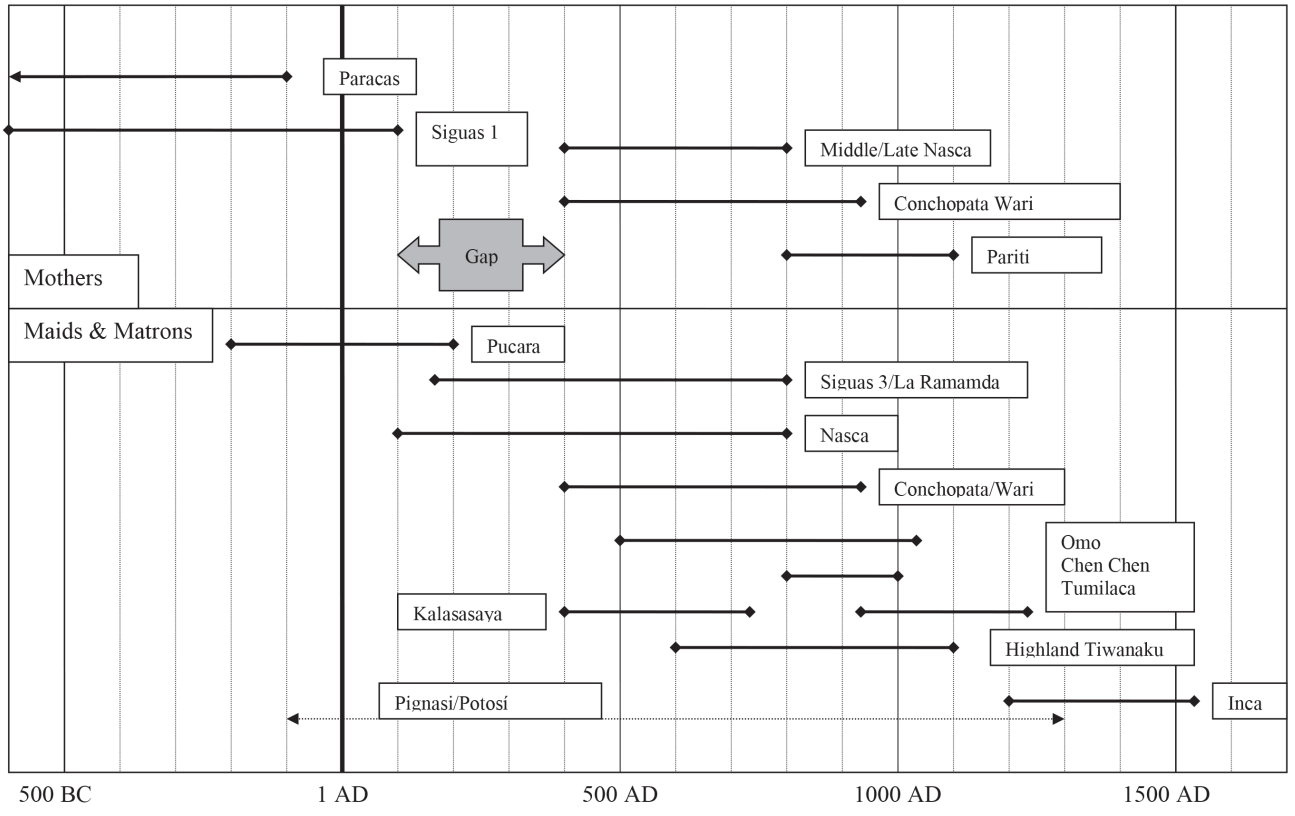


Figure 20.1. Chronological chart illustrating the relative time frame for materials discussed in the text.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

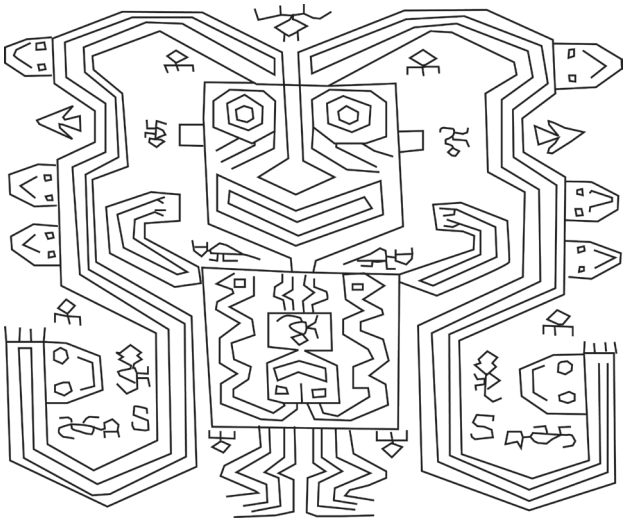


Figure 20.2. Female "Occulate Being" with inverted "fetus" shown inside. Adapted and redrawn from Paul 1986.

1986:Figures 22–30). What seems relevant here is not just the smaller figure embedded in the larger one but that the smaller anthropomorphic figure is head-down, the same position an infant would take in the mother's womb before birth. Winged or avian Occulate Beings and ones resembling feline forms also have smaller figures embedded within larger ones, but these are not usually inverted.

Another type of Occulate Being is a side-facing anthropomorphic figure with a long, linear element in its hands, identified by Paul as the "Occulate Being with Streaming Hair" (Paul 1986:Figure 31). In a version of the figure illustrated by Paul, the larger figure holds three narrow elements, described by Paul as spears. The smaller figure inside is not inverted, and both it and several similarly sized figures filling spaces around the main figure hold linear elements in their outstretched hands that lack the triangular terminations of the larger figure's "spears."

Why consider these to be female images when they lack any clear biological markers of female sex or cultural markers of feminine gender? In interpreting these as female images, the embedded figures, the bent knees, the inversion of internal figures, and the inclusion of linear elements are key. My interpretation is that these figures, whether or not they are supernatural in nature, were intended to represent images of females giving birth with the assistance of birthing poles and thus represent "Occulate Mothers." The images are consistent with known practices in the Andes and elsewhere for the use of birthing poles (Ashford 1996; McKay 1980; Bradbury and Murphy-Lawless 2002; Miles 1997; Newton and Newton 2003). Birthing poles facilitate upright postures, backs bowed dorsally, a wide-legged stance, and bent knees conducive to natural birth (Newton and Newton 2003).

We know virtually nothing about birthing practices in the ancient Andes, but we do know how and why similar practices were used elsewhere. Many non-Western cultures prefer an upright posture for childbirth—standing, sitting, squatting, kneeling—and employing such postures often involves the use of ropes, poles, stakes, trees, birth assistants, and so on to support the mother during delivery (Newton and Newton 2003). The advantages of such positions for both mother and infant are numerous and include easier passage of the child through the birth canal, more effective contractions, better blood flow, and faster dilation, as well as shorter and less painful labor (Ashford 1996; McKay 1980; Miles 1997).

It is difficult to find corroborating evidence of these practices in prehistoric Andean contexts. There are few records of birthing practices in the Andes, either historically or ethnohistorically, since many extant accounts were written by male authors and birth is frequently an all-female event (Jones and Kay 2003). Archaeologically, use of supports for upright birth might leave no lasting mark in the archaeological record. Poles might well be part of other architectural features, such as wall or roof supports. Ropes, stakes, and especially human assistants would be moved after birth. Images of normal, ideal, or even mythical childbirth events recorded in various media, such as the Paracas linear-style textiles, might be the only available evidence from this early period.

Trophy Children?

Within the cannons of Paracas textiles, we also find images in the color block style of embroidery that illustrate an elaborately adorned figure carrying a smaller figure on its back. The smaller figure has an anthropomorphic face and long hair flopping to one side. The larger figure carries the smaller one in a woven net-like bag, basket, or other textile on its back or slung over one shoulder, allowing only the head and hair of the smaller figure to be seen (Figure 20.3a; see also Lumbreras et al. 1979a:62–63). The traditional interpretation of these figures has been of a warrior/shaman carrying bag with a trophy head on its back, but I think other "readings" might be meaningful. In particular, these images might represent a small child carried on the back in a mantle or other baby-carrying device.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 20.3. Color block figures from Paracas textiles. (a) the larger figure may represent a maternal image; (b) the weapon-bearing, loin-cloth wearing figure is usually referred to as a warrior and assumed therefore to be male; (c) the figure with a contorted upper body, severed head, and tumi knife has been referred to as a shaman and also assumed to be male. All figures adapted and redrawn from photographs: a and b from Lumbreras, Lavalle, and Lang 1979a; c from British Museum registry #1954,05.563, colors approximate.

What marks these images as potentially female or at least having a feminine aspect? Both the small and large figures have elements that may refer to women and childbirth. First and foremost, the concept of parsimony[2] dictates that we ought to see a small-bodied, small-headed anthropomorphic figure as representing just that—an infant or small child—before we seek other explanations or meanings. Throughout the Andes today and in historic times, as well as cross-culturally, most infants and small children travel in carriers on a parent's (usually the mother's) back (Figure 20.4).

But if the figure is a swaddled infant in a carrier, can we understand the larger figure as female or feminine? The larger figure in this motif wears neither the short tunic and loincloth attributed to warriors nor the bared chest and short kilt attributed to "shaman" (Figure 20.3b,c; see also Lumbreras et al. 1979a:53, 56–57). Rather, the figure wears an altogether different ensemble consisting of a sleeveless tunic, a skirt or apron with ends crossed in the front, and a short underskirt or loincloth, suggesting a social role other than warrior or shaman. The figure also sports a mask or crown with projecting rays, a segmented collar, and a paddle or *tumi* knife in one hand. It is probably the appearance of the *tumi* knife that leads viewers to think that the head is a trophy severed from its body by a warrior or shaman. As a ceremonial knife, however, a *tumi* might also be used in other important occasions, such as to cut an umbilical cord. Thus, the figure may represent a kind of midwife—usually a female role. Alternatively, in an era of high infant and child mortality, the larger figure may have represented someone who steals young children, a metaphor for death. Either as a deliverer or remover of children, as midwife, mortician, or mythical being, the larger figure, by carrying the child, has important connections to mothers and childbirth.

Siguas and the Parturition Pose

Siguas 1, 2, and 3 constitute newly described traditions from the area near Arequipa and contain recognizable examples of figurative iconography from which to draw an analysis (Haeberli 2002). All three styles have examples of likely female images, although some are more ambiguous than others. Of the three related styles, Siguas 1 has the most likely examples of female images associated with birth.

Siguas 1 birthing images bear strong similarities to those of the Paracas and Ocucaje traditions described above, despite obvious differences in the execution of the images. Unlike the linear embroidery style seen in Paracas textiles, the Siguas 1 examples are woven into the fabric. These images are similar to the Paracas and Ocucaje images in that the designs are rendered in a simple geometric manner. The Siguas 1 images also share several attributes with the forward-facing Occulate Mothers, including arms extended away from the body and bent legs in a kind of parturition pose; one Siguas 1 image also shares the long trailing hair and an emphasis on the eyes (Figure 20.5a).

In addition to the similarities to the Paracas images, we can identify one of the Siguas 1 images as female based on at least two additional attributes. The first and most obvious of these is the illustration of labia below the torso. These lower projections are clearly absent from the textile's adjacent, ambiguous figure that stands upright, arms at its side. The second feature of the female image is a dark red oblong outlined in a brighter red, which fills up most of the space between the figure's bent legs (Figure

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 20.4. Women in the Andes traditionally carry their infants and very young children in a backpack made from a textile as illustrated by the case of this Peruvian woman from the Cusco region photographed in 2012. Photo courtesy of Rachael McKaig.

20.5b). The labia nearly touch this red element. I suggest that this might be best interpreted as a depiction of either menstrual blood or placental afterbirth.

Why illustrate afterbirth or menstrual blood? Blood is a potent symbol across cultures, and menstrual blood and the blood associated with the placenta, or afterbirth, frequently have high cultural importance. In some Andean cases, the placenta is seen as having an almost spiritual nature, representing the ghost or doppelganger of the real child, and the way in which the placenta is treated is thought to have a significant bearing on the health of the child and/or mother, as well as potential effects on future fertility (Jones and Kay 2003). The ancient Maya also made particularly strong connections between menstrual blood, blood of childbirth, and fertility, drawing parallels to male blood-letting rituals and supernatural power (Sigal 2000). Similarly, the Aztec drew symbolic parallels between mothers in childbirth and warriors in battle, equating the loss of blood and potential loss of life (Joyce 2000; McCafferty and McCafferty 1991). Similarly, a cultural metaphor equating "female" menstrual/placental blood with the "male" blood of human sacrifice may also have existed within the contexts of SAIS cultures, giving the representation of female blood broader cultural relevance.

Divine Protection for Nasca Births

Some of the best-known images of women associated with pregnancy and birth are those of Late Nasca ceramic figurines. To be sure, not all female figurines from the Late Nasca periods show birthing images. Some are static, but many if not all of the figurines and vessels showing nude seated or kneeling females belong to this category. Several characteristics of these images provide insight into birthing and its symbolic content among Late Nasca people that tie them to earlier cultures on the south coast.

As some of the most realistic images from this region, the Nasca figurines provide considerable insight into the birthing process. Although the breasts are small, the abdomen, buttocks, and thighs are ample and rounded, suggesting that these were culturally salient features of pregnancy and eminent birth. Marking them as culturally female, the images have long hair with a center part with locks swept forward over the shoulders and bracelets on both wrists. The figures take one of several laboring/birthing positions; these include kneeling, squatting, and sitting with the legs well apart, hands braced on the knees or thighs or across the abdomen (Figure 20.6; see also Kroeber and Collier 1998:Figure 254; Silverman and Proulx 2002:Figure 2.7). A vaginal opening is often

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

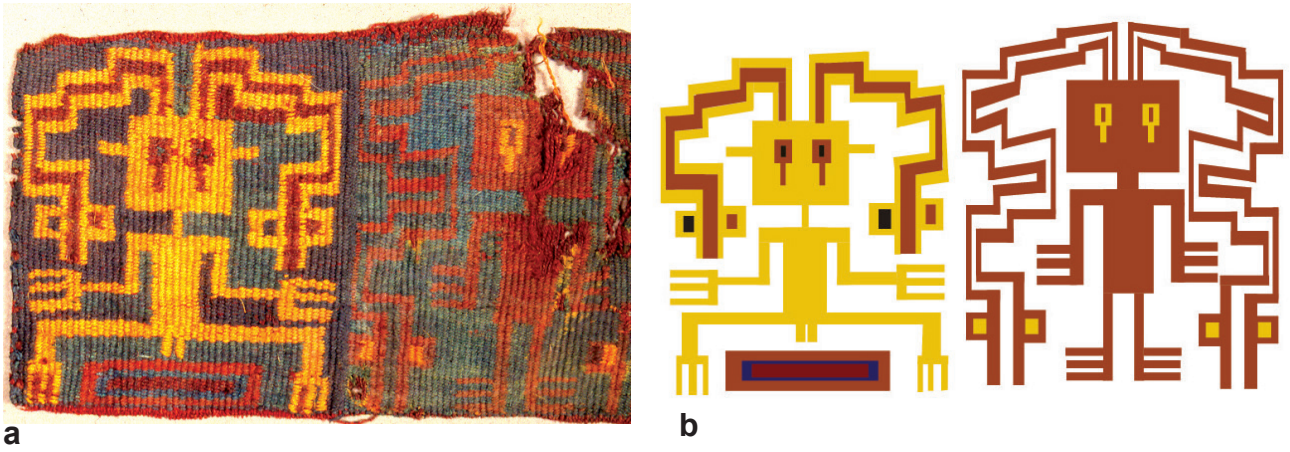


Figure 20.5. (a) See photo by J. Haeberli (Figure 6.25, this volume). (b) Images from the same textile fragment redrawn to demonstrate the representation of female genitalia. Symmetry of second figure (on the illustration's left) is assumed, colors approximate.

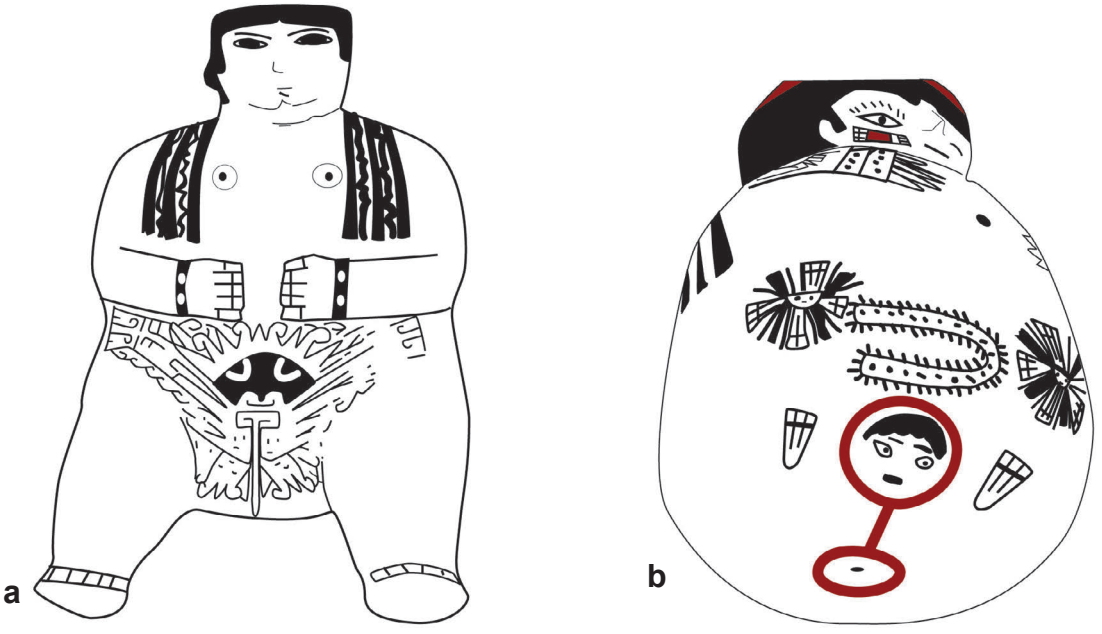


Figure 20.6. Late Nasca figurines showing women in birthing positions with body paint or tattoos on their abdomens. (a) Seated figurine with the tongue emphasizing the location of the vaginal slit (after Proulx 2006: fig 5.146). (b) An effigy jar showing the baby being born (drawn from photograph by Proulx 2006: plate 35, colors approximate).

visible, and some figures show an anthropomorphic being emerging from the birth canal. As with other Nasca anthropomorphic representations, the face conveys neither emotion nor pain, suggesting either general stoicism or an artistic convention.

Another common set of features among these images is designs painted over the figure's abdomen and buttocks and sometimes other places on the body, as well. These designs are described as tattooing, even though there is nothing to distinguish a true tattoo from a more temporary form of body decoration (e.g., Kroeber and Collier 1998:171). The specific elements and motifs of these designs vary from figure to figure and from front to back on the same figurine. They include killer whales, rayed heads, Nasca "tasters" with extended tongues, "pukio demons," asterisks, and grids (Figure 20.7). Kroeber and Collier interpreted these symbols as tattoos representing the deity about to be born (Kroeber and Collier 1998:171). There is, however, nothing to suggest a supernatural nature for the mother and no evidence that the birth in progress is of a supernatural being other than Kroeber's and Collier's assertion about the body decoration. Mothers exhibit none

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

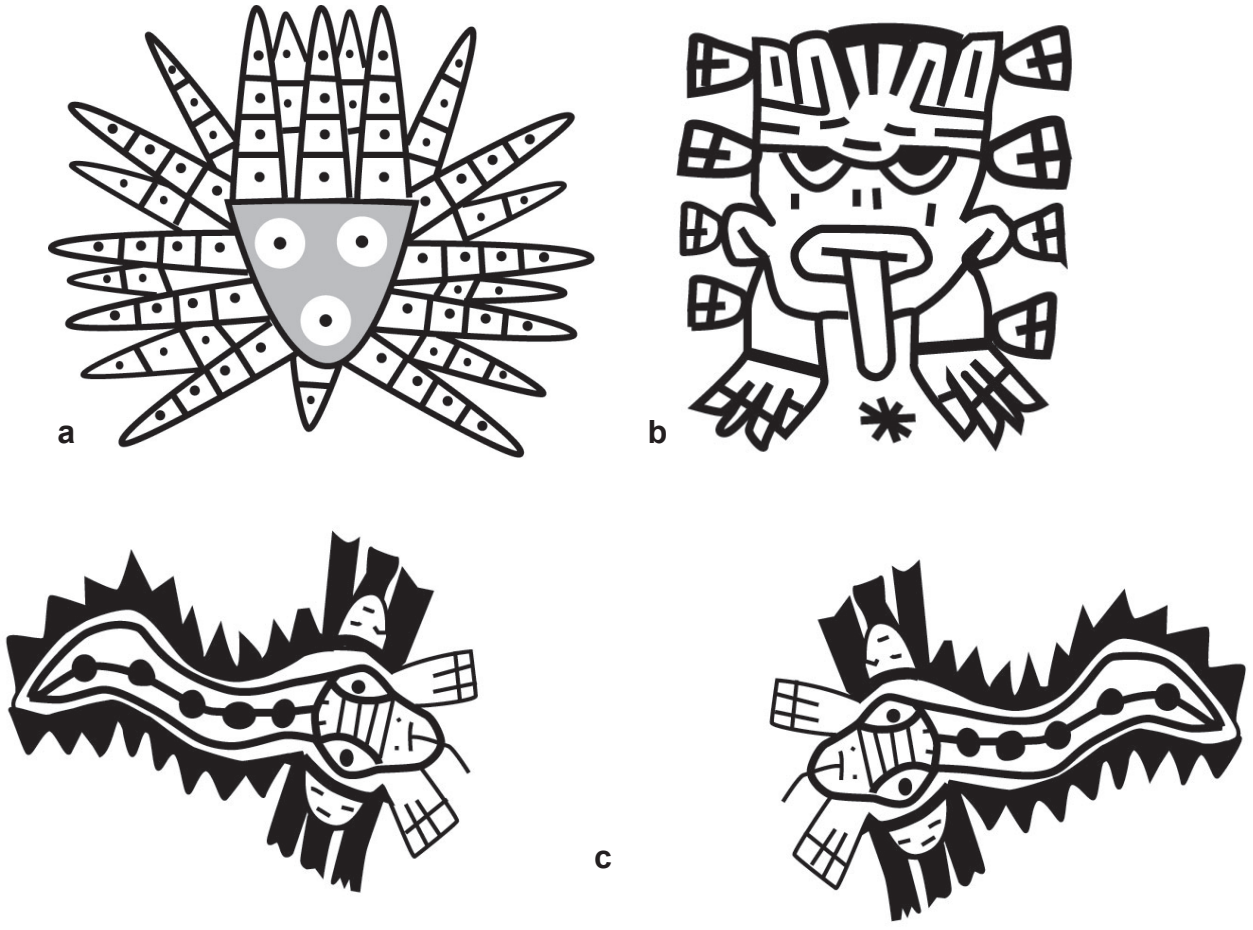


Figure 20.7. Examples of designs painted on late Nasca figurines. (a) Figure on the abdomen of a "birthing" jar, from Kroeber and Collier 1998:171, Figure 254. (b) Figure on the abdomen of a "birthing" jar from figurine #33-15-1 Museum für Völkerkunde, based on drawing by Clados 2003. (c) Pair of creatures on the buttocks of a "birthing" jar, based on a drawing by Lavalle 1986:137. Other examples of these markings can be seen in Figure 20.6.

of the supernatural traits identified by Lyons (1978), nor do the emerging infants when they are depicted. Given the similarities in the figures themselves and the variety of symbols displayed on them, however, I suggest that the designs did not convey the child's identity but had another purpose entirely.

What were the designs for? I would suggest that the symbols do not convey the child's identity because it is likely that a newborn child did not have its own identity. As in other parts of the world where infant mortality is relatively high, children in the Andes generally are ascribed full personhood through the acquisition of godparents in a series of rituals, including naming, haircutting, and baptism. Prior to the culmination of these rituals, the child is not a full member of the community and is generally not viewed as possessing its own identity (Christinat 1989).

On the other hand, at least one Andean ethnographic source describes a culturally specific illness, called *sajt'ay*, which might warrant the need for marking a mother's body at the time of childbirth. *Sajt'ay* is the infection of a woman's blood by pernicious spirits that enter the woman after birth, when her body is both "open" and "weak," potentially resulting in permanent harm or death (Murphy-Lawless 1998:1–2). Among the Quechua speakers north of Potosí, laboring women wear a specially prepared belt to prevent evil spirits from entering her body (Murphy-Lawless 1998:5). While the use of belts and the specific concept of *sajt'ay* may not have existed for the Nasca or other people of the SAIS traditions, the idea that a mother might need supernatural protection during or after birth seems applicable. Thus, I suggest that the Nasca figurines represent ordinary human births and that the designs on the woman's body

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

served an apotropaic function protecting the mother from supernatural attack either during or immediately following birth.

Powerful Middle Horizon Mamas

There may be no direct iconographic references to human childbirth during the Middle Horizon and few that relate to motherhood more generally (Cook 2004), but that does not mean that there are no references to female roles associated with nurturing. Known images are extremely rare and perhaps even idiosyncratic, and they certainly do not represent any major current in the formal state-level theologies that emerged within the Wari and Tiwanaku cultures during the Middle Horizon. Their presence on well-finished vessels from ceremonial contexts, however, suggests that such images had salience to people who could afford—economically and socially—to make significant offerings to spiritual forces outside the prevailing religious paradigm. How motherhood may have been perceived is interesting even if it is only a minority representation.

Images from the Wari site of Conchopata merit consideration, despite the fact some contain elements that suggest mythical, if not supernatural, contexts. Two images depict women in nurturing roles that we might consider as a kind of extension of the role of gestation and parturition. In one image, illustrated originally by Isbell and Cook (2002; see Figure 20.8a), a female with a nose plug and ear spools is shown with a bare torso, suckling a young feline. Her raised legs may further suggest birth, although this is less obvious than in images like those of the Nasca mothers described above. In a second image, two women appear to be feeding human body parts to a series of juvenile canine and avian critters that Cook describes as "foxes" and "condors" (Figure 20.8b; see also Cook 2004:Figure 8.3a). Both of these depictions are associated with auxiliary images of male warriors and/or human trophy heads, and both appear on oversized urns that were monumental feats of ceramic artistry. Their association with animal young, rather than human, suggests a mythological context. As mythical mothers, these images certainly do not portray actual mothers, although they may depict those qualities most hoped or feared of caretaking women.

Other Wari images, created in the Huamanga style, depict females together with children (Isbell 2002). Although these images also lack a direct association with childbirth, the presence of children marks these females as mothers. In the case of the Huamanga-style images, however, these mothers lack the mythological

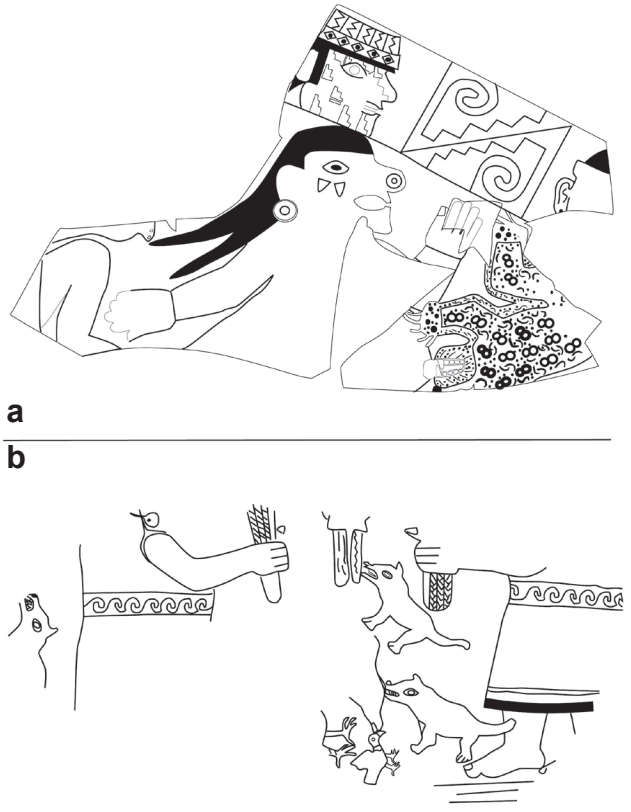


Figure 20.8. Images of mythical mothers from the Wari site of Conchopata. (a) Image painted on an urn showing a female figure suckling a young feline (adapted and redrawn from Isbell and Cook 2002). (b) Image from a second urn depicting two female figures feeding human body parts to a pack of hungry canines and birds (adapted and redrawn from Cook 2004).

characteristics of Cook's Conchopata examples. In both the Conchopata- and Huamanga-style pieces, however, we see images of motherhood marked by the act of caregiving rather than birth itself.

There may also have been examples of females in "parturition pose" in Wari cannons, but the examples are highly geometricized and not as anatomically specific as the Siguas textiles described above. One type of possible parturition pose from Wari contexts involves what Sawyer described as a Type 2 or Composite Motif (Sawyer 1963). In Sawyer's examples, a geometricized animal head, when mirrored vertically, creates a human-like face with a partial torso and splayed, curled appendages.[3] One version of the figure, if doubled again across the horizontal plain, might appear to be giving birth to an upside-down version of itself, as is the case of several tapestry bands in Peru's Museo Nacional (Figure 20.9). A second possibility is presented by materials from the central coast attributed to Wari people. In these examples, a standing figure with no obvious

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 20.9. Drawing of a Wari tapestry fragment from Peru's Museo Nacional with an anthropomorphic version of Sawyer's "composite motif." Drawn from photograph of registry #2329, colors approximate.

Figure 20.10. Coastal Wari figurine, Huara style, from the Arthur M. Sackler collection, accession N-94. Drawn from photograph (Katz 1983: plate 158), colors approximate.

genitalia is depicted with dashes, dots, or zigzag lines between the legs (Figure 20.10; see also Katz 1983:32, Figure 158). These images may depict regular menses or the blood or water associated with a baby's birth, but the geometric abstraction obscures the exact intentions of the artists. These images are, however, examples of how changing our expectations about the representation of females in SAIS art provides new ways of interpreting old images.

Members of the Tiwanaku culture also produced images of females that we might interpret as relating to pregnancy and birth. These include images painted on *kero* cups and one fully modeled and painted piece. All may be late in the history of the Tiwanaku culture, and all come from locations that appear, for different reasons, to be outside of the mainstream of Tiwanaku culture.

Tumilaca ceramics (AD 950–1250) constitute one of many tempro-spatial styles of Tiwanaku ceramics and are associated with Tiwanaku colonists in the Moquegua Valley. Omo-style and Chen Chen–style ceramics (AD 538–1030 and AD 785–1000, respectively) from the same region reflect a strong relationship with ceramic styles produced in the Lake Titicaca Basin and, according to Goldstein, are nearly indistinguishable from materials in the Tiwanaku core (Goldstein 2005:151, 158). Tumilaca ceramics are more local in character, reflecting continuation of a Tiwanaku esthetic after the majority of altiplano influence had ceased (Goldstein 2005:171; Owen and Goldstein 2002). In one Tumilaca *kero*, we have a single abstract anthropomorphic figure with raised arms and curled lower limbs (Figure 20.11). It appears on the vessel's lower registry and is accompanied by crosses, a z-shaped design, and long-snouted animal heads that may represent foxes or camelids (Goldstein and Rivera 2004:Figure 6.36). This figure bears a striking resemblance to the composite geometric figures on the Wari tapestry bands described above and could conceivably be a rendition of the same concept in another medium. On the basis of that comparison, this image may be identified as a parturition image.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

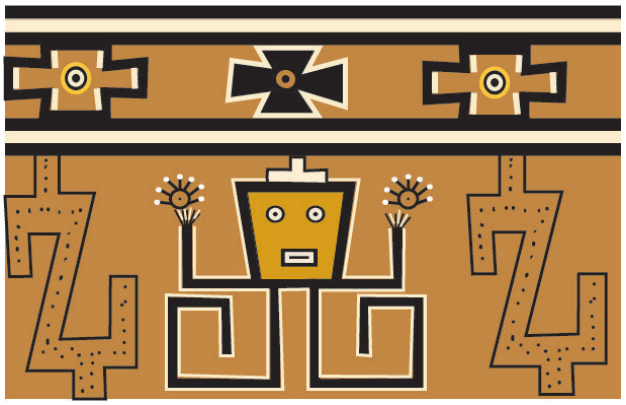


Figure 20.11. Decoration on Tumilaca *kero*, on display in the Museo Contisuyu, Moquegua. Drawn from photograph (Goldstein and Rivera 2004), colors approximate.

The remaining Tiwanaku images come from the pit features at Pariti that contained such spectacular ceramics. Pariti is a unique site for three reasons; first, several archaeologists have suggested that deposits at Pariti may represent offerings of paired ceramic objects, representative of a particular cosmovision (Sagarnaga and Korpisaari 2005). Second, Pärssinen suggests that the iconography on these objects may have been used to actively differentiate identities within a multiethnic Tiwanaku culture (Pärssinen 2005). Third, the level of detail, realism, and sheer quantity of human representation in Pariti material is anomalous within the Tiwanaku sphere.

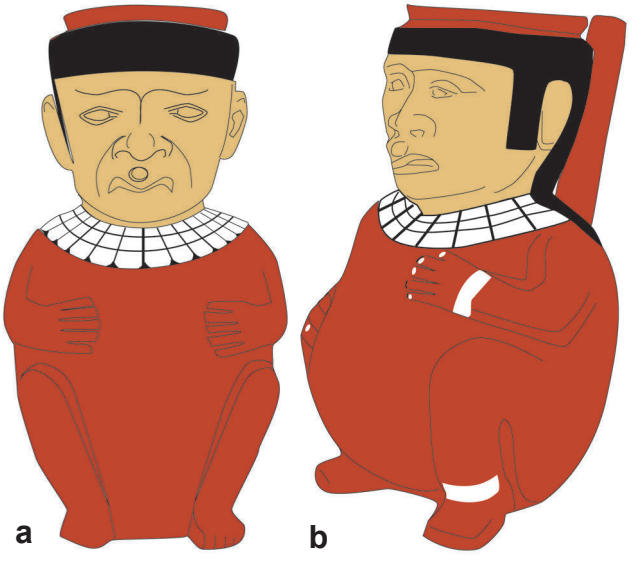


Figure 20.12. Drawing of a pair of spouted effigy vessels from Tiwanaku site of Pariti. Based on photos by A. Korpisaari (Korpisaari and Parssinen 2005: photos 10 and 11). Colors approximate.

A remarkably realistic representation of the human form is found on a short squat bottle described originally as a "fat man" (Figure 20.12b; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:53, Photo 11). In composition, it is very similar to a second bottle, thought to be its pair, but there is a discrepancy in height of 4 cm between the two (Figure 20.12a; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:53, Photo 10). Both effigies wear plaque collar necklaces, earspools, and bluntly cut hair. The images appear to represent naked or minimally clothed individuals covered in red body paint. These similarities may have denoted ethnic identity rather than gender. I assert that the smaller vessel described as a fat man (*hombre gordito*) is actually a female figure, differentiated from its partner by a series of traits, including bracelets and anklets, painted fingernails (white with black tips), placement of the hands (one over the abdomen, one on the knee), slightly splayed feet, a protruding (pregnant?) belly, and possibly long hair at the back of the head. In dress, hair, or body position, this figure does not resemble other female representations from Pariti or other Tiwanaku contexts discussed below, but neither does it or its paired vessel resemble depictions of other Tiwanaku people in general. Accordingly, I suggest that the vessels represent a male-female pair from a different (non-Tiwanaku) ethnic group. Such a male-female pairing is consistent with ideas of gender complementarity prevalent within SAIS cultures and with the Titicaca Basin's Yaya-Mama religious tradition specifically.

The second example represents a reversal of the Wari cases depicting a human mother and animal child, in that the mother is not human, but the baby is. The image occurs on the interior surface of a *ch'allador* with complex polychrome decorations, also from the Pariti offerings (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:53, Photo 40). The female/birthing image, repeated twice, shows a black camelid in an attitude of parturition holding an infant upside down in its hand, with waves of water or blood issuing from between its legs (Figure 20.13). This scene is contrasted on the same vessel with that of a giant bird-like creature with cross fangs eating/beheading a standing anthropomorphic figure. Clearly, both scenes are mythic in nature, but the presence of a human-like baby in one panel and an adult human in the other suggests the beginning and end of some kind of culture hero's life, with a nonhuman mother powerful or special enough to bring forth human life.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

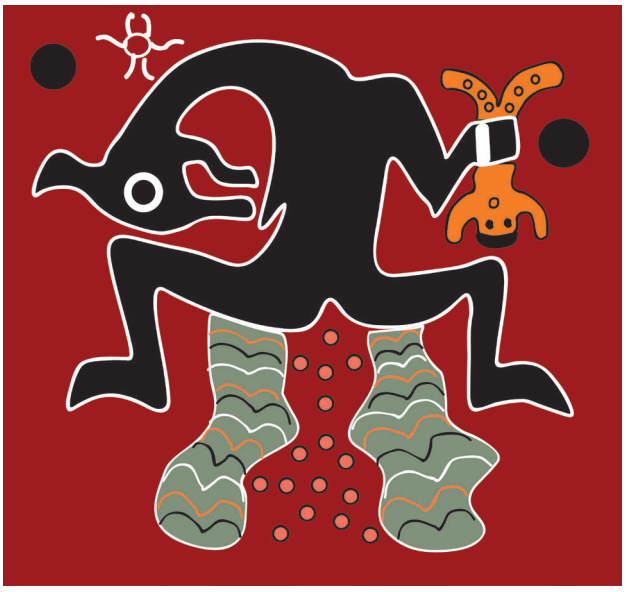


Figure 20.13. Drawing of an anthropomorphic camelid birthing a human infant from a *ch'allador* found at Pariti. Based on a photo by A. Korpisaari (Korpisaari and Parssinen 2005: photo 40). Color approximate.

A Pregnant Pause?

What could account for the temporal gap between the last of the Siguas 1 and Paracas/Ocucaje images and the images related to motherhood in the later part of the Early Intermediate Period and the Middle Horizon? Three explanations suggest themselves. First, it may be that we simply lack sufficient artifacts. Given that female images never constitute a large part of any sample, it may be that we have too few examples in the right media to find the temporally intervening images. Second, images of mothers may have become unrecognizable, either because the mothers depicted took on supernatural qualities neither resembling nor representing human females or because the images themselves became abstracted to the point where we as outsiders no longer recognize them. Haeberli's discussion of the Pucara Provincial style, for example, identifies variations that probably represent females among the icons associated with the rayed head deity, based on attire and certain elements of the rays themselves, but these seem to belong to the realm of the supernatural (Haeberli 2002). Similarly, perhaps people in parts of the SAIS region understood geometric elements like steps; L-, M-, and S-shapes; circles; and spirals as references to things like the Occulate Mother's streaming hair, the bodies of women in labor as they sat or squatted, vaginal openings, and so on, but it is difficult for us to make these connections. Third, it may be that images of mothers were temporarily supplanted by other female representations, emphasizing different aspects of the female life cycle.

Of Maids and Matrons

Along with motherhood, I think we can identify at least two other periods in the female life cycle in the artistic cannons of the SAIS: youth and maturity. While motherhood makes sense as a life stage to mark because of cultural concerns about fertility, fecundity, and perhaps infant/child mortality, youth and maturity may also have held social salience either as a complement or contrast to cultural conceptions about motherhood.

Maids or female youth may have had cultural importance for several reasons. Youth here refers to the period before maturity when someone might be recognized socially as female, or at least in the process of becoming female, although not yet a fully constituted adult. This might be easily recognized as the biosocial period between first menses or attainment of some age grade on one end, and marriage, childbirth, or even another age grade on the other end. People have a need to make physical bodies into social, gendered bodies because adult femaleness and maleness are not foregone conclusions but a product of culturally based bodily habitus (Butler 1994; Joyce 2000). Cultures regularize, naturalize, and idealize certain aspects of the social categories "female" and "male," particularly because both bodies and experiences can vary significantly even within specific groups (Moore 1994:15). As a result, cultures may want to illustrate the path by which one becomes an adult female, reifying both the process and end product of that path. Images of maids mark one stage in that path.

Matrons[4] or mature women also have important cultural roles and pathways to enact. The period of mature adulthood on the other side of child birthing and child rearing tends to be a time when, cross-culturally, women tend to attain maximum status and power. The reasons cultures ascribe power to women in this social category, or allow them access to power, vary across time and space and may include successful motherhood or ascribed changes in status accompanying the cessation of menses, often thought to either increase or decrease the danger associated with menstruation. In many cultures, it is older women who serve as cultural specialists—market women, midwives and healers, priestesses and oracles—as well as fulfilling roles within households as managers and mentors in craft production. Women of maturity and power may have wanted to celebrate their

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

status, and it may be that some images were intended to do that. Just as with maids, however, mature femaleness may not be innate and may require cultural guidance through illustrations of appropriate behavior.

Can we separate the girls from the women? Can we distinguish celebration from castigation? Except for rare cases, the answer to both of these would seem to be no. Without knowing how SAIS cultural traditions perceived or culturally marked age status, we cannot easily differentiate images of women in particular age categories, except perhaps by reference to physical signs of aging, such as wrinkles. What we can begin to do, however, is identify what images exist and in what iconographic contexts. Within the scope of the SAIS traditions, images of women appear repeatedly within at least three definable contexts. These include females associated with camelids, particularly domesticated ones; women associated with prayer, sacrifice, and offering; and women associated with plainware vessels.

Camelid Woman or Camelid Girl?

Women and camelids have a long, strong, and sometimes mystical association in the Andes. Today, domesticated camelids, especially white ones, constitute one of the many important offerings native people make to the earth goddess Pachamama, the source of all good things. People sacrifice llamas in thanks for Pachamama's abundance and generosity as well as to ask for the continuance for her good will.[5] Kolata (1996:84) suggests that this practice dates back at least to the time of the Tiwanaku culture. During the colonial era, women sometimes banded together to preserve pre-Columbian customs by retreating to the *punas* to herd domesticated camelids (Silverblatt 1987:207–209). Guaman Poma suggests that, before the arrival of the Spanish, teenaged girls were employed as llama herders (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1615:227–228). A host of sources suggest that it was while herding in remote areas that women could find special favor with the gods of thunder who could speak with them, copulate with them, and/or mark women for special religious office or as midwives (Silverblatt 1987:76). We also know that the connection between women or girls and camelid herding persisted well into colonial times, as it is part of the seventeenth-century story of the Virgin of Urkupina, who first appeared to a girl herding llamas (Lagos 1993). But how far back beyond written historical memory does this association really go? Imagery can perhaps fill in where written records leave off.

One example of this woman-camelid connection, although not firmly dated, comes from a rock art panel at Cueva de Betanzos at the site of Pignasi, near Potosí, Bolivia (Figure 20.14). Cruz (2006) identifies female figures among the various images. One image is identified by Cruz as a female with a camelid and possibly a dog (Cruz 2006). Poor preservation of the image leaves the face and hair with a crude appearance but clearly shows a clothed figure with an arm outstretched in the direction of a camelid on the right. The other animal appears in the space above the human figure and to the left of the camelid. A more complex polychrome painted panel from the same site appears to contain a similar image (Cruz 2006). Dating rock art is difficult. Long belted dresses on these anthropomorphic figures suggest a pre-Columbian date for these images. Cruz suggests that the anthropomorphic figures date to the Formative Period but admits that they are associated with elements he believes are as late as the Late Intermediate Period or Late Horizon (Cruz 2006).

Further to the north, Sergio Chávez has documented similar images on pottery from the Pucara culture (200 BC to AD 200) around Lake Titicaca, constituting a theme he calls the "Camelid Woman" (Chávez 1992, 2002; see also Chávez, Chapter 2, this volume) (Editor's note: Chávez is currently employing the name "Woman with Alpaca"). Like the Pignasi figures, Chávez's Camelid Woman wears a long belted dress and is conventionally shown with a lead extending from her left hand to a camelid above and to her left (Figure 20.15). The Pucara images differ from those at Pignasi in that the right hand of the Camelid Woman holds an embellished staff and a bag, basket, or ball of yarn. Plants, likely hallucinogenic, appear frequently to the left of the staff/right of the camelid. The woman's hair is consistently swept into braids tucked behind her ears, but specifics of her jewelry, dress embellishments and facial paint or tattoos vary between representations. Chávez has argued that the divided eye—half black, half white—is an indicator of supernatural status and argues that all animals and humans in Pucara art are shown as possessing some degree of supernatural power (Chávez 1992:19–193). The fact that this feature is present in all representations of living beings, however, may equally suggest that the eye is merely a stylized manner of representing eyes in general in the Pucara tradition. A third option, which Chávez has also proposed, is that Pucara images combine natural and supernatural elements to imbue images with power (Chávez 1992). Following this model, we might think of the Pucara Camelid Woman as a kind of powerful archetype against which women might have measured themselves.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

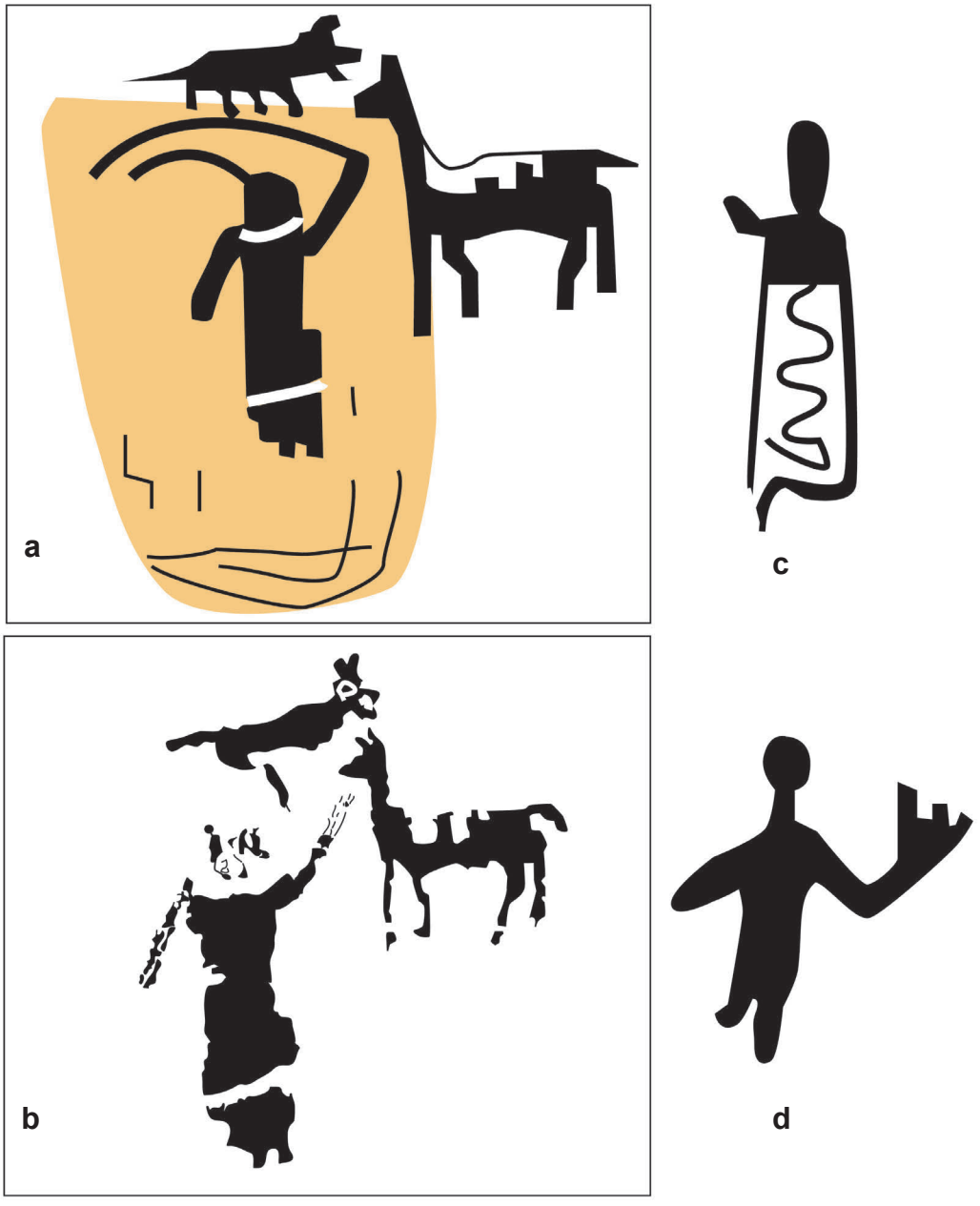


Figure 20.14. Anthropomorphic images from Pignasi, Bolivia. Adapted and redrawn from Cruz (2006). Color approximate.

At two locations on the east side of the Sihuas Valley, north of Santa Isabel de Sihuas, the geoglyphs below the Pampa de Matorrales display iterations of what may be the same Camelid Woman theme. In each case, an anthropomorphic figure is shown in a front-facing position accompanied by camelid-like quadrupeds in profile on either side. The simple execution of the figures is similar to rock art at the western valley site of Pisanay, which appears to date as early as Siguas 1 (550 BC–AD 100), although the site's major occupation dates to the Late Intermediate Period. Siguas 1 culture, however, may have used other versions of this theme when it grouped anthropomorphic figures with camelid-like animals (Figure 20.16). The nature of the anthropomorphic figures makes gender ambiguous, but the structural composition of the panels—central, front-faced human, with outstretched arms and attendant animals (in the upper right of Figure 20.16, see figure caption)—bears a strong relationship to the highland Camelid Woman theme.

The most abstract image of a female/camelid combination may be one found on a Wari feathered poncho from Ocoña (AD 600–900) (Figure 20.17). Bonavia

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

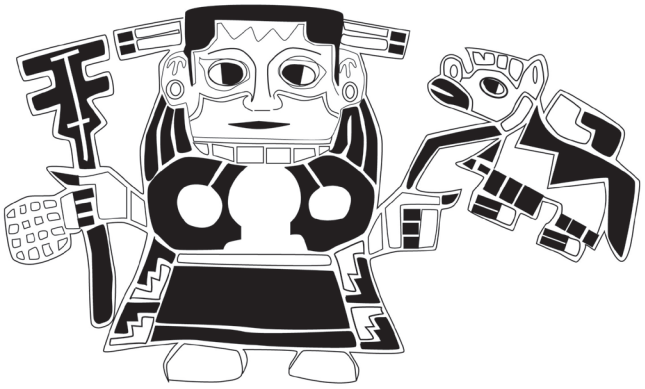


Figure 20.15. The Pucara Camelid Woman theme is the quintessential representation of the association between females and domesticated camelids and seems to anticipate Colonial era accounts of *puna*-bound women herding their llamas and alpacas. Adapted and redrawn from Chavez (2002).

Figure 20.16. Siguas I pyroengraved canes often depict rather abstract anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms. On this fragment, the long necks of the animals allow us to recognize them as camelids. Adapted and redrawn from Haeberli (2002).

(1994:211, Plate 162) refers to the image simply as an anthropomorphic figure, and no surviving aspect of the figure indicates gender. In fact, the football-shaped head and minimal facial features barely give the impression of

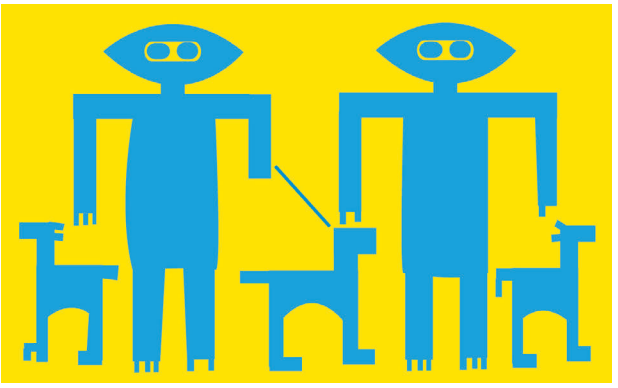


Figure 20.17. Textile from Ocoña, Peru, is decorated in yellow and blue macaw feathers depicting two anthropomorphic beings with three camelids. Drawn from photo (Bonavia 1994: 211, plate 162). Colors approximate.

humanity. The anthropomorphic figure's pairing with a very recognizable camelid image, however, follows the same basic convention as the Pucara and Pignasi images and thus may be another style of this same theme.

Prayerful and Votive Women

I name a second category of representation "prayerful and votive women." The images share cultural characteristics that mark them as female, such as hairstyle and clothing, although the characteristics themselves are not universal. The terms "prayerful" and "votive" apply in one of two senses; first, the final use of these objects seems to have been as offerings, making the figures literally votive. Second, they assume not a powerful, active stance like the parturition pose but a more sedate and prayerful attitude with their hands lowered. The interpretation that these females adopted attitudes of prayer, reflection, or offering seems consistent with known contexts for these images, many coming from burials or special pits dubbed "offerings" or "caches." This also minimally confers a kind of activity upon the figures, rather than viewing them as static representations of inactivity.

The quintessential votive female images are those created by artisans of the Incas (Figure 20.18). Inca figurines made of silver, gold, and *Spondylus* shell came in both female and male varieties, distinguishable both by cultural and biological markers (Ceruti 2004). Female images depict a person with an elongated skull and long hair parted in the center. A vaginal slit is obvious on most females, although breasts are unpronounced. In contrast, male images wear hats, have elongated earlobes of the ethnic Incas, and display male genitals of varying degrees of refinement. Both male and female figurines have their arms close to their bodies and their hands

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

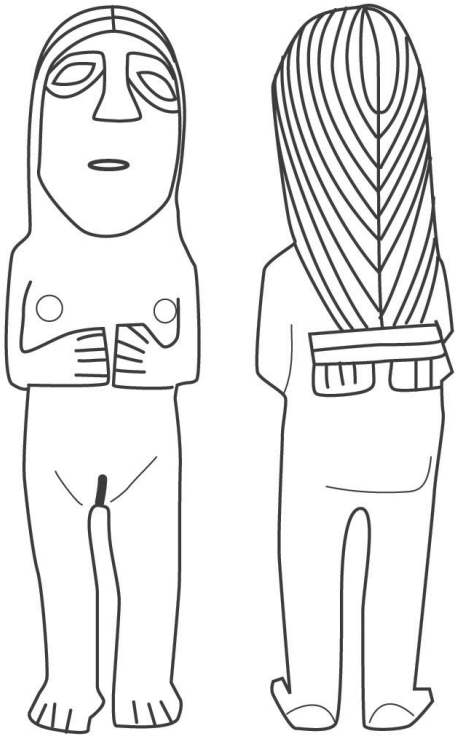


Figure 20.18. Inca votive figurines like the one illustrated here have been found in a variety of offering contexts, including high mountain *capacocha* human sacrifices and offerings submerged in Lake Titicaca near the Islands of the Sun and Moon. Drawn from photo of item on display at Museo Contisuyu, Moquegua, Peru.

resting on their abdomen or chest. When organic preservation is good, these figurines often wear miniature textiles and feather adornments. In Inca human sacrifices, known as *capacocha*, sex-specific figurines accompanied the dead—females with females and males with males (Ceruti 2004). Figurines have also been recovered from Lake Titicaca, near the Island of the Sun and Island of the Moon (Ponce Sanginés 1992; Reinhard 1992), and from various other locations of ritual importance to the Incas (Bauer and Stanish 2001:64, 234). In these last cases, association with human sacrifice is neither direct nor absolute. Other than being made of some of the most precious substances available, the Inca figurines are rather humble—diminutive, unassertive, and rather life-like. Both as substitutes for real objects and as representatives of human supplicants, these figurines conveyed a sense of offering in all of their known contexts.

Female images associated with offering and prayers go back much further than the reign of the Inca. A number of figurines, as small as only a few centimeters in size, presage the later Inca votives, although clay was the preferred medium. These include small Nasca and Paracas figurines, which bear facial features and

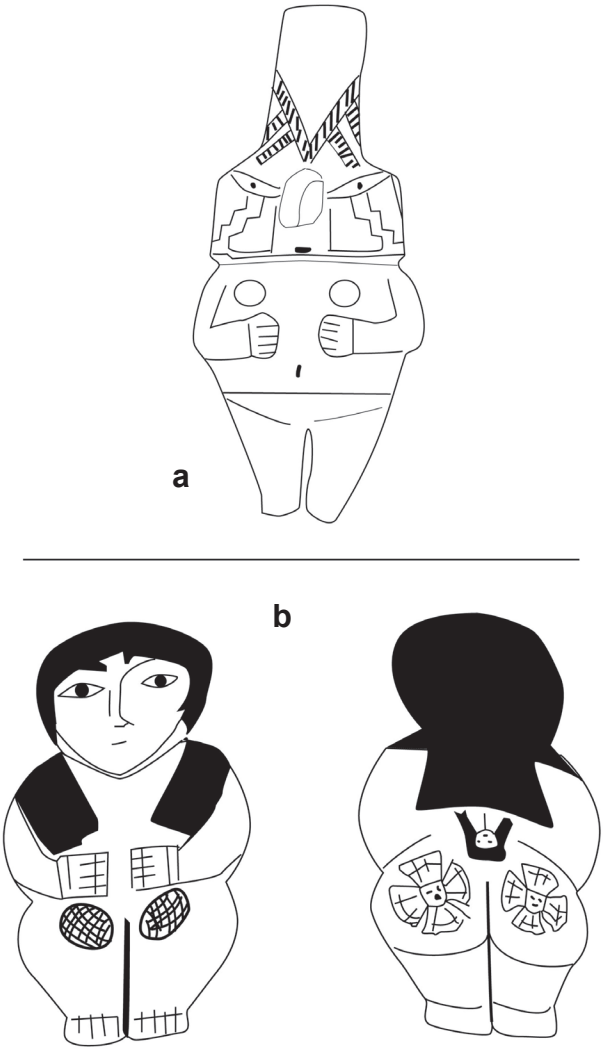


Figure 20.19. Paracas and Nasca figurines like these were created as nudes with minimal surface decoration.(a) (Drawn from photo of American Museum of Natural History accession #641.0/8484.(b) Redrawn from Proulx 2006.

sometimes painted or modeled physical features marking them as female (Figure 20.19). Cook reports a variety of mold-made figurines of different sizes at the Wari site of Conchapata (Cook 2004:Figure 8.3b). Consistent attributes for these images include parted hair, small breasts, and hands resting on the abdomen, although some examples lack one or more of these features (Figure 20.20). As with the Inca figurines, Cook suggests that, rather than representing naked women of an erotic nature, nude Wari figurines were likely meant to be covered in small textiles, which have not survived. People in the Tiwanaku sphere maintained a similar tradition, evidenced by figurines from the Ch'iji Jawira sector of Tiwanaku (Rivera Casanovas 2003), as well as at smaller sites like Iwawi (Figure 20.21).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 20.20. Wari female figurine or effigy. Drawn from photo (Young-Sanchez 2004:153 figure 6.1), colors approximate.

Figure 20.21. Photo of head of small ceramic figurine from the site of Iwawi, Bolivia. Original photo courtesy of the Iwawi Archaeological Project.

Other female images appear on Middle Nasca through Late Nasca vessels decorated with what is described as a "Betty Boop" motif. The motif consists of a yellow face with thick, bluntly cut side locks of hair that sweep forward. Red paint often appears under the black-outlined, lenticular eyes with round pupils (Figure 20.22). On vases with this female face design, other design fields most often make visual reference to bloodshed. Frequently, this takes the form of the "bloody mouth" associated with the killer whale and "pukio demon," scenes of battling warriors (e.g., Kroeber and Collier 1998:205, Figures 315 and 316). The association with warfare and bloodshed on the Nasca vessels suggests links to the cycle of life, death, and regeneration (e.g., Carmichael 1994; Conlee 2007; De Leonardis 2000; Proulx 1989, 2001; Roark 1965; Sawyer 1966; Silverman and Proulx 2002:229–230) and places these design motifs within a sacred or votive idiom. The association of the female faces with bloodshed may also refer to ideas of gender complementarity associated with opposing processes. A similar relationship can be seen in some Andean communities today where female weaving as a (re)generative process is contrasted with male warfare as a destructive or degenerative process (Arnold and Hastorff 2008:49, 57).

Nasca jars also sometimes portray human faces on the neck, some of which appear to be female. Female face neck jars or bottles generally replicate jars with male images but can be distinguished as female based on similarities of hairstyles with the full-bodied figurines (discussed above) and facial characteristics shared with the female Nasca faces just discussed (e.g., Kroeber and Collier 1998:231) (Figure 20.23). Another distinguishing

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 20.22. Nasca vase with bands of female "Betty Boop" faces. From the collections of the Milwaukee Public Museum, author photo.

feature of the female face neck jars is the absence of the hat or head covering that appears on male face neck jars. Other than their final use as grave goods, there is often little to suggest activity in these figures. A few examples, however, show women in exemplary activities such as tending animals, carrying children, or with a series of fruits or chili peppers strung between the hands or laid out across the figure's abdomen. This last group may represent women making offerings of fruits and vegetables. In the context of other Nasca iconography, this may have been seen to parallel male offerings of blood and human heads, both associated with ideas of fertility and fecundity of life, although in different ways.

Tiwanaku offered a variety of naturalistic representations of clothed female forms (Figure 20.24). Pariti presents some of the most recent and spectacular examples of bottles shaped like women (Korpisaari and Pärsisinen 2005:Photos 1–6). Additional vessels in female form have been recovered from other Lake Titicaca islands (e.g., Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 258; McEwan 2004:Figure 5.16), as well as from the Cochabamba region (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 259). Most of these examples are surprisingly life-like, with detailed mantles, belted dresses, jewelry, braids, and elaborate hair coverings. These full-body representations show females either kneeling or sitting with the legs close to the body and hidden under the dress or mantle. Unlike Tiwanaku vessels representing males, which most often depict only the head, the full-body form shows that these women were not passive but creatively engaged in an activity, perhaps prayer.

Plainware Women

The female images discussed thus far have come from contexts with clear ritual importance—offerings, burials, shrines, and temples—and represented some of the best of the SAIS artistic traditions in that they were relatively elaborate and finely finished pieces. With the possible exception of Pucara's Camelid Woman, these images do not appear to be part of the cultural mainstream but may instead represent important countercurrents and alternatives. These countercurrents may, in some cases, have been supported by persons or groups with access to significant material and cultural resources. To fully incorporate all possible female images into our analysis, however, it is also important to consider less refined-looking representations, such as those created on utilitarian ceramic wares.

Several examples of female images and possible female images executed on utilitarian ceramics appear in SAIS cultural traditions (Figure 20.25). These examples include anthropomorphic vessels in the Siguas 3/La Ramada style (ca. AD 150–800) from the area around the Sihuas Valley, recognizable as female by tiny appliquéd breasts; others lack visible external sex markers and may be either female or male (e.g., Cardona Rosas 2002:89; Haeberli 2002:Figures 22–25; see also Lumbreras 1982). Owen and Goldstein (2002:Figure 10D) illustrate a vessel from Chen Chen in Moquegua (ca. AD 800–1000) with distinct similarities to known La Ramada pieces; it is a globular, plainware vessel with anthropomorphic features suggestive of a female. Other Chen Chen–style utilitarian vessels also display anthropomorphic features such as eyes, nose, and mouth (Goldstein 2005:160, Figure 5.23). Some of these vessels have engraved vertical lines under the eyes reminiscent of the red lines under

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 20.23. Late Nasca face-neck jars depicting females, most in active poses.(a) Drawn from photo by Proulx 2006: plate 36, colors approximate. (b) Drawn from photo by Proulx 2006, colors approximate. (c) Adapted and redrawn from Proulx 2004. (d) Drawn from photo of Arthur M. Sackler collection accession # N339, published by Katz 2004, colors approximate).

the eyes of some Nasca and Wari females and similar to the La Ramada vessel illustrated here (Figure 20.25b). Examples from the Tiwanaku core region include vessels from Ch'iji Jawira (Rivera Casanovas 2003), the Kalasasaya (Janusek 2003:Figure 3.6; Ponce Sanginés 1993), and at least one vessel with "coffee bean" eyes from the site of Iwawi, recovered in 1996 (Figure 20.26).

Our understanding of the contexts of these vessels is limited. La Ramada–style pottery from the Sihuas area is known only from cemeteries, suggesting specialized use as funerary pottery. Few, if any, related residential sites have been excavated, however. The Chen Chen piece illustrated by Owen and Goldstein is also from a grave, as is the Kalasasaya example. The Ch'iji Jawira pieces come predominantly from production contexts. Goldstein provides some expanded interpretation of these vessels, however. Based on excavations in the Moquegua Valley, Goldstein reports unslipped Tiwanaku/Chen Chen pottery from

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

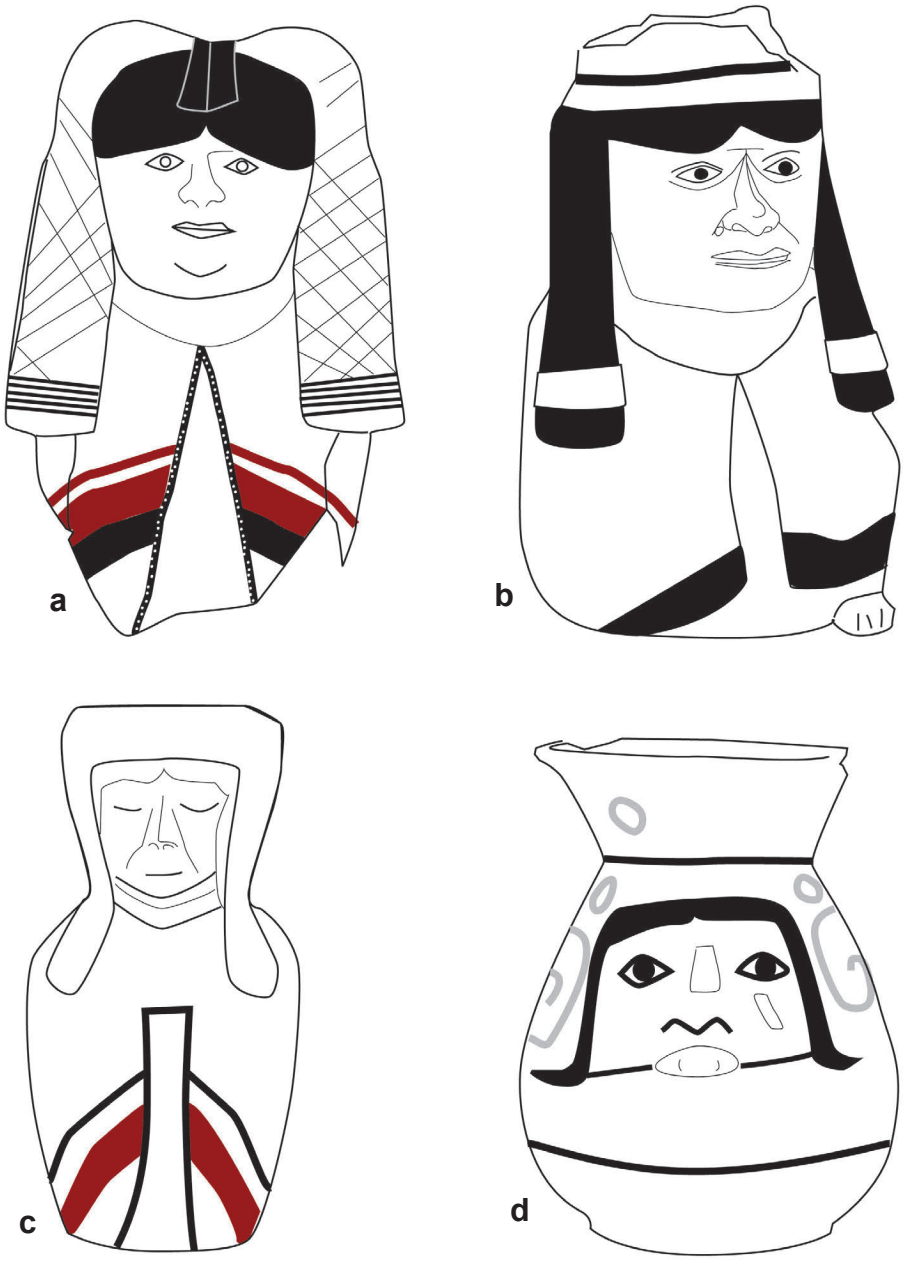


Figure 20.24. Tiwanaku effigy jars show females in seated or kneeling poses in which hands and feet are often only implied by the modeled form. (a) Drawn from photo by A. Korpisaari (Korpisaari and Parssinen 2005: photo 4). (b) Drawn from black and white photo (Eisleb and Strelow 1980: plate 258).(c) Drawn from black and white photo (Eisleb and Strelow 1980: plate 259). (d) A *vasija* vessel.

a variety of contexts, especially domestic ones, and it is these spaces that Goldstein suggests are gendered female, compared to male-gendered spaces dominated by fancy painted pottery (Goldstein 2004:230, 237).

There are a few common threads in all of the female images not directly related to pregnancy and birth. One of these is a certain agelessness of the images. It is not possible to discern whether we are looking at virgin sacrifices, model women of marriageable age, or matrons setting good cultural examples. The acts of prayer and offering evident in some of these images further suggest active participation in rituals, beyond the assumed role of servers (Figure 20.27), perhaps even stretching as far as leading and sponsoring rituals, if only in the context of explicitly female rites. Aspects of their clothing, jewelry, or hairstyle may have conveyed a great deal of social information to the original viewers of these images, information that is lost to modern researchers.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

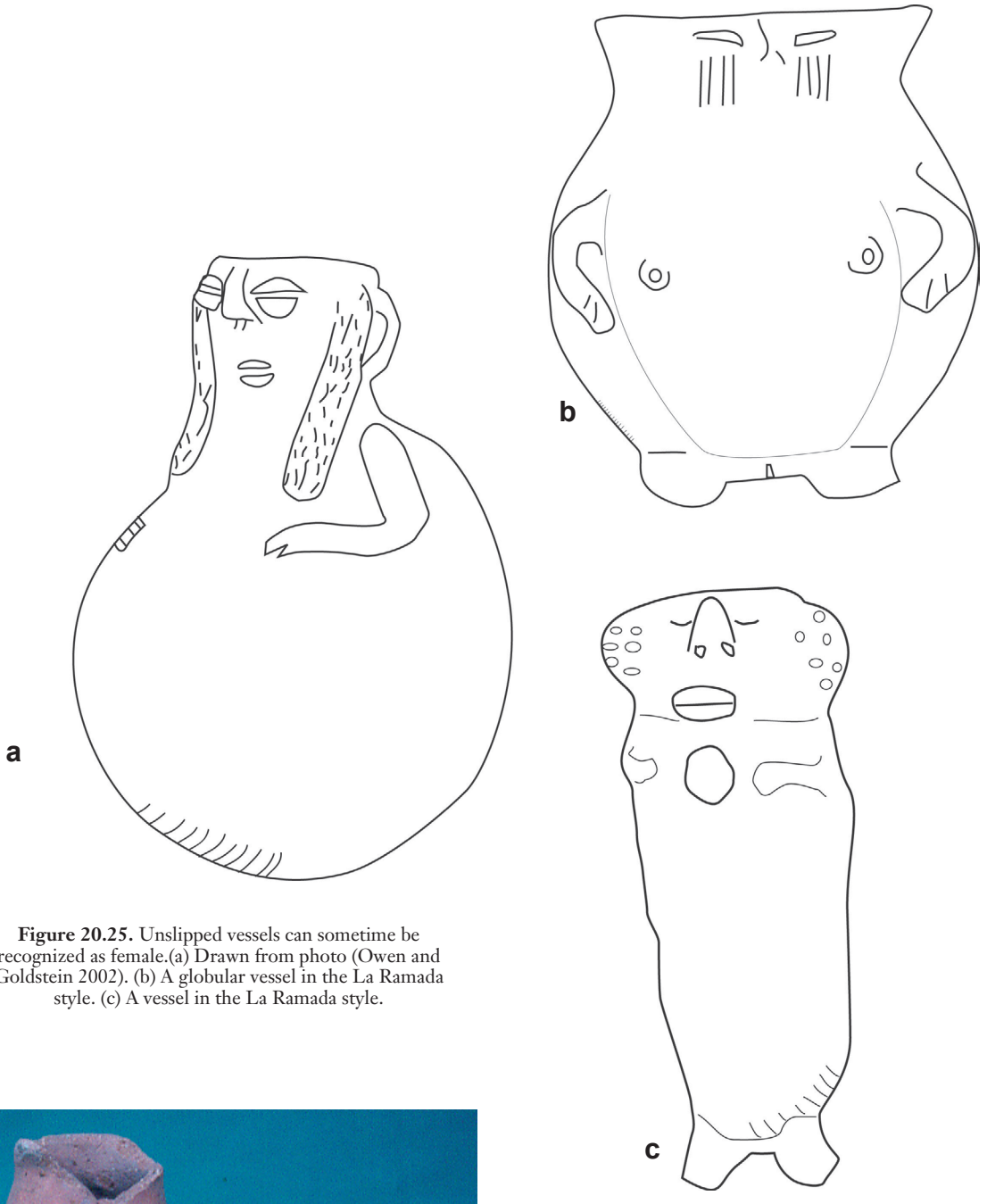


Figure 20.25. Unslipped vessels can sometime be recognized as female.(a) Drawn from photo (Owen and Goldstein 2002). (b) A globular vessel in the La Ramada style. (c) A vessel in the La Ramada style.

Figure 20.26. An unslipped jar with "coffee bean" eyes from the Tiwanaku site of Iwawi. If vessel shape is significant, then it is important to note that this vessel is similar to the one with a more obvious female face illustrated in Figure 24D.

A second thread among the female images is the depiction of the entire body. Clothed or naked figurines from Nasca, Wari, Tiwanaku, and Inca contexts show whole human beings, not the isolated heads of male portrait vessels and not the disembodied heads of warfare trophies or possible ancestors. If we can understand the body of ceramic vessels as analogous to the human body, then most of the vessels also rely on whole-body representations, with the exception of the painted female faces on Nasca and Tiwanaku pottery.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 20.27. Rooftop scene with three female figures prominently placed in the center of the ensemble. Vessel is from Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología, y Historia de Perú.

Third, the distribution of these images across a wide variety of media—ceramics, textiles, rock art—poses questions about the contexts for their production. Compared to the documented affiliation between women and textile work in many Andean cultures, we know relatively little about the gendering of ceramic production within cultures participating in the SAIS and even less about the production of rock art and geoglyphs. Thus, there is room for speculation about who produced both the ceramic and nonceramic images and how the ideas behind such images passed from one generation to the next.

Discussion

The above survey of SAIS art traditions defines several different categories of female and possible female images, including females engaged not only in human reproduction but also in economic and social production. In Eurasian traditions, these images might evoke the tripartite goddess complex of the maiden, the mother, and the crone familiar as literary archetypes, if not as objects of veneration in ancient and Pagan religion (Gimbutas 1989; Griffen 1995; Meskell 1999). In examining Andean traditions, however, we have tended to focus on dualities, of which there are many, and so there is no obvious correlate to the proposed "cult of the triple goddess" in Europe and the Middle East. Where, then, might these images, which recur throughout the iconographic traditions of the SAIS, come from?

I suggest that the connection between these diverse female images is that of life cycle and life cycle rituals, particularly female life cycles. This is not a farfetched suggestion, as there is good evidence for the social importance of cycles within the SAIS cultures. Conlee (2007) and others have noted a cyclical theme of life, death, and regeneration associated with representations and uses of Nasca trophy heads. We also know that the Inca valued not just dualism but a complex fabric of ritual and social cycles marked by both public and domestic ritual associated with calendrical time and the agricultural year (MacCormack 1991:117). In fact, ethnohistoric documents also suggest that life cycle events were marked by rituals among the Inca (Cobo 1990:200–203 [1653]; MacCormack 1991:115–117). If both the Inca and Nasca people valued cycles in addition to dualism and complementarity, then it is reasonable to suspect that these and other SAIS cultures may have valued the human life cycle as another element of social and ritual time worthy of committing to various media

Could specific aspects of the female life cycle be worthy of social significance? Most genetically female bodies do undergo a number of marked changes in the course of a lifetime, the most dramatic of which center on the onset of menses and its cessation at menopause. Further bodily tumult is associated with pregnancy and childbirth, when and if it occurs. The cultural interpretation of these biological events, including perceptions of their potential power, danger, severity, or strength, varies cross-culturally. In addition, a long list of social and biological conditions may exclude some females from either experiencing and/or acknowledging these experiences. Nonetheless, the events of menarche/puberty, childbirth, and menopause because of their basis in human growth and development make them nearly universal female experiences. The recurrence of birthing images and themes of motherhood suggest that it was perhaps this point in the life cycle that was culturally most salient across the spectrum of SAIS cultures. This makes good anthropological sense since rituals associated with childbirth and death, among other things, stand as archetypal examples of rites of passage as defined and described in classic anthropology texts, representing near human universals (e.g., Brown 1991; Murdock 1945; Turner 1969; Van Gennep 1960).

Moreover, the themes and presentations of female images in the SAIS better fit a model of life cycle rituals than one of overarching myth or cross-cultural narrative. Although female images never completely disappeared from the collective traditions of the SAIS, they exhibit

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

a tremendous amount of variability. They are found in almost every known artistic media, ranging from valuable metals, exotic shell, and highly technical textiles to modest clay pieces, which suggests a variety of specific purposes and audiences. For example, while pieces like the Wari urns suggest attendants at larger corporate rituals with substantial economic backing, Nasca figurines, small enough to fit in a person's palm, suggest personal prayer or perhaps private instruction. Within such diversity of forms and media, the female aspect of these representations unites them, rather than the narrative content or ritual context within which this femaleness was portrayed.

Conclusion

The goal of creating this inventory of representations of women within the SAIS was to present an initial examination of female images through which we might begin to think differently about cultural change and continuity in the history of the southern Andes by paying attention to the lives of women. The chapter approaches this goal in three related ways that open up new possibilities for understanding gender more generally, and women more specifically, in the SAIS traditions.

First, by identifying certain themes as female related, it is possible to expand the corpus of female images, incorporating those that are probably female or at least with female aspects. Not only does this provide a larger representational data set with which to work, but I believe it opens up the possibility of tracing the relationships between representational icons of SAIS art and the abundance of geometric elements that might have held iconic significance. Given enough images to work with, we may eventually reach a point where we are able to interpret the chevrons, waves, steps, and spirals that decorate so much of SAIS art.

Second, I identify several female-related themes that expand our conception of women's lives. Many of these relate to aspects of pregnancy, parturition, and child rearing, often treated as universal, and therefore not culturally elaborated, aspects of women's lives. Yet, the variation in these images suggests that the cultural value and significance and even the experience of motherhood were highly variable. In addition, a host of female images seem to refer to the socially and economically productive place of women outside of their status as mothers. These themes point to women as more than weavers and sacred virgins, identifying them as potential healers, herders, and traders, as well as participants in rituals.

Third, analysis of these female images will lead to a greater understanding of the cultural mechanisms that perpetuated them. The diverse media in which female images occur suggest that several different mechanisms for the creation and re-creation of these images must have existed. The prevalence of the parturition images from Paracas onward suggests a strong connection to midwifery and childbirth rituals most likely perpetuated by women themselves as the ones most intimately familiar with these acts. The more iconic images of mythic mothers and camelid caretakers found on ceremonial pottery and other highly visible media suggest broader cross-cultural transmission of ideas. The more public nature of these images suggests a broader range of perpetuators from diverse craftspeople to fireside storytellers. Meanwhile, votive images suggest strong adherence to cultural ideals that may have been imposed by the dominant culture and the producers of the images. Finally, images from funerary contexts, which notably include some of the parturition images, suggest a more personal or familial basis for the selection of these images as the bodies of the dead are prepared and buried. Further work with provenienced materials and loci of production is needed to further our understanding of these mechanisms.

One element that recurs across many contexts for these female images, however, is reference to childbirth and motherhood, both actual and mythic. This forms an interesting life cycle triad in the case of women. At one end of the cycle is the newly born individual and at the other the dead individual being swathed in textiles and accompanied by funerary offerings. Childbirth and motherhood mark a kind of midway point in this life cycle for women, which, if not universally experienced by women, is universally recognizable as a female activity. In premodern populations, maternal mortality was often a leading cause of death in adult females, or at least a very common occurrence. As such, childbirth constituted a potential conjuncture of all three of these points in the life cycle. Because childbirth is often a female-only event, images referring to childbirth both directly and indirectly would have greater salience for women, especially for those who had given birth or assisted in it. The wealth of childbirth images suggests that this activity was socially valued across space and time, while the likely context for this activity suggests a strongly female mode for perpetuation.

In general, these conclusions raise issues about the nature of cultural continuity within the SAIS and the potentially gendered nature of continuity and change suggested at the opening of this chapter. The contribution

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

of these images to our ideas of continuity may be a matter of perspective, especially given the emergent nature of the catalog of female images from the SAIS cultures. If we see in these images a great diversity of roles, responsibilities, and mechanisms of transmission for females in the history of the SAIS, then we are left with the perplexing problem of trying to explain continuity, because women's lives seem as variable as those of men. On the other hand, we can focus instead at the recurrent images and see an explanation for cultural continuity. We can view the variation in images as a sign that women were active social participants and see the recurrent images of childbirth as one of the idioms through which women connected with each other across space and time, and a recurrent manner through which they participated in the reproduction of society. There is a kind of gender complementarity in the idea that men are responsible for cultural change and women responsible for continuity, although this seems overly simplified. One outcome of a gendered perspective, however, is that both of these perspectives might be true simultaneously—that women of the SAIS cultures led interesting and varied lives and that, through repeated and necessary life cycle events, they also held a key cultural continuity.

Acknowledgments

Research at the site of Iwawi, department of La Paz, Bolivia, was supported by grants from the National Science Foundation to Dr. William H. Isbell. Research in the Sihuas Valley was supported by a University of Wisconsin at Whitewater PREP Grant. Additional contributing research to this chapter was conducted under faculty development grants from Indiana University of Pennsylvania (1999) and Northern Kentucky University (2001). Special thanks are due to Dr. Dawn Scherer-Tomais and Nina Ott at the Milwaukee Public Museum for providing access to collections.

Notes

1 "Kenning," is a term used in art history used to refer to the substitution of a body part with something else, often an animal face or item. The substitution of braid ends or hair with animal representations or human faces, thus represents an example of this technique.

2 Parsimony is a principle of logic that favors the simplest explanation or fewest assumptions when making an interpretation of data. In archaeology, it is often associated with the principle known as Ockham's razor.

3 Sawyer, in the same publication, identifies several distinctly nonhuman variations of the same basic design, one such permutation being a frog or toad. This identification strengthens the identification of the human images as related to birthing since toads are often associated with rebirth, rain, and returning fertility (Urton 1981).

4 I am choosing to use the terms "matron" and "mature" as opposed to the more commonly applied terms "crone" and "old" for multiple reasons. First, by definition, a "matron" is a woman of "mature age and established social position" (*American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* 1996), and this definition is applicable to the images described. It may not be necessary to be "postmenopausal" to have achieved such a social position. "Crone," on the other hand, implies a woman who is both old and ugly and has general derogatory connotations that should not be applied to these images. Additionally, "crone" has been adopted as part of the description of the "triple goddess" in many New Age philosophies, and the categorization presented here is not intended to mirror that typology.

5 This explanation was offered to me by excavators at the site of Iwawi, Bolivia, during the 1996 season when we purchased two llamas for exactly these purposes. Similar explanations were offered to me when visiting miners in Potosí, Bolivia, and in conversations with *brujas* in La Paz in the summer of 2001. These personal accounts agree with a host of others collected by numerous anthropologists working in the southern Andes.

References

1996 *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. 3rd ed. Houghton-Mifflin, Boston.

Allen, Catherine

2002 *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*. Smithsonian Press. Washington, D.C.

Arnold, Bettina, and Nancy L. Wicker (editors)

2001 *Gender and the Archaeology of Death*. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Arnold, Denis Y., and Christine A. Hastorf

2008 *Heads of State: Icons, Power, and Politics in the Ancient and Modern Andes*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Ashford, Janet Isaacs

1996 Sitting, Standing and Squatting in Childbirth. *Mothering* 86:54.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Bauer, Brian, and Charles Stanish
2001 *Ritual and Pilgrimage in the Ancient Andes: The Islands of the Sun and the Moon*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Bonavia, Duccio
1994 *Arte e Historia Del Peru Antiguo: Coleccion Enrico Poli Bianchi*. Banco Del Sur, Lima.

Bourque, Susan C., and Kay B. Warren
1981 Rural Women and Development Planning in Peru. In *Women of the Andes: Patriarchy and Social Change in Rural Peru*, edited by S. Bourque and K. Warren, pp. 183–197. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Bradbury, Barbara, and Jo Murphy-Lawless
2002 The Traditional System of Birth Care. In *Reducing Maternal Mortality and Morbidity in Bolivia: Appropriate Birth Practices in the Formal and Informal Sectors of Perinatal Care*. ILCA, La Paz.

Browman, David L.
1981 New Light on Andean Tiwanaku. *American Scientist* 69:408–419.

Brown, Donald E.
1991 *Human Universals*. McGraw-Hill, New York.

Burkholder, JoEllen
1997 Tiwanaku and the Anatomy of Time: A Ceramic Chronology from the Iwawi Site, Department of La Paz, Bolivia. Doctoral thesis. Department of Anthropology, Binghamton University (State University of New York).
2002 La Cerámica de Tiwanaku: ¿Qué indica su variabilidad? *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:217–250.

Butler, Judith
1994 Gender as Performance: An Interview with Judith Butler. Interviewers, Peter Osborne and Lynne Segal. *Radical Philosophy* 67:32–39.

Cardona Rosas, Augusto
2002 *Arqueología de Arequipa: de sus albores a los Incas*. Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Arequipa (CIARQ), Arequipa.

Carmichael, Patrick H.
1994 The Life from Death Continuum in Nasca Imagery. *Andean Past* 4:81–90.

Ceruti, Maria Constanza
2004 Human Bodies as Objects of Dedication at Inca Mountain Shrines (North-Western Argentina). *World Archaeology* 36(1):103–122.

Chávez, Sergio
1992 The Conventionalized Rules in Pucara Pottery Technology and Iconography: Implications for the Socio-Political Developments in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin. PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing.
2002 Identification of the Camelid Woman and Feline Man Themes, Motifs, and Designs in Pucara Style Pottery. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, 35–69. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
2004 The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 70–95. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Chávez, Sergio, and Karen Mohr Chávez
1976 A Carved Stela from Taraco, Puno, Peru, and the Definition of an Early Style of Stone Sculpture from the Altiplano of Peru and Bolivia. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:45–84.

Christinat, Jean Louis
1989 *Des parrains pour la vie: parenté rituelle dans une communauté des Andes péruviennes*. Recherches et travaux de l'Institut d'ethnologie, No. 9. Pierre Centlivres and Jean Louis Christinat eds. Éditions de l'Institut d'ethnologie; Éditions de la Maison de sciences de l'homme, Neuchâtel and Paris.

Cobo, Bernabe
[1653] 1990 *Inca Religion and Custom*. Edited and translated by Roland Hamilton. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Cook, Anita G.
2001 Huari D-Shaped Structures, Sacrificial Offerings, and Divine Rulership. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook, pp. 137–163. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2004 Wari Art and Society. In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman, pp. 146–166. Blackwell, Malden, Massachusetts.

Cook, Anita G., and Nancy L. Benco
2001 Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama: producción artesanal en un centro urbano Huari. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:489–504.

Conlee, Christine
2007 Decapitation and Rebirth. *Current Anthropology* 48(3):438–445.

Cruz, Pablo
2006 Mundos permeables y espacios peligros. Consideraciones acerca de punkus y qaqas en el pasaje altoandino de Potosí, Bolivia. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolumbino* 11(2):33–50.

Damian, Carol
1995 From Pachamama to the Virgin Mary: What the Spanish Never Saw. *Worldwide Archaeology Series* 13:109–132.

De Leonardis, Lisa
2000 The Body Context: Interpreting Nasca Decapitated Burials. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(4):363–386.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Dundes, Lauren
2003 The Evolution of Maternal Birthing Position. In *The Manner Born: Birth Rite in Cross Cultural Perspectives*, edited by Lauren Dundes, pp. 55–64. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Eisleb, Dieter, and Renate Strelow
1980 *Altperuaniche Kulturen III: Tiahuanaco*. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

Frame, Mary
2001 Blood, Fertility and Transformation: Interwoven Themes in Paracas Necropolis Embroideries. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook, pp. 55–92. University of Texas Press, Austin.

García Miranda, Juan Jose
1998 Los santuarios de los Andes Centrales. In *Historia, religión y ritual de los pueblos ayacuchanos*, Luis Millones, Hiroyasu Tomoeda, and Tatsuhiko Fujii, Vol. 9, pp. 51–85. National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan.

Gero, Joan M.
1992 Feasts and Females: Gender Ideology and Political Meals in the Andes. *The Norwegian Archaeological Review*.

Gimbutas, Marija
1989 *The Language of the Goddess: Unearthing the Hidden Symbols of Western Civilization*. Thames and Hudson, New York.

Goldstein, Paul S.
2000 Exotic Goods and Everyday Chiefs: Long-Distance Exchange and Indigenous Sociopolitical Development in the South Central Andes. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(4):335–361.
2003 From Stew-Eaters to Maize-Drinkers: The Chicha Economy and Tiwanaku Expansion. In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara L. Bray, pp. 143–172. Kluwer Academic, New York.
2005 *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of South American Empire*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

Goldstein, Paul S., and Mario Rivera
2004 Arts of Greater Tiwanaku: An Expansive Culture in Historical Context. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 150–185. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Griffin, Wendy
1995 The Embodied Goddess: Feminist Witchcraft and Female Divinity. *Sociology of Religion* 56(1):35–48.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe
1615 *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. Transcribed by Rolena Adrono, John V. Murra, and Jorge L. Urioste. Royal Library of Denmark (GKS 2232, 4º) digitized original manuscript. Http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/.

Haeberli, Joerg
2002 Tiempo y tradición en Arequipa, Perú, y el surgimiento de la cronología del Tema de la Diedad Central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:89–137.

Hastorf, Christine A.
1991 Gender, Space, and Food in Prehistory. In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, edited by Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, pp. 132–159. Basil Blackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Isbell, William H.
1995 Constructing the Andean Past of 'As You Like It'. In *Current Research in Andean Antiquity*, edited by Ari Zighelboim and Carlo Barnes. *Journal of the Stewart Anthropological Society* 25(1–2):1–12.
2002 Women, Men and Mythical Beings from Conchapata Peru. Paper presented at the 21st Annual Northeast Conference on Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
2004 Beer of Kings: Great Pots of Potent Brew Marked Royal Rituals in Peru. *Archaeology* 57:32–33.

Isbell, William H., and Anita G. Cook
1987 Ideological Origins of an Andean Conquest State. *Archaeology* 40:27–33
2002 A New Perspective on Cochapapta and the Andena Middle Horizon. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 249–305. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Janusek, John W.
1994 State and Local Power in a Prehispanic Andean Polity: Changing patterns of Urban Residence in Tiwanaku and Lukurmata, Bolivia. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
2002 Out of Many, One: Style and Social Boundaries in Tiwanaku. *Latin American Antiquity* 13:35–61.
2003 Vessels Time and Society: Toward a Chronology of Ceramic Style in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, Vol. 2, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 30–94. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
2004 *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*. Routledge, New York.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2005 *Ancient Tiwanaku: Rise and Fall of a High-Altitude Civilization*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Jenkins, Katy

2015 Unearthing Women's Anti-Mining Activism in the Andes: Pachamama and the "Mad Old Women." *Antipode* 47(2):442–460.

Jones, Elaine, and Margarita A. Kay

2003 The Cultural Anthropology of the Placenta. In *The Manner Born: Birth Rite in Cross Cultural Perspectives*, edited by Lauren Dundes, pp. 101–116. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Joyce, Rosemary

2000 Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The Production of Adulthood in Ancient Mesoamerica. *World Archaeology* 31:473–483.

Katz, Lois (editor)

1983 *Art of the Andes: Pre-Columbian Sculpted and Painted Ceramics from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*. Arthur M. Sackler Collections, Washington, D.C.

Kolata, Alan L.

1993 *The Tiwanaku*. Blackwell, Oxford.

1996 Theoretical Orientations and Implications of the Proyecto Wila Jawira Research Program. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, Vol. 1, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 265–282. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

2003 The Social Production of Tiwanaku: Political Economy and Authority in a Native Andean State. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, Vol. 2, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 449–472. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Korpisaari, Antti

2006 *Death in the Bolivian High Plateau: Burials and Tiwanaku Society*. BAR International Series #1536. Archaeopress, Oxford.

Korpisaari, Antti, and Martti Pärssinen (editors)

2005 *Pariti: Isla, misterio y poder: El Tesoro cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*. Producciones CIMA, La Paz.

Kroeber, Alfred L., and Donald Collier

1998 *Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru: Alfred L. Kroeber's 1926 Expedition*, edited by Patrick H. Carmichael. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Lagos, Maria L.

1993 "We Have to Learn to Ask": Hegemony, Diverse Experiences, and Antagonistic Meanings in Bolivia. *American Ethnologist* 20(1): 52–71.

Lumbreras, Luis G.

1982 La Ramada: unnuevo complejo del Centro Sur Andino. *Gaceta Arqueologica Andina* 1(8).

Lumbreras, Luis, Jose Antonio de Lavalle and Werner Lang

1979a *Arte y Tresores del Perú: Vol. 1. Textiles*. Banco de Credito del Peru, Lima.

1979b *Arte y Tresores del Perú: Vol. 3. Pintura*. Banco de Credito del Peru, Lima.

Lyons, Patricia

1978 Femnale Supernaturals in Ancient Peru. *Ñawpa Pacha* 16: 95–140 and 8 plates.

MacCormack, Sabine

1991 *Religion in the Andes: Vision and imagination in early colonial Peru*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

McCafferty, Sharisse D., and Geoffrey G. McCafferty

1991 Spinning and Weaving as Female Identity in Post-Classic Mexico. In *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: An anthology*, edited by M. B. Schevill, J. C. Berlo, and E. B. Dwyer, pp. 19–44. Garland, New York.

McEwan, Colin

2004 Portrait Vessels. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 136–138. Denver Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

McKay, Susan R.

1980 Maternal Position during Labor and Birth: A Reassessment. *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecological and Neonatal Nursing* 9(5):288–291.

Menzel, Dorothy, John H. Rowe, and Lawrence E. Dawson

1964 *Paracas Pottery of Ica: A Study in Style and Time*. University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 50. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Meskell, Lynn

1999 Feminism, Paganism, Pluralism. In *Archaeology and Folklore*, edited by Amy Gazin-Schwartz and Cornelius Holtorf, pp. 83–89. Routledge, London.

Miles, Karen

1997 The Best Birth Positions. *Parenting* 11(10):70.

Moore, Henrietta

1994 *A Passion for Difference: Essays in Anthropology and Gender*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Moseley, Michael E., Donna J. Nash, Patrick Ryan Williams, Susan D. deFrance, Ana Miranda, and Mario Ruales

2005 Burning Down the Brewery: Establishing and Evacuating an Ancient Imperial Colony at Cerro Baúl, Peru. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, USA* 102(48):17264–17271.

Murdock, George P.

1945 The Common Denominator of Cultures. In *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, edited by Ralph Linton, pp. 123–142. Columbia University Press, New York.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Murphy-Lawless, Jo
1998 *Reading Birth and Death: A History of Obstetric Thinking*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Nash, Donna J., and Patrick Ryan Williams
2004 Architecture and Power on the Wari-Tiwanaku Frontier. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 14(1):151–174.

Newton, Niles, and Michael Newton
2003 Birth in Cross Cultural Perspective. In *The Manner Born: Birth Rite in Cross Cultural Perspectives*, edited by Lauren Dundes, pp. 9–30. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Owen, Bruce, and Paul S. Goldstein
2002 Tiwanaku en Moquegua: interacciones regionales y colapso. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:169–188.

Pärssinen, Martti
2005 Tiwanaku: Una cultura y un estado andinos. In *Pariti: Isla, misterio y poder: El Tesoro cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*, edited by Antti Korpisaari and Martti Pärssinen, pp. 17–38. Producciones CIMA, La Paz.

Paul, Ann
1986 Continuity in Paracas Textile Iconography and Its Implications for the Meaning of Linear Style Images. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles, April 7th and 8th 1984*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe, pp. 81–99. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos
1992 *La Cultura Nativa en Bolivia*. 3rd ed. Editorial Los Amigos de Libros, La Paz.
1993 La Cerámica de le Época I (aldeana de Tiwanaku). *Pumapunku* (Nueva Época) 4:48–89.

Proulx, Donald A.
1989 Nasca Trophy Heads: Victims of Warfare or Ritual Sacrifice? In *Cultures in Conflict: Current Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by Diana C. Tkaczuk and Brian C. Vivian, pp. 73–85. Proceedings of the 20th Annual Chacmool Conference, University of Calgary Archaeological Association. Calgary, Alberta, Canada.
2001 Ritual Uses of Trophy Heads in Ancient Nasca Society. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook, pp. 119–136. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Radcliffe, Sarah A.
1993 "People Have to Rise up—Like the Great Women Fighters": The State and Peasant Women in Peru. In *Viva: Women and Popular Protest in Latin America*, edited by S. Radcliffe and S. Westwood, pp. 197-218. Routledge, London.

Rautman, Alison E. (editor)
2000 *Reading the Body: Representation and Remains in the Archaeological Record*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Reinhard, J.
1992 Sacred Peaks of the Andes. *National Geographic Magazine* 181(3):84–111.

Rivera Casanovas, Claudia
2003 Ch'iji Jawira: A Case of Ceramic Specialization in the Tiwanaku Urban Periphery. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, Vol. 2, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 296–315. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Roark, Richard P.
1965 From Monumental to Proliferous in Nasca Pottery. *Ñawpa Pacha* 3:1–92.

Roosevelt, Anna C.
1988 Interpreting Certain Female Images in Prehistoric Art. In *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*, edited by Virginia E. Miller, pp. 1–29. University Press of America, Lanham, Maryland.

Sagarnaga, Jédu Antonio, and Antti Korpisaari
2005 Pariti, la isla que asombró al mundo. In *Pariti: Isla, misterio y poder: El Tesoro cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*, edited by Antti Korpisaari and Martti Pärssinen, pp. 39–51. Producciones CIMA, La Paz.

Sawyer, Alan Reed
1963 *Tiahuanco tapestry design*. Museum of Primitive Art, New York.
1966 *Ancient Peruvian Ceramics: The Nathan Cummings Collection*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Seibold, Katharine
2001 "Oraciones tejidas: misaq'epi y el despacho a la pachamama del primero de agosto." *Cuadernos de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales. Universidad Nacional de Jujuy* 17:445–454.

Shimada, Izumi, Ken-ichi Shinoda, Julie Farnum, Robert Corruccini, and Hirokatsu Watanabe
2004 An Integrated Analysis of Pre-Hispanic Mortuary Practices: A Middle Sícan Case Study. *Current Anthropology* 45(3):369–402.

Sigal, Pete
2000 *From Moon Goddess to Virgins: Colonization of Yucatecan Maya Sexual Desire*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Silverblatt, Irene
1987 *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Silverman, Helaine, and Donald A. Proulx
2002 *The Nasca*. Blackwell, Malden, Massachusetts.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Sørensen, Marie Louise Stig
2000 *Gender Archaeology*. Polity, Cambridge.

Stanish, Charles
1992 *Ancient Andean Political Economy*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2002 Formacion Estatal Temprana en la Cuenca del Lago Titicaca, Andes Surcentral. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:189–215.
2003 *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Stevens, Evelyn P.
1973 "Machismo and marianismo." *Society* 10(6):57–63.

Turner, Victor
1969 *The Ritual Process*. Aldine, Chicago.

Urton, Gary
1981 Animals and Astronomy in the Quechua Universe. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 125(2):110–127.

Van Gennep, Arnold
1960 *The Rites of Passage*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Vaughn, Kevin
2004 Households, Crafts and Feasting in the Ancient Andes: The Village Context of Early Nasca Craft Consumption. *Latin American Antiquity* 15(1):61–88.

Wernke, Steven
2006 The Politics of Community and Inka Statecraft in the Colca Valley, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 17(2):177–208.

Westwood, S., and S. Radcliffe
1993 Gender, Racism and the Politics of Identities in Latin America. In *Viva: Women and Popular Protest in Latin America*, edited by S. Radcliffe and S. Westwood, pp. 1–29. Routledge, London

Zuidema, R. Tom
2007 Two Calendars on Chuquibamba Textiles. Paper Presented at the 35th Annual Midwest Conference on Andean and Amazonian Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 21: Introduction

Huari, Tiahuanaco, and SAIS
The Local and the Foreign in the Iconography of the Empire

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 21, Krzysztof Makowski offers a provocative and fascinating argument about what Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) art meant for religious ideology and political organization in the Middle Horizon (MH), emphasizing the derivation of Wari elites from a tradition of prestige originating in Tiahuanaco. In Makowski's evaluation of MH imagery and its distribution, Wari was not just about proselytization and the dissemination of religious/mortuary practices. He concludes that Wari was an imperial state, in many ways resembling the Inca empire. However, Wari leaders were skilled in alliance building, indirect rule, and integration through ritual, so the archaeological record of Wari imperialism is scarce on military garrisons, caches of weapons, and administrative nodes. Instead, it consists of ceremonial complexes, feasting facilities, breweries, and fine products manufactured to Tiahuanaco standards by skilled craftspeople to legitimize Wari leaders through association with the great center on the shores of Lake Titicaca.

Makowski argues that SAIS iconography and the media on which they appeared legitimized the power of Wari (and Tiwanaku) politico-religious elites in public displays before large audiences at festive spectacles. Conducted in specially constructed ceremonial spaces, the rituals surely included consumption of chicha from *kero*-shaped flagons. The elitist cosmology communicated by Late SAIS imagery is asserted to have had developed at Tiahuanaco and the greater Lake Titicaca region, and Wari leaders struggled to claim its commanding prestige by re-creating the same material symbols. Indeed, Makowski suggests that Huari's Ayacucho heartland may have received a complement of elite altiplano immigrants.

Huari religious goods from the capital as well as the greater Wari sphere are attributed to three classes, in accord with their production, as well as the consumers for whom they were intended. First were objects manufactured by skilled craftspeople trained in the techniques, the rules, and the imagery of Tiahuanaco. Superb clothing and cult objects of this kind were intended for top Huari elites, to ensure their identification with Tiahuanaco archetypes. Second are objects inspired by Tiahuanaco but created by artists lacking virtuoso skills and esoteric knowledge, especially use of sophisticated signs-glyphs that identify the first group. These lesser objects surely conferred prestige but did not affirm direct identification with Tiahuanaco and its holy powers. Third were local styles that had their origins in traditional art of each region but that expressed influences from Wari and Tiwanaku in diverse features, variously including form, spatial organization of decoration, details of figures, configuration of elements, and so on. These objects probably referenced a Wari identity without implying the mythical charters of paramount elites.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Makowski believes that the Late SAIS icons represented the supernaturals who populated the MH pantheon of Tiwanaku and Wari, but he disagrees with many scholars about how to understand the pantheon. He reminds us that earlier scholars tended to assume a temporal and inspirational priority for Tiahuanaco's Gate of the Sun. In these old scenarios, the gateway's images were thought to have been copied in many variants and many places by pilgrims returning from religious pilgrimages to Tiahuanaco. So despite formal variation, all copies referred to the set of supernatural beings on Tiahuanaco's great gateway. However, it is now clear that SAIS art spans a great range of time. Makowski suggests 500 BC through about AD 1000 for a total of a millennium and a half. Given such a great span, it is unlikely for the pantheon to have remained unchanged. Furthermore, Makowski emphasizes that the three SAIS figures/deities distinguished by many scholars—Staff God, Profile Attendant, and Rayed Head (see Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009)—do not represent single supernaturals organized into a universal hierarchically structured set. Rather, they depict a myriad of different supernatural beings. He sustains this argument by noting formal variations among representations of the principal icons—Staff God, for example—and by analogy with Christian iconography. Among Christian icons, images may share some features, like type of dress and halo around the head, but differ in other details, such as objects in the hands. Certain shared conventions reveal immortal status while differences in other elements identify distinct supernatuals. He promotes an analogy with images of Christian saints—such as Saint John, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul—who are easily distinguished as different supernatural beings by anyone sophisticated in Christian iconography.

Makowski feels that a single hierarchy of three deities in the Late SAIS pantheon—Staff God, Profile Attendants, and Rayed Head—is inconsistent with the hegemonic, indirect nature of Wari rule. Among the many important points made in this chapter is that Tiwanaku-Wari religious art was represented primarily in two media—decoration on elaborately woven clothing and images of humans wearing these spectacular clothes. Makowski concurs with earlier arguments that these fancy costumes were worn by elites to enhance their power through association with supernatural origins. So human images wearing the garments probably represented important ancestors whose power and authority were referenced by descendants when wearing similar costumes. In the Tiwanaku sphere, the human images are statues, placed at the center of sunken courts, which were decorated with fineline relief to represent the details of elaborate clothing. In the Wari sphere, the human figures are face neck jars, often oversized, similarly clad in fine garments but indicated by polychrome painting. Makowski goes on to point out the similarity between these ceramic effigies and MH mummy bundles buried on the coast of Peru.

This chapter synthesizes a number of earlier interpretations of Tiwanaku and Wari religious imagery that Makowski has authored. To get the most out of the chapter, especially its detailed comparisons of the formal variation in iconography, demanding scholars may want to read the entire collection (cited in his bibliography)—or at least have the other articles on hand to consult, especially their illustrations, while reading this chapter. Furthermore, this discussion resonates with possible identifications of deities made by Martti Pärssinen (Chapter 22, this volume), based on variation in symbolic elements in Staff God crowns—feline, avian, and fish/serpent. They could be read together as well. Finally, Makowski's chapter highlights and critiques many popular assumptions about MH Andean religion that should be questioned. On the other hand, his approach makes other assumptions that may be equally problematic. However, there can be no question that his interpretation is creative and insightful, meriting great consideration.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch

2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology Vol. III: North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.

2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 163–210. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 21

Huari, Tiahuanaco, and SAIS
The Local and the Foreign in the Iconography of the Empire

Krzysztof Makowski

Despite the dizzying pace of field research in Middle Horizon architectural remains over the past two decades, understanding of the relationship between the two dominant cultures of the period—Wari and Tiwanaku[1]—has remained mostly marginal to the original contemplation of iconography, particularly Menzel's (1964, 1968a, 1968b) pioneering studies on this topic. Therefore, the supposition can be maintained that the reliefs that adorn the Portada del Sol were imitated through innumerable variants on ceramics and textiles for at least four centuries. According to this supposition, interpretation of this "homage" scene—where winged figures holding staffs apparently honor a similar figure who is presented face forward and with two "staffs," one in each hand—as the icon that contains the main teachings of an influential proselytizing religion has become the cornerstone of hypotheses about the role of religion and power structures in the Middle Horizon (Cook 1994, 2001; Isbell and McEwan 1991). Nevertheless, studies of iconography and the chronology of stylistics undertaken by Cook (1984–1985, 1994), Chávez (2004), Haeberli (2002), Young-Sánchez (2004), Knobloch (2000, 2001, 2002), Isbell and Knobloch (2006, 2009), and Bergh (2009), among others, far from proving the influential hypothesis just mentioned, offer constructive criticisms. The evidence they have analyzed shows that the reliefs of Tiahuanaco make up the somewhat late expression of the long development of many related iconographic traditions that were in constant dialogue with one another. This development takes place approximately between 500 BC and AD 1000, from Middle Formative times through the end of the Middle Horizon, not only in the vast area of the Titicaca Basin but also in other parts of the high plateau as well as along the southern coast of Peru and northern Chile. Isbell and Knobloch (2006, 2009) label the ensemble of iconographic evidence, a product of these multiple interactions, the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS). Their conclusions agree with the tenor of our studies on Tiahuanaco iconography (Makowski 2001, 2002, 2009, 2010): the frontal and profile figures represent members of a multi-individual pantheon of supernatural beings, in addition to those sculpted on the friezes of the Portada del Sol. The composition of the pantheon varies, making it important to remember that this iconography was probably efficacious for 15 centuries. It also varies between one area and another, both in regards to the principal deities and secondary ones.

At the same time, thanks to the work of Uribe and Agüero (2002; Agüero et al. 2003), Berenguer Rodriguez (2000), and Torres (2002), the controversial topic of relationships between Tiahuanaco, the Chilean coast, and specifically San Pedro de Atacama has been raised again. It is clear that Tiwanaku presence on the coast was restricted to a limited number

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

of imported goods and/or imitations amid the grave goods of a few leaders who were buried according to local rituals. However, the iconographic interactions are not limited to the period of the Portada del Sol, and they cover a long and complex sequence of several centuries (Young-Sánchez 2004, 2010). Finally, Torres (2002) has shown that the iconography on the snuff tablets cannot be considered a simple imitation of Tiahuanaco litho sculpture, including the reliefs of the Portada del Sol. This progress, which we have just synthesized in brief summary, encourages us to rethink the Wari phenomenon. There is little doubt that the presence of cultural components native to the high plateaus is more conclusive and varied in Ayacucho than it is in San Pedro de Atacama. In this same vein, and in contrast to the desert valleys of the extreme south of the central Andes, the appearance of these components in the Ayacucho Basin caused a rapid and conclusive acculturation (Isbell 1991, 2001b, 2009; Ochatoma Paravicino 2007) of the local population, the Huarpa, which can be perceived in all aspects of material culture. For the reasons presented here, it is the author's opinion that the time has come to reevaluate the issue of political relations between the two centers of the Middle Horizon—Tiahuanaco and Huari—as well as within themselves and the provinces they supposedly conquered. It is equally obvious that the comparative iconographic analysis and the study of the role of the image in public spaces and the use of ritual, including funerary contexts, establish the mandatory starting point for this task. In light of the previously published works and personal research (Makowski 2001, 2002, 2009, 2010), the dissemination of the worship of a single principle deity, that of the Portada del Sol, from the settlement of Tiahuanaco to the near and far territories conquered by the lords of Ayacucho, and even beyond, is an hypothesis that lacks empirical foundations. The abundant pantheons of the Wari and Tiwanaku have several deities in common, among both those represented in a frontal position as well as those who are in profile and can thus show their wings. Some of the characters with staffs—for example, those represented in women's clothing (Lyon 1978)—appear to be exclusive to Wari imagery.

This chapter argues in support of the hypothesis that the elite of Ayacucho, founders of an expansive Wari state that fulfills all the characteristics of an empire, legitimized their right to govern in the same manner as the Inca Pachacutec and his descendants. The clothing and headpieces, as well as the figurative decorations on textiles and ceremonial ceramics, among other elements, led the participants of the official ceremonies to believe that the governing lineages of the Wari came from the distant basin of Lake Titicaca and that they were direct descendants of celestial deities worshipped in the temples of the city of Tiahuanaco (consider the recurrent attributes of Tiwanaku's anthropomorphic supernaturals: wings and halos). The iconography that refers to this mythical origin, which may well have real foundations, appears on locally produced objects but, in the Tiwanaku style, produced by highly skilled artisans. Use of the iconography seems to have been restricted to members of the high elite. The objects decorated with motifs that allude to the same main emblems of that style of power, but in a greatly simplified and schematic way—for example, radiant faces, profile heads, or griffons—are, on the other hand, earmarked for the intermediate elite, probably those not related to the governing lineages. These objects, *unkus* (shirts), hats, *keros* (cups), bottles, and so on, generally appear as funerary goods, mixed in with artifacts in local styles, typical of each region absorbed by the Ayacuchano empire (e.g., Pachacamac: Kaulicke 2001; Franco and Paredes 2001; Castillo de Huarmey: Prümers 2001; Giersz and Pardo 2014; San José de Moro: Castillo and Cusicanqui 2016; Castillo et al. 2008). The characteristics and uses of Wari architecture, together with the objects, symbols, and expressions of power with its typical iconography, suggest that the political strategies of the conquerors were characterized by a clever use of alliances. The inclusion of certain local lineages into the ceremonial spaces dedicated to the worship of ancestors and other celebratory rites that involved the consumption of *chicha* not only reinforced the effects of the politics of those partaking of the ritual but also sealed and legitimized those alliances. In this same way, the new political hierarchies received a religious legitimization. Thus, it is not surprising that in most cases, the presence of the Huari administration, especially in the central and north coast of Peru, left almost no traces of territorial control via administrative centers (Schreiber and Edwards 2010). On the other hand, evidence of imperial power exercised through hegemonic methods is highly recurrent. This can be seen, for example, in burials of presumed local rulers who were buried in elaborate funeral chambers and with the symbols of their new political loyalty: *unkus*, hats, *keros*, and other ceremonial vessels, decorated with the schematized and simplified imitation of emblems in the imperial style.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The Political Role of Images in the Tiwanaku and Wari Cultures

Two groups of iconographic media surely played the key role in spreading the content of the power ideology and the legitimization of the political position of individuals and groups, in both the Tiwanaku and the Wari:

1. Woolen textiles, with or without cotton (Bergh 1999, 2009; Oakland and Fernández 2001), featuring figurative decoration, particularly the *unkus* (tunics), short skirts, and headdresses—including four-cornered hats (Young-Sánchez 2010)
2. The representation of decorated clothing on the surface of human statues sculpted in bas-relief or, in its absence, on the body of face neck ceramic jars

The designs with the greatest complexity, which contain the varied repertoire of supernatural characters and symbols similar to glyphs, appear in both of the groups mentioned above, as well as on snuff tablets and on *keros*. Both of these objects were symbols of power that appear in the hands of anthropomorphic statues found at Tiahuanaco. We must, of course, include in this list the metal adornments that complement the dress, for example, feathers of silver and gold (Chávez 1984–1985). Almost all of the movable evidence comes from funerary contexts, particularly from mummy bundles. In the case of the Wari, the most elaborate mummy bundles, especially those found along the coast where organic remains are well preserved, are characterized by the anthropomorphic form of the bundle, by masks and by decorated *unkus* that cover the bundle exterior (e.g., Ancón: Kaulicke 1997:Figures 15–23; Menzel 1968b:125). Thus, a similarity emerges that is surely not casual between the face neck jar vessels and the mummy bundles. It may be thought that the decoration of the first of these refers to the person in their mummy bundle, turning the jar into the image of an ancestor. In the southern highlands region, it is instructive to also compare the importance of conventional portraits, sometimes in the round sculptures, both in the Tiwanaku figurative art and the Wari art (Knobloch 2010; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005; Makowski 2001, 2010:Figures 2, 3, 5). These sculptured likenesses were created both in stone (statues) and in ceramics (ceremonial vessels). The complex iconography is part of the decoration on hats and *unkus* that clothed those portrayed.

In addition, the Wari and Tiwanaku societies invested a great amount of social time and technological acumen to perpetuate, and at the same time individualize, certain of their dead who must have occupied notable political positions. Therefore, it is quite probable that the textile decoration contains encoded information about the identity and hierarchal position of the individual within the complex system of relationships amid the lineages of the elite. This hypothesis is strongly bolstered by the evidence recorded in the very site of Tiahuanaco. The comparison of the size and complexity of the statues, on one hand, and the size and complexity of the ceremonial platforms where these statues were found, on the other, leads us to this conclusion.

The statues that are of the same or greater size than normal humans are clothed in garments with complex figurative decoration (Berenguer 2000; Makowski 2001, 2002, 2009, 2010). These statues, such as the Bennett or Ponce monoliths (Figure 21.1), were exhibited in the center of the great courtyards (Figure 21.2), for example, the Kalasasaya and the Templete Semisubterráneo (Kolata 2003b; Ponce Sanginés 1964; Vranich 2009), where their rich iconography could be admired by hundreds of attendants. In contrast, the clothing of characters portrayed in statues of lesser sizes (Figure 21.3; Makowski 2001:Figure 97a,b), such as the one found in Putuni (Couture and Sampeck 2003:226–231, Figures 9.1 and 9.38), lack this complex figurative decoration. In the case of the Putuni sculpture and other similar cases recently recorded, contexts suggest that there was a direct proportional relationship between the number of participants in the rites, determined by the size of the courtyard and the size of the statue; the lower the number of participants, the smaller the size of the statue.

Figure 21.1. Bas relief decoration on the back of the Bennett monolith: two faces with halos on their respective podiums. Photo by Daniel Giannoni.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 21.2. Ponce monolith in the center of the Kalasasaya courtyard. Photo by Daniel Giannoni.

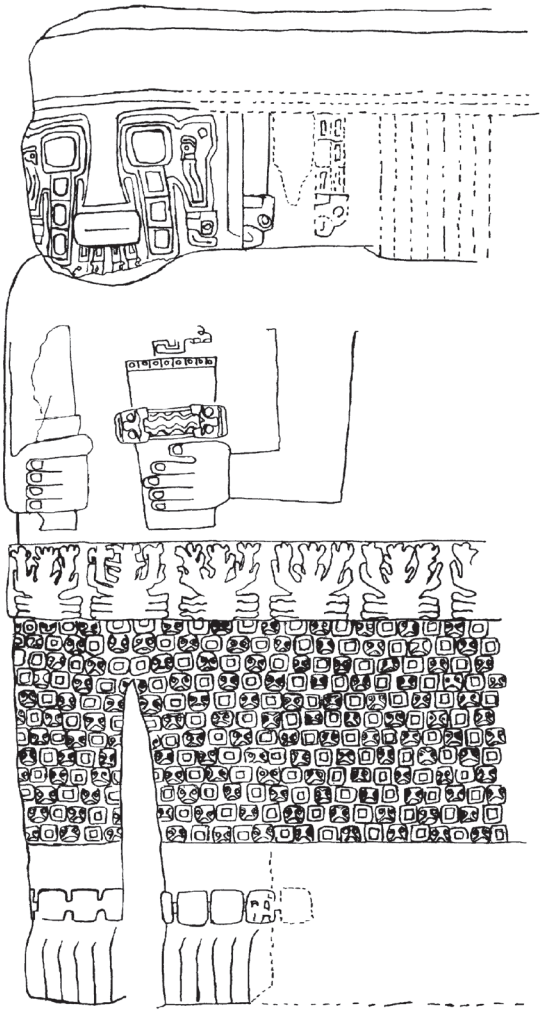


Figure 21.3. El Fraile, or "The Monk" monolith with the rollout of the figurative decoration in relief. Drawing by Carlos Herrera.

This Putuni statue was found intentionally broken, near the center of the courtyard. Also worth noting is that there are no significant differences between the type of headdress, dress, and attributes of large and small statues (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 2.14, 5.10), except for some of the smallest statuettes whose arms hang at their sides, with empty hands (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 5.10). Therefore, the complex iconography of the dress and the increased size, along with the consequent social time needed to create the statue, are the only variables that make a difference between the representations that adorned the center of a great courtyard or a significantly lesser one. It is to be supposed that the number of people who could congregate was directly proportional to the political power wielded by those who built the structure and who were perhaps considered descendants of the character represented in the center of the courtyard.

Recent research (Chávez 2004; Janusek 2010; Stanish 2003) has shown that the tradition of erecting anthropomorphic statues in the center of sunken courtyards, which generally cover the top of ceremonial platforms, has ample pre-Tiwanaku antecedents and is part of the cultural phenomenon that Chávez (2004) named the "Yaya-Mama tradition." Janusek (2010) considers that Khonkho Wankane was built as the twin center to Tiahuanaco with its well-known Templete Semisubterráneo, or sunken courtyard shrine. The monumental façade of this temple also displays pre-Tiwanaku origins.

There is a consensus that the statues from the pre-Tiwanaku Yaya-Mama tradition represent only male ancestors, or when they do present both sexes, they do so as opposite faces of a two-sided statue. The supernatural character of these anthropomorphic beings is insinuated

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

in various cases by the images of animals, carved in bas-relief, ascending or descending the length of the monolith, by including amphibians, fish, and/or serpents (Chávez 2004; Janusek 2010). There is a clear iconographic difference between these statues and later Tiahuanaco monoliths. The latter represent characters whose supernatural status is not evident. Rather, they seem to depict mere mortals (Figure 21.2). The sculptors have emphasized the political, and therefore religious, role of the individual portrayed (Makowski 2001, 2010). The protagonists are male, to judge by the clothing, and no clear indication of women, mortal or supernatural, is present in Tiwanaku iconography. This established a sharp contrast with its Pucara antecedents (Chávez 2004). The religious role played by the people depicted on the monoliths is expressed through the accessories held in their hands: the *kero* for libations and the snuff tablet. In the same vein, the tear bands below the eyes, the braids that crown the zoomorphic heads like fantastic serpents, and, above all, the lush decoration of the clothing full of supernatural beings, usually winged and haloed (Figure 21.1), indicate that they had a privileged relationship with the heavens. Knobloch (2000) and Kolata (2003b:195, 2004) agree in considering that communication with the supernatural dimension was obtained through the consumption of hallucinogenic substances, extracts of *Anadenanthera colubrina* and the *Trichocereus pachanoi* cactus. In this manner, the officiant not only attained a sense of well-being but also became endowed with oracular powers (Curatola 2008). As we mentioned previously, the social position of the portrayed officiate and his possible role as supreme governor is suggested only by the location of the sculpture, its size, and the decoration of the clothing. As far as we know, only in the case of the Bennett monolith has it been suggested that the character portrayed is the most important among the ancestors since it is surrounded by three other monoliths, much older and related to the Yaya-Mama tradition, placed around the main monolith in the center of the courtyard. Additionally, other monoliths, in a bad state of preservation, were found embedded—next to the key heads that portray human beings wearing headdresses similar to those of the monoliths—in the deep perimeter walls of the Templete Semisubterráneo or sunken courtyard shrine (Chávez 2004; Couture 2004:Figures 5.1, 5.2; Ponce Sanginés 1964).

The anthropomorphic monoliths kept in the Archaeological Museum of Ayacucho and the Huari Site Museum, whose archeological context is unknown (Cook 2001:Figure 47b; Makowski 2004:181, 2010:58, Figures 2, 3), are not just imitations of the sculptures documented and preserved in Tiahuanaco, despite the fact that they share the same type of clothing. Their style, provincial and rough, is similar up to a point to the statues labeled as Tiwanaku III in the altiplano (Young-Sánchez 2004:49, Figure 2.27a; also see Makowski 2010:60, Figure 5). The quality of the volcanic tuff medium, extremely porous, did not allow for fine sculpting of details in bas-relief, so the clothing lacks decorative details. The accessories, the *kero*, and the snuff tablet are also notable for their absence. Still, it should be remembered that no snuff tablets have been found in any Huari context (Knobloch 2000). *Keros*, on the other hand, were quite widespread. The details of the costume and some accessories, such as the *kero* in the figure's hand, are represented in the anthropomorphic vessels among which the large face neck jars stand out as characteristic of the Conchopata site and their style of elite (Cook 1994; Cook and Benco 2001; Ochatoma Paravicino 2007; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2001a, 2001b, 2002). It is worth noting that the face neck jars represent a variety of characters, probably of different ethnic and cultural origins to judge by the dominant iconographic details in the decoration of their *unkus*, which are represented in a simplified form on the body of the vessel. Only some of the *unkus* are decorated with the complex iconography in the Tiwanaku style (Cook 2001:Figures 50, 53; Isbell 2001b:Figure 21D; Knobloch 2010:Figures 3, 19 and on the body of the anthropomorphic vessel, Figure 5). Others show simple costumes, for example, decorated with tie-dye circles (Cook 2001:Figures 56, 68; compare with textiles in Oakland and Fernández 2001:Figure 7). Of course, there are characters with costumes decorated with motifs from the Nazca 8 and 9 repertoire or the local Huarpa catalog of images (Isbell 2001b:Figure 24; Ochatoma Paravicino 2007:126i; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera 2001b:187). Certain details, such as the famous four-cornered hat, might indicate that the character was connected to the cultural traditions of the valleys of the southern coast of Peru and into the north of Chile (Berenguer 2000:51–53), but always within the SAIS stylistic realm (Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009).

Several of these human characters seem also to have been represented as profile busts painted on the sides of oversized urns from Conchopata before they were fired (Knobloch 2010:Figure 22). These include oversize face neck jars (Cook 2001:Figure 30), as well as regular-size vessels and pots (Knobloch 2010:Figures 12, 13, 15). Part of this decoration is surely inspired by textiles (Konbloch 2010:Figures 3, 19), such as those attributed

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

to the workshops of the southern coast, even though their style anticipates in every detail that of the classic highland Tiwanaku (e.g., Young-Sánchez 2004:42, Figure 2.22; 2010:Figure 2). These urns also display mythical scenes where both deities and humans participate (Cook 2001:Figure 40) and sometimes include the capture of human prisoners (Knobloch 2010:Figure 16a,b and the textile version, Figure 17; also see Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figures 4, 5). Other scenes could refer to historical facts, such as the sailing of Tiwanaku warriors on reed vessels (Isbell 2001b:37–44, Figures 26, 30; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera 2001a:200–204). Thanks to the rescue excavations carried out under the supervision of William Isbell, it was determined that at least some of the urns were embedded in the access passages to the main courtyards. Others were exposed, or at least used, in the D-shaped ceremonial structures. On the other hand, the vessels were embedded near the burial chambers (Isbell 2001b:37–44, 46–54; Rodríguez Carpio 2004). From this we can deduce that the rich iconography of the Tiwanaku style adorned courtyards and is directly related to funeral areas. Therefore, despite clear differences in the architecture as well as the medium in which the iconography was created, there is no doubt that the message and function of the figurative iconography in both the Tiahuanaco and Conchopata environments were similar. In both cases, the environment for possible festivals (Cook and Benco 2001; Vranich 2009), in which the monoliths or anthropomorphic vessels, respectively, were displayed abutting the burial chambers and areas for ancestor worship (Couture 2004; Isbell 2001b). In this special environment, it is possible that pacts and alliances were celebrated among festival participants, and the political role established through conquest or negotiation may have received religious legitimization. The imagery directly or metaphorically evoked the dynastic mythology and origin myths of the noble lineages (Cook 2001), thereby reflecting the political history (Knobloch 2010). This final suggestion should be explored separately since it requires understanding the figurative conventions and the identity of the characters portrayed.

The Signs-Glyphs and the Iconographic Personality of the Staff Deities

Systematic comparative analysis of the representations of greater complexity belonging to the SAIS tradition led us to the conclusion (Makowski 2000, 2006, 2009) that the images do not correspond to a unified theme of "worship of the single frontal deity," nor were frontal deity representations conceived as variations derived from a common model, as was supposed by Dorothy Menzel (1964, 1968a, 1968b) and, later, by Anita Cook (1994). Nor do these representations share a similar thematic structure, as is so recurrent in European art. The composition of the Portada del Sol, with three lines of winged characters in profile running toward a similar character, albeit without visible wings and standing front-face upon a podium, is not repeated in other cases. There is variety from one relief to the next, from the orientation to the posture, as well as many other details; the iconographic identity of the characters in profile also changes. In some cases, the characters in profile are running, as on the Portada del Sol, but in other cases, they are walking (Makowski 2002:Figure 11C) and located nearer to or farther from the central character (Makowski 2002:Figure 7). These beings may or may not have wings (Figure 21.4), and when wings are lacking, the figures hold two objects, one in each hand, usually a scepter-staff or a weapon (Makowski 2002:Figure 11C; cf. Young-Sánchez 2004:47, Figures 22.26a,b). The full frontal figures with staffs, located in the middle of the composition, adopt a variety of poses: they are standing on a podium facing forward (Figure 21.5) or are walking to either the left or the right (Figure 21.4). In some cases, the sculptors or weavers chose to reduce the standing figure to a haloed face upon a podium (Isbell and Knobloch 2006:Figure 12.4; Makowski 2002:Figures 4b, 5; Young-Sánchez 2004). Even though the body has been omitted, it is clear to the observer that the face represents a whole body (Figure 21.1). This convention of *pars pro toto* was born, as Isbell and Knobloch observe (2006, 2009), in the Formative Period. Contrary to what is expected in the sphere of figurative art whose composition, according to various experts, has been dominated by a thematic structure, no real scenes are found in the SAIS repertoire. There is no composition that includes more than two characters in any activity other than running, walking, or flying with some accessory in their hands; the gestures and poses do not create semantic links between neighboring characters in a frieze. As we will see later on, the composition of SAIS figurative art may eventually be considered the metonymical-metaphorical type, whose methods of transmitting narrative content are similar to those used, for example, in European heraldry or in Mesopotamian seals.

Despite the immense variety in terms of details, a degree of similarity is apparent when Tiwanaku reliefs are compared. This experience of similarity is based on the fact that all the decoration of the costumes in

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

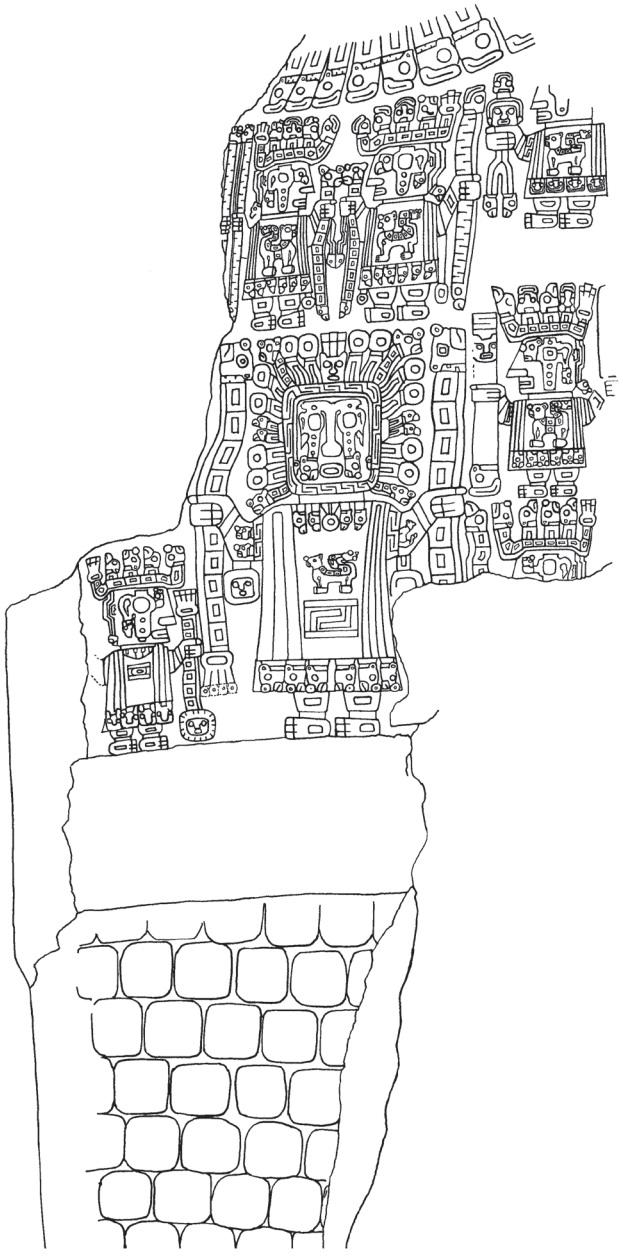


Figure 21.4. The Ídolo del Sol, provisionally identified as representing Pachacamac. Note the absence of wings, substituted by a second staff, in the representation of the escorts as well as the absence of podiums. Drawing by Carlos Herrera.

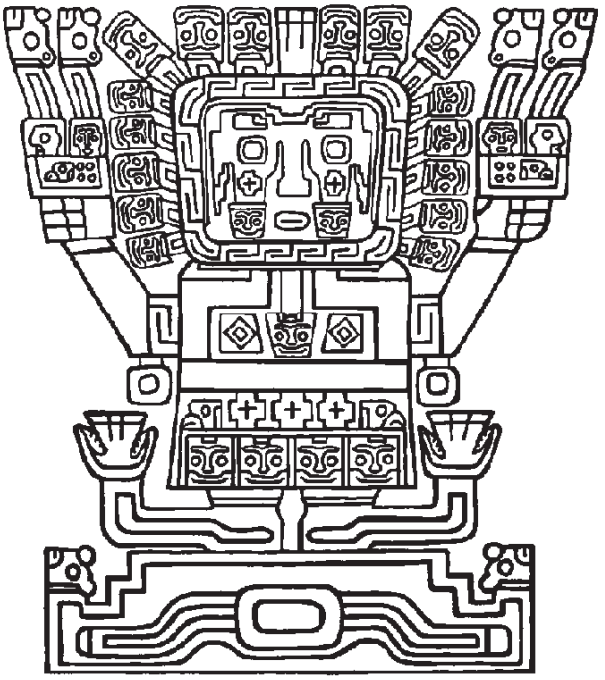


Figure 21.5. Principal deity represented in the decorations on the *unku* worn by the Bennett monolith. Note the particular characteristics of the feathers in the halo and the objects in both hands, which are not staffs. Drawing by Carlos Herrera.

bas-relief, as well on the façades, was done using the same technique, which in turn is closely linked to the textile arts. The sculptor outlined the figure after selecting the model of the anthropomorphic or zoomorphic being, whether standing, walking, running, flying, prone facing downward, facing left, or facing right. After creating the outline, the artisan filled in the details—breastplates, halos, staffs, decorations of feathers, rays, and so on—through an intentional combination of conventional figurative symbols (Figure 21.6) that are similar, in some degree, to Mesoamerican glyptic art. It only takes a cursory comparison of the forward-facing characters (Makowski 2002:346–360, Tables 1, 2) to show that only in a few cases do similar combinations of signs-glyphs repeat (Figure 21.7) and then in the accessories held in their hands. In several cases, the weaver or sculptor represents several characters with their body and face facing forward, one next to the other (Makowski 2002:Figure 11C; cf. Young-Sánchez 2004:47, Figures 22.26a,b). The range of similarity between them could be compared to the range of similarity between two figures of saints in Christian iconography, for example, Saint John, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul; they are standing, facing forward with a halo around their face. A number of details, however, show that they are different characters that have been represented using the same conventions, specific to their condition as saints. In the case of the SAIS reliefs and textiles, all the supernatural characters have halos made up of feathers and may have wings if they are depicted in profile. The form of these figurative feathers in the halo and the wings, as well as the form and design of the accessories, marks the differences between one character and another (Figure 21.8). These differences

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

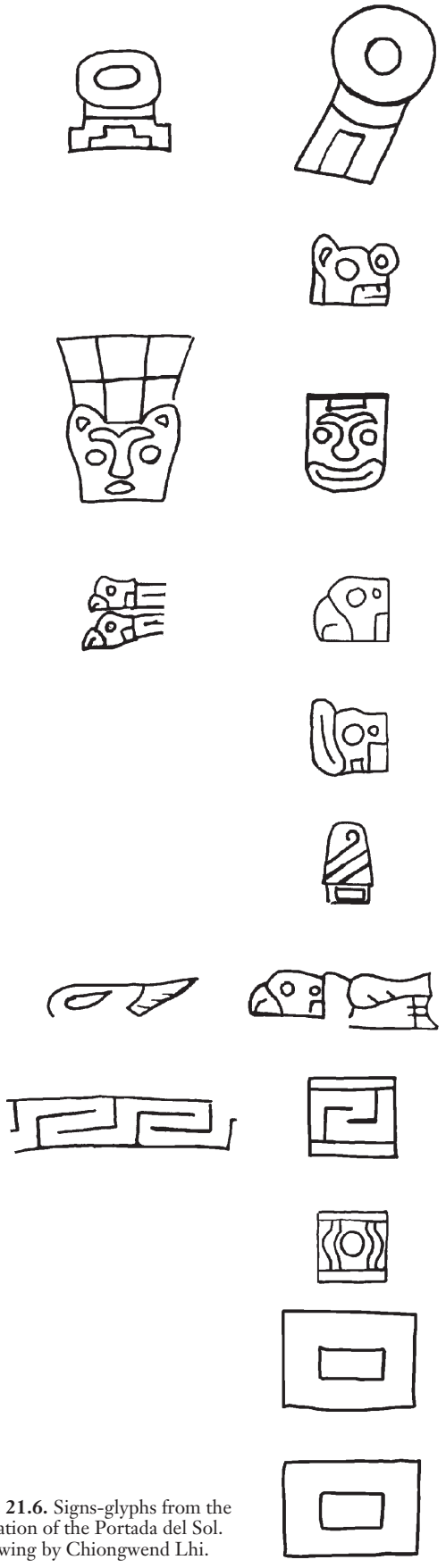


Figure 21.6. Signs-glyphs from the decoration of the Portada del Sol. Drawing by Chiongwend Lhi.

jump out at you when two or more forward-facing characters are represented standing next to each other (Figures 21.1 and 21.4), as cited in the examples above. Considering these observations, the hypothesis that the figures with supernatural traits, facing forward and with two objects held in their outstretched hands represent a sole supreme deity, who is standing in the center surrounded by other secondary deities in the manner of angels in profile, completely loses any empirical basis.

In Tiwanaku lithic sculpture and generally in the SAIS iconography, as in so many other cases of figurative arts in the world, the frontal pose is not a variable directly linked to the personality of the character portrayed. Rather, it is a conventional way of indicating the higher rank of the character in relation to those who surround him. The deity or the ruler of secondary rank would be represented frontally when surrounded by others of third rank but in profile when they are next to a character of first rank. For all these reasons, the author has no doubt that different deities were represented in Tiwanaku art and its formative predecessors, with the torso and face seen from the front, and with both arms extended and hands grasping objects. The deity of the Portada del Sol is one among many, whose number and characteristics can be revealed, with certain limitations, only through a meticulous and detail-oriented comparative analysis that includes the complex system of the use of signs-glyphs. Moreover, it is highly likely that some characters, usually presented frontally, may appear in profile in other iconographic contexts and vice versa. This is the case of the avian character, which usually appears in profile but is also recognized in frontal representations (e.g., Makowski 2001:80, Figures 87, 88). Similarly, the winged anthropomorphic characters Menzel (1964) described as "angels" and that are sculpted in profile processions on the Portada del Sol are represented frontally on sculptures in the round (Cook 2001:Figure 62a,b; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 4.1). When seen from the front, the wings are hidden behind the staffs; this statuette must be turned around to discover that it has wings. This is not a strange fact. Given that perspective conventions such as the vanishing line were unknown in Tiwanaku art, as the character's posture changes from frontal to profile, the artisan was unable to show both hands with the staffs because they obscure each other. However, he does have space to add wings to the back of the figure (see, for example, the disappearance of wings and lateral halo feathers in the two-staffed figures on the Gateway Tunic: Young-Sánchez 2010:Figure 1). Similarly, the wings below and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

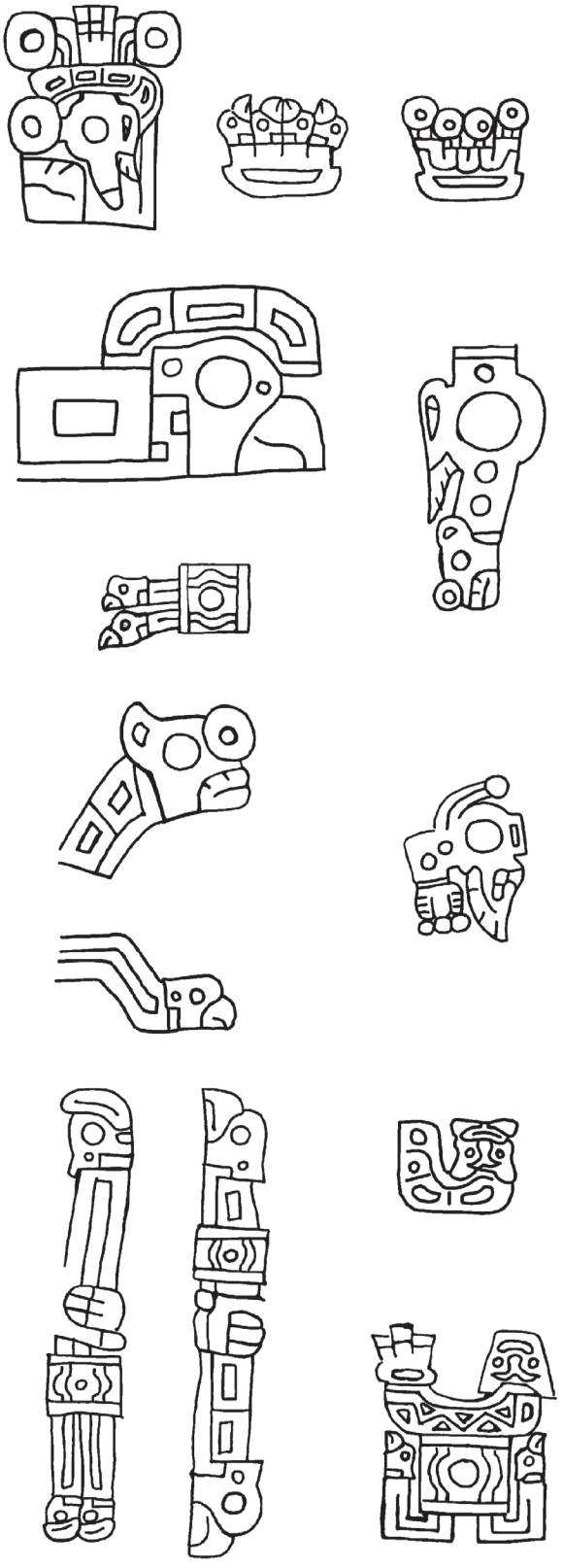


Figure 21.7. Combination of signs-glyphs on staffs, breastplates, appendices, feathers, and body paint, all of which determine the iconographic character of the figures on the Portada del Sol. Drawing by Chiongwend Lhi.

on each side of the face, as well as one of the hands with a staff, were necessarily erased when a character was represented in profile (Makowski 2001:Figures 83–86).

We have also proved that the repertoire of Tiwanaku characters in profile cannot be reduced to three types of winged figures that make up the processions on the Portada del Sol but are made up of at least six different characters, with or without wings, and including characters with the appearance of humans, birds, fish, snails, and camelids (Makowski 2001:78–81, Figure 86). The camelids on the Bennett monolith are the only members of the repertoire of supernatural creatures that do not adopt anthropomorphic characteristics, nor do they have wings. The examples of anthropomorphic figures examined by Bergh (2009) might better correspond to deer. The differences in the accessories carried in their hands, among which are staffs, weapons, and stylized plants, as well as the choice of geometric and figurative symbols that make up the feathers of the halo and decorate the body, clearly show the intention of representing different beings rather than repeating the same figure. In some cases, these different beings are lined up in the same row (e.g., the Bennett monolith; Makowski 2002:Figure 5, 2009:Figure 6). In other cases, such as the Portada del Sol, each of the three horizontal processional bands consists of characters of the same type but different from those of the other processional bands above or below.

The comparative analysis shows that the sculptors of statues and friezes and snuff tablets (Torres 2002) or snuff tubes (Isbell and Knobloch 2009, Figure 16; Young-Sánchez 2004, Figures 4.17, 4.18), as well as certain potters (e.g., Buckholder 2002:Figures 18, 19, 21, 22—Mamani style; Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figures 23, 24; Janusek 2002:Figures 5, 6, 12, 18; Makowski 2001:Figures 103, 108; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 5.13, 6.33), weavers (Bergh 2009:Figures 1, 2, 4–9, 11), and metallurgists (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 2.41, 2.44a,b), used the same repertoire of small signs, similar to glyphs (Figures 21.6 and 21.7), to show the differences between one supernatural anthropomorphic character and another (Figure 21.8); they also used them as autonomous designs (e.g., Makowski 2001:Figure 99). This conclusion is strongly supported when a comparative analysis is done of the figures represented within the same frieze right next to one another, since in many cases the artisans do not represent the same combination of signs but rather choose to systematically provide each supernatural creature with its own iconographic personality. Neither the feathered halos nor the objects carried

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

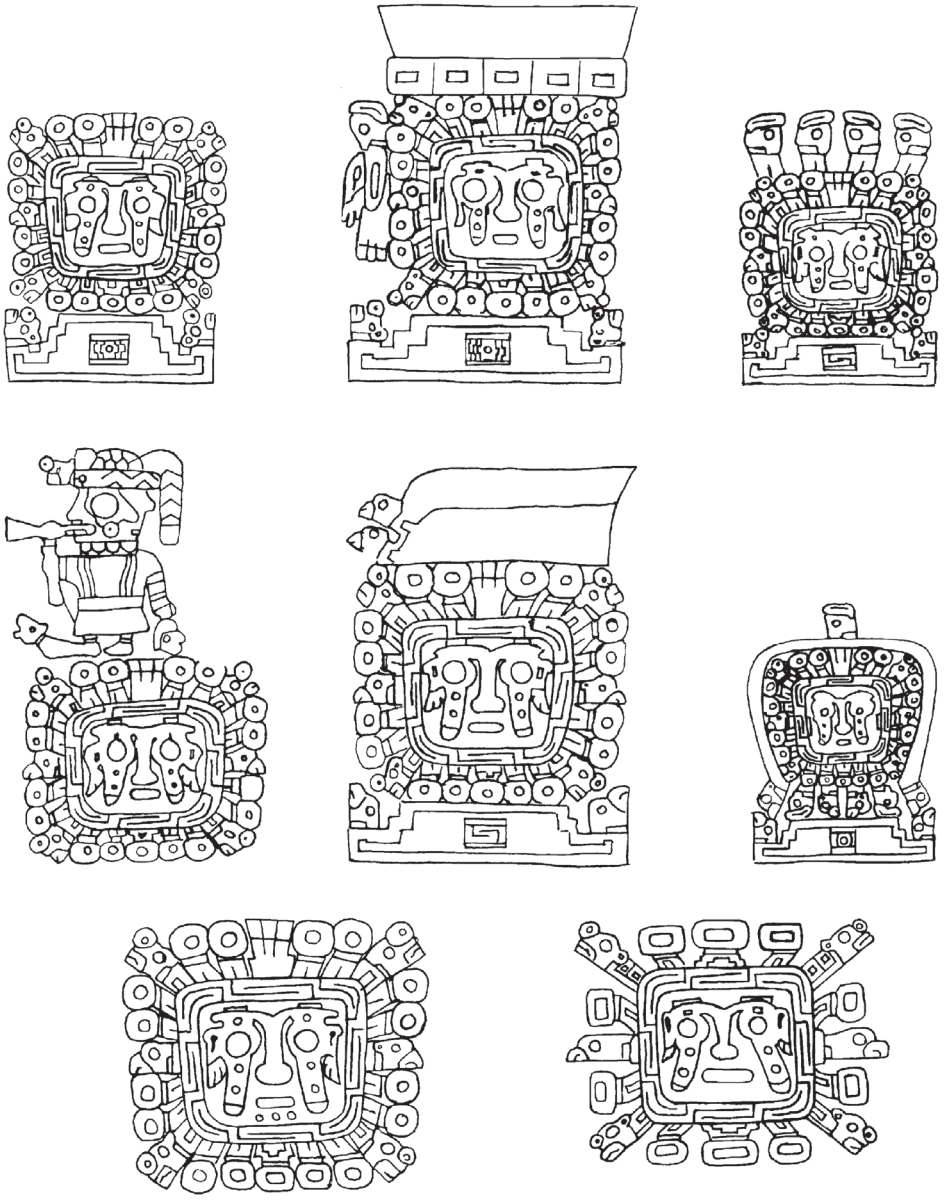


Figure 21.8. Combinations of glyphs on the halos of the frontal faces shown on the bottom register of the frieze decorating the Portada del Sol. Drawing by Carlos Herrera.

in the hands nor the tear bands or other figurative elements of the body are repeated. There do appear to be clear rules that determine the numeric combination of signs. Torres (2002), parallel and independently of this research, reached a similar conclusion when investigating Tiwanaku iconography on snuff tablets. Contrary to what may be expected, the most varied repertoire of characters, poses, and details is not found on the famous relief of the Portada del Sol but rather in the monolithic statues originally raised in the centers of ceremonial sunken courtyards and placed on platforms, such as those of Kalasasaya, Putuni, and Templete Semisubterráneo. In light of recent research (Chávez 2004; Conklin 1983; Haberli 2002; Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009; Torres 2002; Uribe and Agüero 2002; Young-Sánchez 2004, 2010), it is also clear that both the conventions that regulate the compositions of the Tiwanaku reliefs and the system of signs-glyphs were created during the Middle and Late Formative Periods in the Titicaca Basin, probably interacting together with some of the coastal valleys.

The inherent characteristics of the technologically complex textile medium of this iconography, made with

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

supplies that require a developed network of trade to obtain valuable fibers and dyes that were highly prized as well as symbolically and functionally linked to the wielding of power but easy to transport, created favorable conditions for the widespread dissemination of conventions and techniques. It is important to emphasize there is no simple and direct correlation between textile iconography and the designs used by the potters. The best researched case of Pucara shows that whereas some few exceptional vessels were decorated with motifs similar to the ceremonial costumes (Chávez 2004, Figure 3, 23 [stone container]; Conklin 1983; Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 6 [haloed face]), potters usually used their own repertoire of figurative designs (see, for example, the female deity with camelid; Chávez 2002, 2004:Figures 3.24a, 3.26) or geometric decoration. A similar situation is the stark contrast between the mostly monochromatic ceramics with no figurative decoration and the textiles with a lush iconography that uses a rich spectrum of colors. This characterizes several coastal cultures contemporary with Pucara, for example, Paracas during the Necropolis Phase (Topará; see Silverman 1997; Tello and Mejía Xesspe 1979; Wallace 1986) and in the valleys of northern Chile (Bergh 2009:Figure 6.12; Uribe 2009; Uribe and Agüero 2002). It is not until the Tiwanaku IV and V Periods that some varieties of the classical style of ceramics are characterized by a wide repertoire of figurative motifs based on textile iconography: characters facing forward and in profile and glyphs (Buckholder 2002; Isbell and Knobloch 2009:188–189:Figures 23, 24; Janusek 2008). The development of the classic Tiwanaku style, in the context of consolidating hegemony in the Titicaca Basin, should not be understood, however, either as a simple synthesis of previous traditions and much less as continuity. As a matter of fact, there is a qualitative jump that translates into the new iconographic complexity and the enrichment of the repertoire of representational figures and the signs-glyphs that were used to endow them with unique personalities.

Iconographic Relationships between the Wari and Tiwanaku

Both in Conchopata and, on a smaller scale, in Huari, vessels have been found decorated in pure Tiwanaku style, created with a full knowledge not only of a varied repertoire of human and supernatural characters but also of every single little detail (Isbell and Knobloch 2006; Knobloch 2010). Despite this, and contrary to San Pedro de Atacama (Uribe and Agüero 2002), there is no doubt that these are not imports but objects of local production. In the case of Conchopata, pottery has been excavated in close proximity to the areas where the vessels were used and discarded (Ochatoma Paravicino 2007; Rodríguez n.d.). It is easy to establish, even from a preliminary analysis, that only certain potters had the knowledge to reproduce the Tiahuanaco designs and figurative conventions with precision in the design, chromatic range, and repertoire of signs-glyphs. It is important to note that these were potters who produced oversized containers (Menzel 1964, 1968a), urns, and jars for local ceremonial use, in the areas that Isbell (2006) labels as palaces. Due to the poor preservation of organic remains, information about textiles is lacking, although they were doubtless produced at Huari and Conchopata (Isbell 2001). Judging from the preserved Wari textiles from the coast, these also were not rigid imitations of Tiwanaku. Some weavers were able to master the Tiahuanaco repertoire and innovate in their techniques by using local dyes and fibers as well as both cotton and wool (Oakland and Fernández 2001; Young-Sánchez 2010).

From the analytical perspective we have been using, none of the images that are currently documented as coming from the Ayacucho Basin are a direct and exact imitation of any of the litho-sculptures found in Tiahuanaco. The influential hypothesis that the representation on the main frieze on the Portada del Sol has served as a model for some Wari artisans was supported by only one case, that of the great anthropomorphic jars from Conchopata (Cook 1994:183–295, 2001:Figure 53; also see Knobloch 2010:Figure 5), which has some similarities to the relief on the Ponce monolith (Figure 21.2), but even in this case, it is not an imitation. The pose, number, distribution, and position as well as the outline of the characters in profile differ in the two cases (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figures 20, 26; Makowski 2001:Figures 7, 12). Some of the representations, on the other hand, maintain a certain similarity of style and composition to the interlocking tapestries, believed to be from the southern coast, which are attributed the costal Pucara style (Haeberli 2002; Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009). It is likely that the textiles were models that helped maintain the visual memory of the potters.

Artifacts with figurative decoration from the Middle Horizon, both those made in the Huari heartland of Ayacucho as well as those from other places in the Huari area, can be classified in three groups, according to the perspective we have just laid out:

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1. Objects showing the full mastery of the figurative repertoire, the conventions and rules of composition, and the chromatic range characteristic of the Tiahuanaco style. This degree of skill suggests, on one hand, that the artisans responsible had been trained in south highland contexts and, on the other, that the users of these products wanted others to appreciate their clear affinity with south highland elites, particularly the Tiahuanaco, through dress and paraphernalia of worship. In this group, not only the image but also the material used referred back to its foreign origins: the four-cornered hat, the *unku*, and the *kero* (Figures 21.9–21.11).
2. Objects influenced by the Tiahuanaco style as regards their decorative motifs and conventions, but which show insufficient knowledge or skill to use the complex repertoire of signs-glyphs. The media upon which these images are depicted are of varied origin, often local, and occasionally influenced by the Tiahuanaco style (Figure 21.12–21.14).
3. Artifacts in local styles, using the repertoire of figures and activities that originated in local traditions but showing clear Wari and Tiwanaku influences in regards to compositional preferences, posture, and arrangement of the characters, as well as minor details (e.g., shape of the fingers, stylization of mythical animals) (Figure 21.15).

Figure 21.9. Vaso-qero de San José de Moro. Courtesy of Luis Jaime Castillo.

The artifacts that make up the first group mainly come from two important Wari centers in Ayacucho, the ruined city of Huari itself (e.g., González et al. 1996:68, 74, style Robles Moqo) and Conchopata. Outside of these sites, this type of pottery is always uncommon, for example, the Atarco *kero* in Aqo Wayqo (Ochatoma Paravicino 1988:Slide 11 and cover), the funeral goods from the M-U1242 tomb in San José de Moro (Figure 21.9; Castillo et al. 2008:Figures 22, 53, 54), or lucky findings in Chicama (Donnan 1968). In Ayacucho, the Wamanga or Viñaque secular style of Menzel (1968), lacking any complex iconography, makes up 97 to 99 percent of the decorated ceramic material (González et al. 1996:63–68; cf., for example, Schreiber 1992:205–258). Remember the scarcity of pottery with complex iconography among the ceramic material of Pikillacta (Glowacki 2005). This contrasts with the iconographic display on the decoration of silver feathers from Pomacanchi (Chávez 1984–1985). The majority of pieces from the first group come from offering contexts (Cook 1994:95–159; Isbell 2001; Isbell and Knobloch 2006; Menzel 1968a; Ravines 1968, 1977), dumps of ceremonial vessels (Rodríguez n.d.), and burials of elites. Along the southern-central and southern coast, between Cañete and Moquegua (for example, Nasca: Menzel 1968b:Figures 18, 20; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figures 6.5, 6.6), findings of this type of artifacts are possibly more frequent than in other parts of the extensive area where the Wari phenomenon is present in some form, thanks to the spread of the Atarco style (Menzel 1968a:Plates XXXVII, XXXVIII.45).

Significantly, the first category of ceramic objects almost always consists of outstanding pieces in regard to design complexity and the quality of the finish. Because of these characteristics, it is highly probable that the use of these artifacts was restricted to representatives of the governing elite. The best examples come from the "oversized" ceramics of Conchopata (Cook 2001; Isbell and Cook 2002; Isbell and Knobloch 2006; Knobloch 2010; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera 2001b, 2002). Ochatoma Paravicino (2007) has observed that there

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 21.10. Mortuary ceramics from San José de Moro, including a portrait head bottle, a canteen, and a lyre-shaped cup that probably functioned as a *kero*. Courtesy of Luis Jaime Castillo.

Figure 21.11. Fragment of oversized face-neck jar; note the tear band with the corn sign-glyph. Photo by Milosz Giersz.

are strong influences from the pottery traditions of the south highlands in the domestic ceramics of Conchopata (cf. Knobloch 1986 [1983]). The figurative designs related to the Tiwanaku imagery in Conchopata, Robles Moqo, Pacheco, and, to a lesser degree, Atarco styles are not mere imitations of textile or lithic models from the area where SAIS iconography originated, particularly the Titicaca Basin. These are original creations, albeit carried out respecting the rules and repertoire of Tiahuanaco iconography. No mistakes or misunderstandings can be seen. While some of the supernatural characters with staffs or weapons and halos may be seen to parallel the lithosculptures from the site of Tiahuanaco, in a number of cases, they seem to represent what are potentially local deities who have been incorporated into the pantheon of the south highlands. A special emphasis should be placed on the frequent binary opposition between two frontal deities represented on the same urn or, as Knobloch (2010) has recently shown, the association between a frontal supernatural character and another, human or supernatural, in profile. The differences of dress, accessories, and choice of signs-glyphs leave no doubt that it is not a repetition of the same deity but rather two different and, to some degree, opposing characters (Knobloch 2010; Makowski 2001). As Lyon (1978:Figure 14; Bergh 2009:Figures 13, 14) has rightly observed, one of these deities is sometimes

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 21.12. Bottle with face neck and "ear handles." Note the imitation of sign-glyphs on the body. Photo by Milosz Giersz.

Figure 21.13. Bowl with the head of the "Pachacamac Griffon."

dressed in female garments, and her halo has a sign-glyph that has not previously been seen in the iconography of the south highland lakeshore region: the ear of corn. This anthropomorphic figure is represented next to a male being with weapons whose halo contains the same glyph (Schreiber and Edwards 2010:Figure 7). In any case, neither the deities on the Tiahuanaco Portada del Sol nor those of the Bennett monolith were faithfully reproduced or even approximately by the artisans of Ayacucho. Only a cursory comparison is needed to prove this (Makowski 2009:150, Figure 12).

In the same vein, both in the south highlands and the Ayacucho Basin, the signs-glyphs are combined in the same way (Figure 21.9) to create halos, staffs, weapons, and tear bands (Isbell 2001:Figures 3–5; Knobloch 2010:Figure 21; Menzel 1968a:Figure 45; Ravines 1977:Figure 32). In both cultural areas, the various symbols may also be chosen as an autonomous design that can be reproduced separately (e.g., Wari: Isbell 2001:Figure 19; Tiwanaku: Janusek 2010:Figure 19; Makowski 2001:Figure 99) or in combination with others (e.g., Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 6.3) to adorn headdresses, face paintings (Huari: Schreiber and Edwards 2010:Figure 1; tear bands on the Bennett monolith: Makowski 2010:Figure 7), *unkus* (Huari: Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera 2010:Figure 10; Cook 2001:38; Makowski 2001:Figure 91), or shields (Huari: Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera 2001b:200; Makowski 2010:Figure 14), in the manner of heraldic symbolism. The use of signs-glyphs in SAIS iconography can be compared in various aspects with the use of *tokapus* in the Inca culture and indigenous colonial society of Cuzco (Timberlake 2008; Ziólkowski et al. 2008). In both cases, a closed and well-defined collection of geometric and figurative signs was used as ideographic inscriptions and noble coats of arms in the decoration of *unku* shirts and other parts of ceremonial clothing, on one hand, and of the *keros*, on the other. It seems that in the sphere of Wari and Tiwanaku political culture, as with the Inca (Cummins 2007), costume, headdress, and the *kero* played the role of material symbols of power, both in life and death, as demonstrated by burial goods. For these reasons, there is little doubt that each one of the signs used by the Tiwanaku and Wari artisans led to a concrete meaning, one that was easy for competent users and observers to decode, just like coats of arms in colonial Spanish societies. It is reasonable to suspect that the symbol of a bird (Isbell 2001:Figure 19) is related to the sphere of the air and heavens, the fish or otter with water, and the feline (see how it alternates with the bird: Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 6.3) or deer with the earth. These symbols could therefore indicate general classifying categories, comparable with ideas about *collana*, *payan*, and *cayao* in Inca *quechua* or terms referring to the *sayas* and *suyus* (Zuidema 2011). The staff deities, both those represented in frontal or in profile view, share the same system of signs-glyphs in their attire and attributes. However, the selection of number, types of glyphs, and their combination varies from case to case. Only in some cases the combination is repeated and we can say with certainty that this is the same character, portrayed in

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 21.14. Double spout and bridge bottle decorated with a front-face supernatural, whose halo contains three tri-feathers. Photo by Milosz Giersz.

different images by the same or a different artisan. We therefore consider that the identity of each deity—name, range of action, and powers—was indicated by the particular combination of glyphs. The respective pose suggests the high (frontal pose) or lower (profile pose) status of each deity relative to the other supernatural beings in the same iconographic context but not their identity. In another publication (Makowski 2001), we have established grounds for a hypothesis of possible similarity between the Tiwanaku pantheon and the Inca pantheon, with its four supreme masculine deities: Punchao, Huanacauri, Illapa, and Viracocha. Knobloch's (2010) recent studies on Huari iconography coincide with Makowski's (2001) hypothesis about the existence of an abundant pantheon of deities in Ayacucho, whose personality—name, rank, powers, and scope of action—was expressed through a combination of signs-glyphs. On the other hand, the posture, whether frontal or profile, offers a circumstantial reading of the rank between the characters represented next to one another. This hypothesis offers an explanation of the surprising variety of frontal and haloed faces etched on the silver feathers found at Pomacanchi near Cusco (Chávez 1984–1985). Only in two cases (Chávez 1984–1985:Figures 14, 15) is the design identical. In the 13 remaining cases, the repertoire of glyphs varies, both in the way they alternate and in the number of feathers (Chávez 1984–1985:Figure 9, 11, 13, 14, or 16) in the halo. One feather shows a feline head in profile, and two are not decorated. Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that this emblem was used over the forehead as an essential part of dress; it denoted the noble origin of its wearer, his high rank and referred, in a coded manner, to the history of his lineage. As Chávez (1984–1985) emphasized, many of these faces have parallels in the iconography of the south highlands, but others do not, and these are linked more closely to the Wari sphere.

These last conclusions explain, at least partially, the probable origin of the deep difference between craft workshops whose artisans were skilled in using all the Tiwanaku visual codes (Figure 21.9–21.11) and all other crafts workers (Figure 21.12–21.14). These Tiwanaku-initiated craftsmen were creative in conjugating shapes, designs, and foreign techniques with materials and shapes of local origin to produce objects, clothing, and ceremonial vessels whose high quality and exotic style must have greatly impressed the native peoples of Ayacucho or Cusco. Artisans who worked in these workshops were capable of creating images of supernatural beings, possibly originating in the local imaginary, be it Huarpa or Nazca, as well as the deities from the shores of Lake Titicaca, doing so by using all the conventions of SAIS art, including the complex and hermetic repertoire of signs-glyphs. They were the ones responsible for creating a specific Wari imperial style. There is a consensus among experts in the field that the users of the artifacts produced by these workshops represent the pinnacle of the Wari governing elite. According to the hypothesis of Knobloch (2010), the recurring associations between human characters with characteristic adornment and supernatural beings alluded to the political relationships between diverse elites.

We must remember that the second group of Wari artifacts is different from the first because, although their producers used the figurative repertoire and conventions of Tiwanaku, as well as some of the media such as the *kero* and the *unku*, they systematically abstained from using figurative signs-glyphs. These symbols were replaced by redundant signs such as the bipartite or tripartite feather that appears on all representations of Tiwanaku supernatural beings without fail. On the other hand, it is interesting to note the exceptionally small number of feathers on the headdress or halo. Frontal deities in the first stylistic group of artifacts, when they are represented with all the details that allow them to be identified as hypothetical supreme gods, have more than 12 feathers and usually 24 (Makowski 2001, 2002). This number is related to the hierarchical position within the pantheon; the more feathers, the higher the rank. This could mean that the artisans whose work is classified

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

in the second group are merely creating generic imitations of subordinate characters of the Wari pantheon, among which is the famous "Pachacamac Griffin" and the "humped animal."

In contrast to first order art, the second group is made up of artifacts produced both in the Ayacucho Basin and in different cultural regions throughout the sphere of Wari influence. While we do not have precise statistics, there is no doubt that the second group of artifacts is much more common than the first, given that it is made up of pieces in widely disseminated styles such as Chakipampa (Millones 2001:387), Atarco from Nasca (Menzel 1968b:Figures 10, 19), Viñaque (Millones 2001:361, 367, 391, 395; Huamanga (Ochatoma Paravicino 1998:Figure 10; Cabrera Romero and Ochatoma Paravicino 2016:Figures 8–11), Pachacamac (Kaulicke 2001:Figures 15, 16, 25, 32; Millones 2001:363, 421, 423, 429, 431), and some regional styles like Josjopa (Millones 2001:365) and Wari Norteño (Larco Hoyle 1948; Prümers 2001:Figure 8). Furthermore, the vessels that constitute the media for this iconography often have shapes with long antecedents in the local area (Figures 21.12–14). Consequently, it is clear that the producers of these objects did not know the complex mythical contents that form part of the dynastic oral traditions of the supreme rulers; they had no intention, or no right, to reproduce them. They merely imitated the emblems of SAIS iconography with the goal of emulating the imperial style. Judging by the context in which these artifacts, produced by this group of workshops, are found—in the burials of provincial elite and administrators of varying rank—the users of these objects ranked among the lower level elite, those not related to the noble families of Ayacucho.

The third group of artifacts considered diagnostic of the Middle Horizon includes objects whose decoration is completely or partially inspired by the Huari-Tiahuanaco designs, despite the fact that the technique and/or the type of medium, and sometimes even the iconographic theme, refer to a local origin. Frontal characters with staffs, whose shape and decoration refer to the Nazca tradition (Frame 1999:296–297, Plate 23) or Huarpa culture (Ravines 1977:Slide XXVI, Figure 30a), are a good example of the products of this third stylistic dialogue. According to the pioneering studies by Menzel (1964, 1968a, 1968b), and following her seriational reconstruction of stylistic trends, these objects should only appear in Epochs 1a, 2b, and 3, both before and after the hypothetical consolidation of imperial possession.

However, recent evidence from stratigraphic excavations of primary contexts along the coast, such as those in San José de Moro (Castillo and Cusicanqui 2016; Castillo et al. 2008; Rucabado 2008, 2009), in the valleys of Culebras and Huarmey (Giersz 2011, 2016; Giersz and Pardo 2014; Makowski, Giersz, and Przadka 2011; Prümers 2001; Przadka 2011), Cajamarquilla (Guerrero and Palacios 1994; Mogrovejo and Segura 2001; Valdez 2010), Pachacamac (Kaulicke 2001; Makowski 2016; Segura and Shimada 2010), Pisco (Anders 1990; Anders et al. 1994), or the Palpa Valley (Isla 2002), show clearly that local styles did not disappear in their respective regions. Quite the contrary. They continued to be produced albeit with eventual borrowings and changes.

Between approximately AD 700 and 1000, the Wari phenomenon was at its strongest in the central Andes. Nonetheless, alongside the Wari objects, other exotic styles appear in Middle Horizon 2 contexts (for example, Nievería, Cajamarca, Teatino, or Casma in San José de Moro; Castillo and Cusicanqui 2016; Castillo et al. 2008). There are signs that their influence in local pottery also has to be taken into account. Several researchers interpreted this as the failure of the expansionist attempts of the empire along the coast (Castillo and Cusicanqui 2016; Isbell and McEwan 1991:5–10) and even in the northern highlands (J. Topic 1991; T. Topic 1991), or the overall absence of any political entity with imperial characteristics (Earle and Jennings 2014; Jennings 2006; Shady 1982, 1988). However, these alternatives do not offer a convincing argument for the deep-seated change of technological habits (such as in the field of metallurgy: Lechtman 2003; Shimada 1999), or cultural practices during the Middle Horizon, and even less for the transformation of the iconography and power symbols. It is enough to remember that the Lambayeque rulers, between the ninth and tenth centuries, abandoned the Moche cup and headdresses, supplanting them with the universal Wari symbols: the *kero* (in gold, the *aquilla*) and the four-cornered hat (Rucabado 2008:182, Figures 2–4, 6, 16). The spread of these symbols all along the coast probably also coincided with the almost simultaneous abandonment of large regional centers such as Cerro del Oro in the Cañete Valley (Fernandini and Alexandrino 2016; Ruales 2001), Maranga and Cajamarquilla (Mogrovejo and Segura 2001), the Templo Viejo of Pachacamac during the Maranga Phase (Franco and Paredes 2001; Makowski 2016), Huacas del Sol and de la Luna (Uceda 2010:135, Table 1), Galindo, and Pampa Grande in the Lambayeque Valley (Shimada 1994:247, 254).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The persistence and predominance of the local styles during Middle Horizon 2, despite the probable success of Huari's expansionist policies, are also slowly being confirmed in the case of Cajamarca (Watanabe 2001), Huamachuco (J. Topic 1991; T. Topic 1991; J. Topic and T. Topic 1989), in the Callejón de Huaylas (Isbell 1997; Lau 2014) and the mountains of Cusco (Bauer 2004:55–56; Glowacki and McEwan 2002).

The alleged overwhelming impact of Wari imperial religious ideology merits an in-depth inspection. The author hopes to have shown that the hypothesis that a single deity of the sky or heavens, with an entourage of winged acolytes, such as the relief that adorns the Portada del Sol at Tiahuanaco, lacks support. Nor has the role of Pachacamac been proven as the hypothetical dissemination point of Wari imperial worship. There is no indication of local production of ceramics or textiles with Conchopata-type iconography, and the presence of Middle Horizon 2 materials at Pachacamac is quite limited (Kaulicke 2001). No monumental architecture of the period has been found either. The emblematic motif—the Pachacamac Griffin—is a subordinate supernatural character classified as belonging to our second group and, therefore, is not directly related to the central tenets of religious ideology of Wari elites. Judging by the limited number of finds of complex Wari-Tiwanaku iconography, the dissemination of the imperial elite religious ideology did not entail forsaking local forms of worship or pantheons of supernaturals. Eventually, local pantheons may have gone through restructuring—the change in hierarchical position of some deities in relation to others, as well as some syncretism. Polychrome bottles with Mochica-Wari decorations in relief (Castillo and Cusicanqui 2016; Larco 1948) or Lambayeque decoration (Sicán Temprano: Rucabado 2009) are good examples that illustrate probable ideological negotiations. Potters often imitated certain southern forms (for example, the *kero*, canteen bottle, double spout, and bridge bottle with highly divergent spouts) as well as compositional conventions from the same southern origins, transforming the appearance of characters and scenes from local repertoires that had deep regional histories (Rucabado 2009:Figures 115, 116, cat. 61). Some of the key deities of the local pantheon who were always shown in profile appear suddenly in front-face position, frequently with two objects held aloft (Figure 21.15), one in each hand. This surely represents Wari influence (Rucabado 2009:Figures 110, 115–117).

Very similar phenomena and mechanisms affect the long and coherent iconographic tradition of the coast during Middle Horizon 2b, 3, and 4, as defined by Menzel's (1968b) terminology. The area of most significant influence covers a great part of the coast from Lambayeque in the north (Huaca Chotuna: Donnan 1990, 2011) to Lurín in the south (Pachacamac idol: Dulanto 2001). Textiles seem to be the medium that most facilitated the spread of new religious images (Makowski 2006; Makowski, Rosenzweig, and Jiménez 2006:75–81, cat. 37–42, 94–95, cat. 55, 56, 105, cat. 65, 136, cat. 194). The most consistent and complex expressions of ceramics come from the area between Virú and Huarmey valleys (Wilson 1988:259–261, Figures 248, 249, 250, 255), often referred to in Peru as the "Norte Chico." New imagery appears on ceramics of the Casma press-molded style (Carrion Cachot 1959) and closely related styles like Huaura (Usera Mata 1972; Vallejo Berríos 2010). The results of our research in the Culebras Valley (Giersz 2007; Przadka n.d.; Przadka and Giersz 2003) support interpretations expressed in the literature (Menzel 1977; Shimada 1991:LI–LIV) that these particular styles arose along the southern borders of the Moche world. To judge by their appearance, some of the key characters seem to come from the Moche pantheon (Figure 21.15). Others could have Recuay roots, as Carrion Cachot (1959) clearly demonstrates; some could originate in local oral traditions that were not translated into a physical medium until the Middle Horizon. Nevertheless, both the composition and the secondary characters were inspired by southern models from Huari.

Figure 21.15. Canteen bottle with "ear handles." Photo by Milosz Giersz.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Following this line of reasoning, the third group of Middle Horizon artifacts was manufactured in workshops that produced for local governing elite. They might choose foreign techniques, media, or compositional conventions for several reasons. First of all, it was attractive to copy the exotic styles, related to a successful foreign power whose tentacles were reaching toward the areas where the producers and consumers lived. Once the area was subordinated by the lords of Ayacucho, there was even more reason to emulate characteristics of imperial iconography and style. Vassals of diverse origins who represented the Ayacucho lords locally may have been important promoters of the foreign styles. These newcomer elites, being in the minority, doubtless had to negotiate with the local majorities.

We have come to the conclusion that the name "Wari or Huari" is assigned to the decorated pottery, which was produced, respectively, for the nobles of Huari lineage, the elites who represented the Wari government at local levels, and the non-Huari elites as governors of the post-Wari states. Such ceramics were produced locally, with rare exceptions, with the participation of artisans skilled in techniques and iconographic repertoires of foreign origin. These artisans had to be displaced from their places of origin by a state power. Hence the conclusion that the Wari phenomenon was essentially political. Neither the hypothetical trade exchanges in the absence of a significant number of imports nor the diffusion of religious beliefs offer plausible alternatives of interpretation.

It is not about the selective adoption of certain foreign gods or efficient proselytizing by the religions that has been inferred. Important to remember is the fact that in the Huari capital, no pyramids, snuff tables, or incense burners have been found to date that are similar to those of Tiwanaku.

Some Inferences about the Political and Religious Organization of the Huari Empire

The hypothesis we have just presented is very similar to recent interpretations of the sociopolitical dimension within which the imperial style of Tahuantinsuyu was exhibited (Burger 2007; Cummins 2007; D'Altroy 2010). As in the Inca case, the birth of the alleged empire in Ayacucho is related to dramatic breaks in the continuity of material culture. Very few Huarpa traits and techniques remain in the production of Middle Horizon pottery (Knobloch 1986 [1983]; Ochatoma Paravicino 2007). For the domestic habits of a relatively isolated preindustrial society (Huarpa) to change dramatically through the adoption of foreign customs, and for this transformation to express itself in the generalized use of alien vessel shapes and decorations, a strong physical presence of these foreigners is necessary. Furthermore, these aliens must have had a place of privilege in the social hierarchy. And it is so; several material indications show the presence of elites native to the south highlands. The metalwork and the monumental funeral architecture, with its characteristic carved stonework (Pérez 2001), as well as the canals built with carved and fitted segments, are unquestionably of foreign origin. Although an eventual northern origin has been suggested for the orthogonal design of Wari places of power (J. Topic and T. Topic 2001), stone carving and colorful plasterwork techniques suggest, in the author's opinion, that the inspiration came from Tiahuanaco. Around Lake Titicaca in the south highlands, a long tradition of orthogonal architectural forms exists, often constituting quadrangular buildings around a rectangular patio.

The most spectacular finds of artifacts that can be classified in our Group 1, considering the expertise required of their creators in managing the Tiwanaku repertoire and conventions, come from planned architectural contexts at Conchopata and Huari. There is no doubt, therefore, that the governing lineages took pains to emphasize their foreign origin through headdresses, *unkus*, and *keros*, without this entailing the marginalization or domination of traditions kept by other lineages of different origins. In the dress and paraphernalia of worship used by these latter kin groups, motifs and shapes of Huarpa or Nazca origin retained a higher degree of continuity. We agree with Cook (2001) that, despite several differences, there is a notable similarity between the power strategies of the Incas and the Wari. Recent findings and studies of the project directed by Isbell and Cook (2002) offer evidence that suggests that a good part of the unfolding iconography that can be observed on objects from our first group was directed toward the spread of dynastic myths, in which Lake Titicaca would have been marked as the place of origin for the governing lineages of Ayacucho. The stone statues, the sunken courtyards, and the carved funerary chambers (Makowski 2010; Pérez 2001) in the unquestionable style reported for Tiahuanaco (Protzen and Nair 2002) had the same purposes.

The political and religious function of the artifacts we have assigned to our second and third groups has Inca analogies, when keeping a sense of proportion and respecting the differences, with the functions of aryballos,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

bottles, *keros*, and *unkus* in the provincial Inca and hybrid styles (for example, Chimú-Inca, Casma-Inca). These costumes and ceramics were likely part of the paraphernalia associated with libation rituals that were the main event during the local replicas of imperial religious celebrations, like those that took place in courtyards in front of or around Inca *ushnu* altars. It is to be supposed that in the provinces, as in Cuzco, political pacts were renewed during these celebrations, power hierarchies received religious legitimization, and young warriors participated in rites of passage that determined their induction into the noble lineage. Both in the times of Tawantinsuyu and in the Wari epoch, the differences between the imperial style and its imitations seem to be in direct relation to the political rank of the ceremony and its leader. The objects in the imperial style and its provincial copies were destined for use by elites who represented the central power in the ceremonies dedicated to worshipping the deities who protected the reigning lineage. On the other hand, clothing and other objects in the local style, distinguished by a more or less notable influence from imperial style, were designated for the celebrations offered to local and regional gods, whether or not they were linked with the official religious doctrine. In the midst of these similarities, there are also differences between the political strategies of both empires, Wari and Inca, in regards to the use of iconography as a way to spread the religious ideologies of those in power. As is well known, there is only one Inca imperial style with a basically Cusco origin, with a very idiomatic iconography, inaccessible to those who were not initiated into its language of mainly geometric and phytomorphic signs. In contrast, the Wari governing elites did not try to promote a single style of material culture related to the exercise of power. Their political strategies were probably much more inclusive, which makes manifest an open dialogue between the local and the foreign through a multitude of styles related to each other by recurrent borrowings.

These conclusions, although somewhat obvious, are very useful in evaluating the applicability of models of imperial power used consistently in the second half of the twentieth century. In these models, the material culture of the Wari empire is conceived as similar to modern totalitarian states, characterized by universal and dominant imposition of an official style, a universe of shapes and designs, and a highly bureaucratic system of secular administration, brought together by hypothetical administrative centers and places of tribute collection. The henotheistic religion, the cult of the "Staff God" and his winged acolytes, substantiates a centralized and tyrannical power structure that was based on coercion. The conquered regional states were also interpreted in a similar manner, as entities that were each made up of a uniform ethnic culture in all aspects and cemented by shared religion and funerary customs (see the case of Moche: Castillo and Quilter 2010; Fash 2010).

Neither the discussion about the characteristics of the development of preindustrial states and empires nor the analysis of excavated sites or iconography has provided arguments for such an imperial model. On the contrary, as systematic excavations have moved forward, a multidimensional political reality is emerging, one that is highly dynamic and involving a great number of social actors, some allies and others rivals. Groups that spoke different languages were able to share a common tongue while they differed in their lifestyles, dress, and customs. They negotiated or fought over water, agricultural land and pastures, and free passage along caravan routes, all within the framework of a constantly changing political situation and environmental background. Neither the regional states nor the empire had the technological means to uniformly deploy bureaucratic or military control throughout the conquered lands, lacking teams of animals or ships able to transport great quantities of provisions and troops. The central Andean environment, with its wide expanses of desert and arid mountains separating valley oases, did not make this task any easier. In this context, the hegemonic system, based as it was on alliances sealed by marriages and ritual kinships, was the only viable option to keep control over conquered peoples and territories for multiple generations.

It is to be expected that an imperial hegemony would not leave the same material traces that a territorial administrative system would in the archaeological record. The place of administrative centers in the landscape of power is occupied by the necropolis of the elite and palace-temple complexes in whose courtyards and covered spaces ceremonies were held honoring common ancestors, both real and mythical. Both Conchopata and Castillo de Huarmey, recently excavated by Giersz, Makowski, and Przadka (Giersz and Pardo 2014; Makowski 2014; see also Prümers 2001) have the characteristics described above. The relationship between the building of *chullpa* funerary monuments in the mountains and the Wari expansion (Isbell 1997) is noteworthy. Few, but eloquent, details in the funeral goods of a local *curaca* (local chief and magistrate) indicate that he had agreed to continue governing as a vassal representing a foreign power: the *unku* or an exotic headpiece and a *kero*, as well as other goods

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

brought from far away, following the new network of alliances. It is noteworthy that the exchange of luxury goods among the elite did not happen within the framework of a general market economy, as Shady (1988) seems to suggest in her controversial article negating the existence of the Wari empire.

Acknowledgments

Translated from Spanish by Wendy Alcantara (and revised by William H. Isbell). The author thanks William Isbell for the revision of this text. Any errors are of course the sole responsibility of the author.

Notes

1 This chapter chooses the transcription "Tiahuanaco" and "Huari" for the site and its objects, according to the traditional Spanish usage and as recommended by Rodolfo Cerrón Palomino, since it refers to voices from different prehispanic languages whose phonetics are unknown and according to the orthographic convention proposed by William Isbell. The transcription "Tiwanaku" and "Wari" will be used for the culture and objects from other places.

References

Agüero Piwonka, Carolina, Manuel Uribe, and José Berenguer Rodríguez
2003 La iconografía Tiwanaku. El caso de la escultura lítica. *Textos antropológicos* 14(2):47–82.

Albarracín-Jordan, Juan

Anders, Martha
1990 Maymi: un sitio del Horizonte Medio en el valle de Pisco. *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* 5(17):27–39.

Anders, Martha, Victor Chang, Luis Tokuda, and Sonia Quiroz
1994 Producción cerámica del Horizonte Medio Temprano en Maymi, valle de Pisco, Perú. In *Tecnología y organización de la producción de cerámica prehispánica en los Andes*, edited by Izumi Shimada, pp. 249–267. Fondo Editorial PUCP, Lima.

Bauer, Brian S.
2004 *Ancient Cuzco. Heartland of the Inca*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Berenguer Rodriguez, José
2000. *Tiwanaku: Lords of the Sacred Lake*. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.

Bergh, Susan E.
1999 Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics. PhD dissertation, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, New York.

2009 The Bird and the Camelid (or Deer): A Ranked Pair of Wari Tapestry Tunics? In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 225–245. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Buckholder, JoEllen
2002 La cerámica de Tiwanaku: ¡que indica su variabilidad? *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:337–373.

Burger, Richard
2007 The Archaeology of Inca Power: Concluding Thought. In *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power*, edited by Richard L. Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramiro Matos Mendieta, pp. 423–437. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Cabrera Romero, Martha, and José Ochatoma Paravicino
2016 El estilo Huamanga: formas e iconografía de la cerámica doméstica durante el imperio Wari. In *Nuevas perspectivas en la organización política wari*, *Andes* n°9, *Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 322, edited by Milosz Giersz and Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 287–330. Varsovia, Lima.

Carrion Cachot, Rebeca
1959 *La religión en el antiguo Perú*. Tipografía Peruana, Lima.

Castillo, Luis Jaime, and Solsiré Cusicanqui
2016 Mochicas y Cajamarcas en la costa norte del Perú. Una historia de encuentros y desencuentros. In *Moche y sus vecinos. Reconstruyendo identidades*, edited by Cecilia Pardo and Julio Rucabado, pp. 82–99, Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima.

Castillo, Luis Jaime, and Jeffrey Quilter
2010 An Overview of Past and Current Theories and Research on Moche Political Organization. In *New Perspectives on Moche Political Organization*, edited by Jeffrey Quilter and Luis Jaime Castillo, pp. 1–16. Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Castillo, Luis Jaime, Julio Rucabado, Martín del Carpio, Katiusha Bernuy, Karim Ruiz, Carlos Rengifo, Gabriel Prieto, and Carole Fraresso
2008 Ideología y poder en la consolidación, colapso y reconstitución del estado Mochica del Jequetepeque: el Proyecto Arqueológico San José de Moro (1991–2006). *Ñawpa Pacha* 29:1–86.

Chávez, Sergio J.
1984–1985 Funerary Offerings from a Middle Horizon Context in Pomacanchi, Cuzco. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:1–48.
2002 Identification of the Camelid Women and Feline Man Themes, Motifs and Designs in Pucara Style Pottery. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 35–69. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2004 The Yaya Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 70–93. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Conklin, William J.

1983 Pucará and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition. *Ñawpa Pacha* 21:1–44.

1991 Tiahuanaco and Huari: Architectural Comparisons and Interpretations. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by W. H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, pp. 281–291. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Cook, Anita G.

1984–1985 The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:49–90.

1994 *Wari y Tiwanaku: Entre el Estilo y la Imagen*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

2001 Las deidades huari y sus orígenes altiplánicos. In *Los dioses del antiguo Perú*, compiled by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 39–65. Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Cook, G. Anita, and Nancy L. Benco

2001 Vajillas para la fiesta y la fama: producción artesanal en un centro urbano Huari. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:489–504.

Couture, Nicole C.

2004 Monumental Space, Courtly Style, and Elite Life at Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 127–135. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Couture, Nicole C., and Kathryn Sampeck

2003 Putuni: A History of Palace Architecture at Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Vol. 2. Urban and Rural Archaeology: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, edited by Alan L. Kolata, pp. 226–263. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Curatola, Marco

2008 La función de oráculos en el imperio inca. In *Adivinación y oráculos en el mundo andino antiguo*, edited by Marco Curatola and Mariusz Ziólkowski, pp. 15–70. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Cummins, Tom

2007 Queros, Aquillas, Uncus and Chulpas: The Composition of Inka Artistic Expression and Power. In *Variation in the Expression of Inka Power*, edited by R. L. Burger, C. Morris, and R. Matos Mendieta, pp. 267–322. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

D'Altroy, Terence N.

2010 Los Señores del Quinto Sol: El poder material e inmaterial en el Tahuantinsuyu. In *Señores en los Imperios del Sol*, edited by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 111–126. Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Donnan, Christopher

1968 An Association of Middle Horizon Epoch 2A Specimens of the Chicama Valley. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6: 15-18.

1990 The Chotuna Friezes and the Chotuna-Dragón Connection. In *The Northern Dynasties: Kinship and Statecraft in Chimor*, edited by Michael E.Moseley and Alana Cordy-Collins, pp. 275–296. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

2011 *Chotuna and Chornancap. Excavating an Ancient Peruvian Legend*. UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, Los Angeles.

Dulanto, Jalh

2001 Dioses de Pachacamac: el ídolo y el templo. In *Dioses del Antiguo Perú II*, compiled by K. Makowski, pp. 159–181. Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Earle, Timothy, and Justin Jennings

2014 Remodelling the Political Economy of the Wari Empire. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 16:209–226.

Fash, William L.

2010 An Outsider's Reflections on Moche Political Organization. In *New Perspectives on Moche Political Organization*, edited by Jeffrey Quilter and Luis Jaime Castillo, pp. 1–16. Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Fernandini, Francesca, and Grace Alexandrino

2016 Cerro de Oro, desarrollo local, cambio y continuidad durante el Periodo Intermedio Temprano y el Horizonte Medio. In *Nuevas perspectivas en la organización política wari*, *Andes n°9*, *Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines 322*, edited by Milosz Giersz and Krzysztof Makowski, pp.171–216. Varsovia, Lima.

Franco, Régulo, and Ponciano Paredes

2001 El Templo Viejo de Pachacamac: nuevos aportes al estudio del Horizonte Medio. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:607–630.

Giersz, Milosz

2011 Los guardianes de la frontera sur: la presencia moche en Culebras y Huarmey. In *Arqueología de la Costa de Ancash*, *Andes n°8*, *Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines 290*, edited by Milosz Giersz and Iván Ghezzi, pp. 271–310. Varsovia, Lima.

2016 Castillo de Huarmey: centro político wari en la costa norte del Perú. In *Nuevas perspectivas en la organización política wari*, *Andes n°9*, *Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines 322*, edited by Milosz Giersz and Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 217–262. Varsovia, Lima.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Giersz, Milosz, and Cecilia Pardo (editors)
2014 *Castillo de Huarmey, El Museo Imperial Wari*. Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima.

Guerrero, Daniel, and Jhonatan Palacios
1994 El surgimiento del estilo Nievería en el valle de Rimac. *Boletín de Lima* 91–96:275–311.

Glowacki, Mary
2005 Pottery from Pikillacta. In *Pikilllacta, the Wari Empire in Cuzco*, edited by Gordon McEwan, pp. 100–113. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Glowacki, Mary, and Gordon McEwan
2002 Pikillacta, Huaro y la gran Región del Cuzco: Nuevas interpretaciones de la ocupación Wari de la Sierra Sur. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:31–49.

Gonzalez, Carré Enrique, Enrique Bragayrac Davila, Cirilo Vivanco Pomacanchari, Vera Tiesler Blos, and Máximo Lopez Quispe
1996 *El templo mayor en la ciudad de Wari*. Estudios Arqueológicos de Vegachayoq Moqo-Ayacucho, Laboratorio de Arqueología, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Ayacucho.

Guerrero, Daniel, and Jonathan Palacios
1994 El surgimiento del estilo Nievería en el valle de Rimac. *Boletín de Lima* 91–96:275–311.

Haeberli, Joerg
2002 Tiempo y tradición en Arequipa, Perú y el surgimiento del tema de la Deidad Central, in Huari y Tiahuanaco. Modelos vs. Evidencias. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:89–138.

Isbell, William H.
1991 Conclusion: Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by W. Isbell and G. McEwan, pp. 293–315. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
1997 *Mummies and Mortuary Monuments: A Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Organization*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2001a Huari y Tiahuanaco, Arquitectura, Identidad y Religión. In *Los dioses del antiguo Perú*, compiled by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 1–37. Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.
2001b Repensando el Horizonte Medio: el caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Perú. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:9–68.
2006 Landscape of Power: A Network of Palaces in Middle Horizon Peru. In *Palaces and Power in the Americas*, edited by J. J. Christie and P. J. Sarro, pp. 44–98. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2009 Huari: A New Direction in Central Andean Urban Evolution. In *Domestic Life in Prehispanic Capitals: A Study of Specialization, Hierarchy, and Ethnicity*, edited by L. Manzanilla and C. Chapdelaine, pp. 197–219. Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan 46, Studies in Latin American Ethnohistory & Archaeology 7, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Isbell, William H., and Anita G. Cook
1987 Ideological Origins of an Andean Conquest State. *Archaeology* 40(4):26–33.
2002 A New Perspective on Conchopata and the Andean Middle Horizon. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by W. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 435–467. Springer, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by W. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.
2009 SAIS: The Origin, Development, and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 165–210. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Isbell, William H., and Gordon McEwan (editors)
1991 *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Isla, Johny
2001 Wari en Palpa y Nasca: perspctivas desde el punto de vista funerario. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:555–584.

Janusek, John W.
2001 Diversidad residencial y el surgimiento de la complejidad en Tiwanaku. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:251–294.
2008 *Ancient Tiwanaku*. Case Studies in Early Societies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
2010 El surgimiento del urbanismo en Tiwanaku y del poder político en el altiplano andino. In *Señores de los Imperios del Sol*, edited by Krzysztof Makowski, 39–56. Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Jennings, Justin
2006 Understanding Middle Horizon Peru: Hermeneutic Spirals, Interpretative Traditions, and Wari Administrative Centers. *Latin American Antiquity* 16:265–286.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Kaulicke, Peter
1997 *Contextos funerarios de Ancón. Esbozo de una síntesis analítica*. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
2001 La sombra Pachacamac: Huari en la costa central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:313–358.

Knobloch, Patricia J.
1986 [1983] A Study of the Andean Huari Ceramics of Middle Horizon 1. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York, Binghamton.
1991 Stylistic Date of Ceramics from the Huari centers. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by W. Isbell and G. McEwan, pp. 247–258. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
2000 Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata: An Interpretation of *Anadenanthera colubrina* Iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(4):387–402.
2001 La Cronología del Contacto y Encuentros Cercanos de Wari. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:69–87.
2002 Who Was Who? In the Middle Horizon Andean Prehistory. Retrieved April 2008 from http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~bharley/WWWHome.html
2010 La imagen de los señores Wari y la recuperación de una identidad antigua. In *Los señores de los imperios del Sol*, compiled by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 197–2009. Banco de Crédito, Lima.

Kolata, Alan (editor)
2003a *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Vol. 2. Urban and Rural Archaeology: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
2003b Tiwanaku Ceremonial Architecture and Urban Organization. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Vol. 2. Urban and Rural Archaeology: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, edited by Alan Kolata, pp. 175–201. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
2004 The Flow of Cosmic Power: Religion, Ritual and People of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 96–113. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Korpissari, Antti, and Martti Pärssinen
2005 *Pariti: Isla, Misterio y Poder. El tesoro Cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*. CIMA, La Paz.

Larco Hoyle, Rafael
1948 *Cronología arqueológica del norte del Perú*. Sociedad de Arqueología Americana, Buenos Aires.

Lau, George
2014 Intercultural Relations in Northern Peru: The North Central Highlands during the Middle Horizon. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 16:23–51.

Lechtman, Heather
2003 Middle Horizon Bronze: Centers and Outliers. In *Pattern and Process*, edited by Lambertus van Zelst, pp. 248–268. Smithsonian Center for Materials Research and Education, Suitland, Maryland.

Lechtman Heather, and Andrew W. McFarlane
2006 Bronce y redes de intercambio andino durante el Horizonte Medio: Tiwanaku y San Pedro de Atacama. In *Esferas de interacción prehistóricas y fronteras nacionales modernas: Los Andes Sur Centrales*, edited by Heather Lechtman, pp. 503–539. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

Lyon, Patricia
1978 Female Supernaturals in Ancient Perú. *Ñawpa Pacha* 16:95–140.

Makowski, Krzysztof
2001 El Panteón tiahuanaco y las deidades con báculos. In *Los dioses del antiguo Perú*, compiled by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 67–110. Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.
2002 Los Personajes frontales de báculos en la iconografía tiahuanaco y huari: ¿tema o convención? *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:337–373.
2006 Late Pre-Hispanic Styles and Cultures of the Peruvian North Coast: Lambayeque, Chimú, Casma. In *Weaving for the Afterlife. Peruvian Textiles from the Maiman Collection*, Vol. II, edited by Krzysztof Makowski, Alfredo Rosenzweig, Maria Jesús Jiménez, and Jan Szeminski, pp. 67–102. AMPAL Merhav, Tel Aviv.
2009 Royal Statues, Staff Gods, and the Religious Ideology of the Prehistoric State of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 133–164, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.
2010 Vestido, arquitectura y mecanismos del poder en el Horizonte Medio. In *Señores de los Imperios del Sol*, compiled by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 57–71. Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Makowski, Krzysztof, Milosz Giersz, and Patrycja Przadka
2011 La guerra y la paz en el valle de Culebras: hacia una arqueología de fronteras. In: *Arqueología de la Costa de Ancash, Andes* n°8, *Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines 290*, edited by Milosz Giersz and Iván Ghezzi, pp. 231–270. Varsovia, Lima.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2014 Imperial Elites and the Symbols of Power. In *Castillo de Huarmey. El Mausoleo imperial Wari*, edited by Milosz Giersz and Cecilia Pardo, pp. 313–320. Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima.

2016 Las excavaciones de Régulo Franco y Ponciano Paredes en el Templo Viejo y los orígenes de Pachacamac. In *Templo Viejo de Pachacamac: dioses, arquitectura, sacrificios y ofrendas*, edited by Régulo G. Franco Jordán and Ponciano F. Paredes Botoni, pp. 13–35. Fundación Wiese, Institute of Andean Studies, Lima.

Makowski, Krzysztof, Alfredo Rosenzweig, and Maria Jesús Jiménez (editors)

2006 *Weaving for the Afterlife. Peruvian: Textiles from the Maiman Collection*, Vol. I. AMPAL Merhav, Tel Aviv.

McEwan, Gordon

1998 The Function of Niched Halls in Wari Architecture. *Latin American Antiquity* 9(1):65–86.

2005 *Pikillacta: The Wari Empire in Cuzco*. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Menzel, Dorothy

1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–105.

1968a New Data on the Huari Empire in Middle Horizon Epoch 2A. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:47–114.

1968b *La cultura Huari. Las grandes civilizaciones del antiguo Perú 6*. Compañía de Seguros y Reaseguros Peruano-Suiza, Lima.

1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Millones, Luis (compiler)

2001 *Wari. Arte Precolombino Peruano*. Colección América, Fundación El Monte, Sevilla.

Mogrovejo, Juan, and Rafael Segura

2001 El Horizonte Medio en el conjunto arquitectónico Julio C. Tello de Cajamarquilla. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:565–582.

Molina, Cristóbal de

1989 [ca. 1575] *Fábulas y mitos de los Incas*. Edited by Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols. Historia 16, Madrid.

Oakland Rodman, Amy, and Arabel Fernández

2001 Los tejidos huari y tiwanaku: comparaciones y contextos. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:119–130.

Ochatoma Paravicino, José

1988 *Aqo Wayqo. Poblado rural de la época wari*. CONCYTEC, Lima.

2007 *Alfareros del Imperio Huari: Vida Cotidiana y Áreas de Actividad en Conchopata*. Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Ayacucho.

Ochatoma Paravicino, José, and Martha Cabrera Romero

2001a Arquitectura y Áreas de Actividad en Conchopata. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:449–488.

2001b Ideología Religiosa y Organización Militar en la Iconografía del Área Ceremonial de Conchopata. In *Wari: Arte Precolombino Peruano*, edited by Luis Millones, pp. 173–211. Centro Cultural el Monte, Lima.

2002 Religious Ideology and Military Organization in the Iconography of a D-Shaped Ceremonial Precinct at Conchopata. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by H. Silverman and W. Isbell, pp. 225–247. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Pérez, Ismael

2001 Estructuras megalíticas funerarias en el complejo Huari. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:505–548.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos

1964 *Descripción sumaria del Templete Semisubterráneo de Tiwanaku*. Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Tiwanaku, La Paz.

1972 *Tiwanaku: Espacio, tiempo y cultura*. Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia, La Paz.

Portugal Ortiz, Max

1998 *Escultura prehispánica boliviana*. Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, La Paz.

Posnanski, Arturo

1957 *Tihuanacu: la cuna del hombre americano*. Ministerio de Educación, La Paz.

Protzen, Jean-Pierre, and Stella Nair

2002 Pumapunku: plataformas y portales. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:337–373.

Proulx, Donald

2008 Paracas and Nazca: Regional Cultures on the South Coast of Peru. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 563–586. Springer, New York.

Prümers, Heiko

2001 "El Castillo de Huarmey": una plataforma funeraria del Horizonte Medio. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:289–312.

Przadka-Giersz, Patrycja

2011 La presencia casma, chimú e inca en el valle de Culebras. In *Arqueología de la Costa de Ancash, Andes n°8, Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines 290*, edited by Milosz Giersz and Iván Ghezzi, pp. 327–356. Varsovia, Lima.

Ravines, Rogger

1968 Un depósito de ofrendas del Horizonte Medio en la sierra central del Perú. *Ñawpa Pacha* 5:19–45.

1977 Excavaciones en Ayapata. *Ñawpa Pacha* 15:49–100.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Rodríguez Carpio, Gonzalo Javier
2004 *Urnas de Conchopata: contextos, imágenes e interpretaciones*. Tesis para optar el título de Licenciado en Arqueología, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (2004), Lima.

Ruales, Mario
2001 Investigaciones en Cerro del Oro, valle de Cañete. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:359–400.

Rucabado, Julio
2008 En los dominios de Naylamp. In *Señores de los Reinos de la Luna*, compiled by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 183–200. Coleccón Arte y Tesoros del Perú, Lima, Banco de Crédito del Perú.
2009 Transformaciones estilísticas en el bajo Jequetepeque durante el Periodo Horizonte Medio. In *De Cupisnique a los Incas. El arte del valle de Jequetepeque*, edited by Luis Jaime Castillo and Cecilia Pardo, pp. 244–265. Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima.

Schreiber, Katharina J.
1992 *Wari Imperialism in Middle Horizon Peru*. Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology University of Michigan, No. 87, Ann Arbor.

Schreiber, Katharina J., and Matthew J. Edwards
2010 Los centros administrativos huari y las manifestaciones físicas del poder imperial. In *Los señores de los imperios del Sol*, compiled by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 153–161. Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Segura, Rafael, and Izumi Shimada
2010 The Wari Footprint on the Central Coast. In: *Beyond Wari Walls. Regional Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru*, edited by Justin Jennings, pp. 113–135, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Shady, Ruth
1982 La cultura Nievería y la interacción social en el medio andino de la época Huari. *Arqueológicas* 19:5–108.
1988 La cultura Nievería y la interacción social en el mundo andino en la época Huari. *Revista Andina* 6(1):67–99.

Shimada, Izumi
1999 Sican Metallurgy and Its Cross-Craft Relationships. *Boletín del Museo del Oro* 41:26–61.

Silverman, Helaine
1997 The First Field Season of Excavation at the Alto del Molino Site, Pisco Valley, Peru. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24(4):441–457.

Stanish, Charles
2003 *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Tèllo, Julio C.
1923 Wira Kocha. *Inca* 1(1):93–320; 1(3):583–606.

Tello, Julio C., and Toribio Mejía Xesspe
1979 *Paracas. Segunda Parte. Cavernas y Necropolis*. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima.

Timberlake, Marie
2008 Tocapu in a Colonial Frame: Andean Space and the Semiotics of Painted Colonial Tocapu. In *Lenguaje visuales de los Incas*, edited by P. Gonzalez Carvajal and T. Bray, pp. 177–195. Archaeopress, Oxford.

Topic, John R.
1991 Huari and Huamachuco. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by W. Isbell and G. McEwan, pp. 141–164. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Topic, John, and Theresa Topic
1986 El Horizonte Medio en Huamachuco. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 47:12–52.

Topic, Theresa L.
1991 The Middle Horizon in Northern Peru. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by W. Isbell and G. McEwan, pp. 233–246. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Torres, M. Constantino
2002 Iconografía tiwanaku en la paraphernalia inhalatoria. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:427–454.

Trigger, Bruce
2003 *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Uceda Castillo, Santiago
2010 Relationships between the Temple and Urban Nucleus and Political Change at the Huacas de Moche. In *New Perspectives on Moche Political Organization*, edited by Jeffrey Quilter and Luis Jaime Castillo, pp.132–158. Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.

Uribe, Mauricio
2009 El Periodo Formativo de Tarapacá y su cerámica: Avances sobre complejidad social en la costa del Norte Grande de Chile (900 AC–800 DC). *Estudios Atacameños* 37:5–27.

Uribe, Mauricio, and Carolina Agüero
2002 Alfarería, textiles y la integración del norte grande de Chile a Tiwanaku. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 8:397–426.

Usera Mata, Luis de
1972 Una colección de cerámica del valle de Huaura, Perú. *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 7(2):191–234.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Valdez, Rafael E.
2010 Los trabajos de Max Uhle en el cementerio Nievería y su cronología a la luz de investigaciones recientes. In *Max Uhle (1856–1944). Evaluaciones de sus investigaciones y obras*, edited by Peter Kaulicke, Manuela Fischer, Peter Masson, and Gregor Wolff. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Vallejo, Francisco
2010 Evidencias arquelógicas de un nuevo estilo cerámico en el valle de Huaura para el Periodo Intermedio Tardío: El paso del Horizonte Medio al Intermedio Tardío. In *Arqueología del Perú. Nuevos aportes para el estudio de las sociedades andinas prehispánicas*, edited by Rubén Romero Velarde and Trine Pavel Svendsen, pp. 229–248. Anhen Impresiones, Lima.

Vranich, Alexeï
2009 The Development of the Ritual Core of Tiwanaku, In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 1–34. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Wallace, Dwight
1986 The Topara Tradition: An Overview. In: *Perspectives on Andean Prehistory and Protohistory: Papers from the Third Annual Northeast Conference on Andean Archaeology and Etnohistory*, edited by Daniel Sandweiss and Peter Kvietok. Cornell University, Latin American Program, Ithaca, New York.

Williams, Patrick Ryan, and Donna Nash
2002 Imperial Interaction in the Andes: Huari and Tiwanaku at Cerro Baúl. In *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, edited by W. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 243–265. Kluwer Academic, New York.

Wilson, David J.
1988 *Pre-Hispanic Settlement Patterns in the Lower Santa Valley, Peru: Regional Perspective on the Origins and Development of Complex North Coast Society*. Smithsonian Series in Archaeological Inquiry, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret
2004 The Art of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 24–69. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
2010 Los unkus de los señores del Sur: Huari y Tiahuanaco. In *Señores de los Imperios del Sol*, compiled by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 225–237. Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.

Ziólkowski, Mariusz S., Arabas Jaroslaw, and Jan Szeminski
2008 La Historia en los Queros: Apuntes acerca de la Relacion entre las Representaciones Figurativas y los Signos "Tocapus." In *Lenguaje visuales de los Incas*, edited by P. Gonzalez Carvajal and T. Bray, pp. 163–176. Archaeopress, Oxford.

Zuidema, Tom R.
2009 Tiwanaku Iconography and Calendar. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 83–100. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.
2011 *El calendario inca. Tiempo y espacio en la organización ritual del Cuzco. La idea del pasado.* Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Peru, Lima.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 22: Introduction

Snake, Fish, and Toad/Frog Iconography in the Ceramic Caches of Pariti, Bolivia

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 22, Martti Pärssinen addresses the issue of meaning in Tiwanaku–Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) iconography, employing what is surely the largest and most elaborate collection of art assignable to a single place and time in Tiwanaku archaeology, the spectacular Pariti cache. He argues that imagery on the marvelously painted and modeled ceramics from a closed, double-cache context excavated recently on the island of Pariti was intended to communicate a grand narrative or liturgical oration. This and other sets of icon-carriers could be arranged and "read" in sermons that surely also included costumed song, dance, and other drama before the symbolic objects were ceremonially "killed" and interred.

Taking up the challenge to attempt a reading, Pärssinen develops a fascinating set of arguments. His interpretations are informed by structural models derived from Inca ethnohistory. They also employ semiotic distinctions that Peirce made between iconic signs, indication signs, and symbolic signs. Pärssinen examines the implications of a particular and essential principle of Inca social and kinship structure, transformations among dual, ternary, and quaternary organizations, such as dualistic *hanansaya/hurinsaya*, *triadic qollana/payan/kayaw*, and quaternary Chinchaysuyu/Antisuyu/Collasuyu/Cuntisuyu. Transformation of a triad can take place by pairing two parts of a tripartite group and opposing the pair to the other: *qollana* and *payan* versus *kayaw* or *kayaw* and *payan* versus *qollana*. In such a structure, the Andean *chhulla* principle implies a missing fourth element, to oppose, or pair with, the lone element. Pärssinen works out this logic using relationships among the Tiwanaku triad: feline–avian–snake/fish (that, for reasons he discusses, are best related as *qollana*, first–*payan*, second, intermediary–*kayaw*, third, last; respectively). In Andean logic, this implies a fourth element and, for Pärssinen, frog/toad in much Tiwanaku art.

Pärssinen's interpretations are wide-ranging and exciting, with significant potentials for future breakthroughs. Indeed, combining Inca analogies with Andean structures and their logical transformations, bold arguments can be inferred. Exploring the logic of triadic Andean structure, in combination with self-evident iconic meanings, Pärssinen argues that if the crown of a Staff God or Rayed Head image is decorated with feline figures, best associated with *qollana* and first, the image probably represents the primary deity, such as the creator god Tunupa. However, if the crown depicts both feline and avian heads (*payan* and intermediate), lower status is affirmed, probably Tunupa's son Taapac (among other functions, a messenger). A Staff God headdress incorporating feline, avian, and snake heads (*kayaw* and last) would indicate a genealogically more distant deity such as Thunder and Lightning. Exclusive use of fish heads in the crown of a Staff God or Rayed Head should indicate Earth/Lake Mother.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Numerous ideas of meanings in Tiwanaku imagery are discussed, based on this creative combination of direct analogies with numeric, spatial, color, and other structures, considered in the context of transformations based on Andean logic. It appears that Pärssinen is laying the foundation of a system for interpreting prehistoric Andean imagery that, based on structuralism and analogy, may provide more of a basis for verification than has characterized much interpretive archaeology and its study of meaning. Can Pärssinen's approach work as convincingly with Tiwanaku art that has not come from such a perfect context as the Pariti cache, where everything probably participated in the same ritual event? If so, it may be possible to enter a new era of understanding and interpretation of the Andean past. Conversely, are structure and logic in Tiwanaku imagery so variable that little more can be identified by analysis than shared form in elements and themes—as implied by Torres's analysis (Chapter 11, this volume)? The answer lies in the research of the coming decade, with the insights Pärssinen has provided illuminating the way.

Readers are reminded that Pärssinen's analysis is facilitated by spectacular art and imagery associated in the Pariti cache or ceramic offering. More detailed description of the ceramics is presented in Chapter 7 by Antti Korpisaari, and although separated in the organization of this volume, readers may want to read the two chapters together. This article might also be read with Makowski's chapter (Chapter 21), which argues that variation in symbolic elements associated with diverse Staff God representations imply different deities—although on quite different grounds of logic and meaning.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 22

Snake, Fish, and Toad/Frog Iconography in the Ceramic Caches of Pariti, Bolivia

Martti Pärssinen

Two closely associated caches (Features 1 and 2) containing some 435 to 460 deliberately smashed ceramic vessels, some spectacularly decorated, as well as bones of at least 33 camelids, were excavated on Pariti Island (Lake Titicaca) by a Finnish-Bolivian research team as a part of the project "Formations and Transformations of Ethnic Identities in the South Central Andes, A.D. 700–1825," during 2004 and 2005. Best identified as offerings, the pits containing the caches appear to be at the end of a kind of a corridor and possibly in front of the entrance to an important Tiwanaku building (Figure 22.1). Radiocarbon dates published by Antti Korpisaari (Chapter 7, this volume) indicate that the double offering was made around AD 1000, while the building (perhaps a temple), which seems to have been closed by acts that included the offering, was constructed in the second half of the seventh century. It seems to have been rebuilt once (based on foundation stones in two different stratigraphic levels) but eventually demolished.

Excavations in Units 11 and 12, realized in 2006, exposed large wall stones that had collapsed or been pulled down. Space between the stones was full of carbon and incinerated earth, documenting a burning. Above the large wall stones were hundreds of smaller stones (ca. 5–20 cm in diameter) loosely accumulated (Figure 22.2) with empty spaces in the sand and earth around them. Consequently, we infer that deposition of the stones was not a gradual process but an act of destruction. A sherd with carbonized food residue on its superficies, found 130 cm below the surface, produced a radiocarbon date of cal. AD 880 to 975 (1 sigma), which corresponds almost exactly with dates obtained for the double offering. Another ^{14}C sample from Pit 5 indicates that what were probably deposits outside the building were mixed, including materials from the thirteenth century (Chapter 7, this volume). However, it seems that at least the interior of the edifice was destroyed and sealed at the time the double offering was made.

The Pariti ceramic cache is probably the largest collection of Tiwanaku objects from a single, synchronic, well-described, and well-dated context, so it presents an especially exciting opportunity for interpretation of meaning. The collection is extremely rich and variable in iconography, as well. Many typical Tiwanaku motifs such as zigzag lines, rhombi, steps, crosses, and interlocking, S-shaped, and hook designs occur. However, the Pariti corpus also features dozens of vessels with both typical and unusual iconographic composition. Among these there are *keros*, *escudillas*, and bottles depicting Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant imagery considered central to Tiwanaku religion and ideology, as well as a number of vessels displaying elaborate feline, avian, fish/snake, and toad/frog iconography. In this chapter, I concentrate on fish, snake, and toad/frog representations as

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

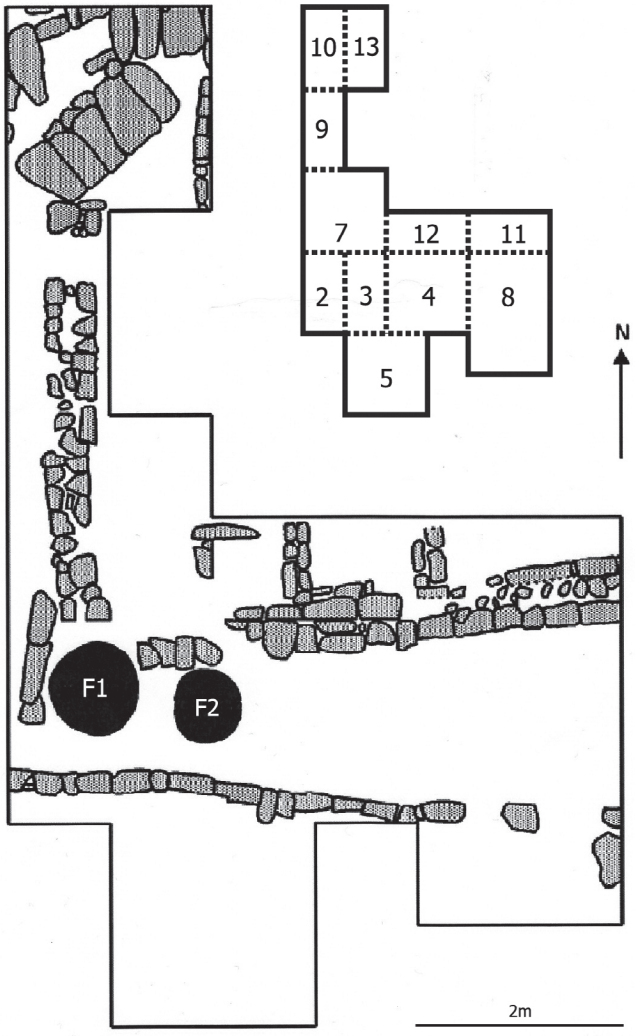


Figure 22.1. Excavation map showing Features 1 (F1) and 2 (F2) as well as wall foundations of the building partially excavated during 2004 to 2006. Excavation unit locations and numbers are shown at a smaller scale above. Drawing by Antti Korpisaari.

part of a greater effort to advance understandings of religious and symbolic meanings for the Pariti collection and for Tiwanaku more generally.

Iconography as Information Storage and a Kind of Writing

Tiwanaku culture did not have a writing system, if we understand writing as direct correspondence between a spoken language and graphic signs. However, if we understand writing to be *information storage* (Gaur 1992:14–16; Pärssinen and Kiviharju 2004:70) that can be decoded by anyone who knows the system, then we may affirm that, at the very least, the Tiwanaku people developed quite a sophisticated iconographic system, probably similar to Inka *tocapu* (Niles 1994; A. Rowe 1997; cf. also Figures 22.3 and 22.24). According to my knowledge, both systems contain ideograms that can be interpreted as a form of information storage and therefore can, following Albertine Gaur (1992:14–16), be classified as ideographic *thought* writing or, following Geoffrey Sampson (1985:29–33; see also Urton 2003:27, 102), as *semasiographic* writing.

I believe that at least some iconographic motifs and imagery on the Pariti pottery were read as texts during ceremonies that took place near the location where the collected sherds of the smashed objects were ultimately thrown into their two known caches. By using the Andean culture of the Inka as an analogy, I argue that some imagery and iconographic motifs were mnemonic devices provoking oratories, ballads, and other oral texts rich in meaning (Pärssinen 1992:26–31). Thus, iconographic motifs may have been used as pictorial signs with considerable flexibility, because any lack of clarity could be cleared up with additional oral information. Consequently, iconographic components could contain quite diverse and, at first glance, unrelated points of information, because these would only have been drawn together and given definitive meaning when combined with a verbal utterance. Through the serial arrangements of vessels for any particular ritual, the order of different episodes of mythical history may have varied. In practice, this may have meant even more flexibility in the manner of how the texts were composed in each ritual.

And so, mythical history may have been read by using the formula represented in Figure 22.4, as Edward Calnek (1978:253) identified earlier among the Aztecs and I recognized among the Inkas (Pärssinen 1992:26–31, 40). This very same formula explains why there are so many variations, for example, in the supposed chronology of the Inka expansion. For the Inkas, the conquest of each province formed an episode that was painted, encoded in *khipus*, and narrated orally. Finally, when these episodes were combined together and told to the Spaniards, the narrative order was not necessarily chronological: in the case of the history of Topa Inka, described by his descent group, called Capac Ayllu (2004:94–96 [1569]), the conquests in Chinchaysuyu were explained first, followed by the conquests in Antisuyu, and so on according to the hierarchical order of prestige of each region of the Inka realm. In the case of Antisuyu, the last conquest was narrated first, because in that moment (1569), the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

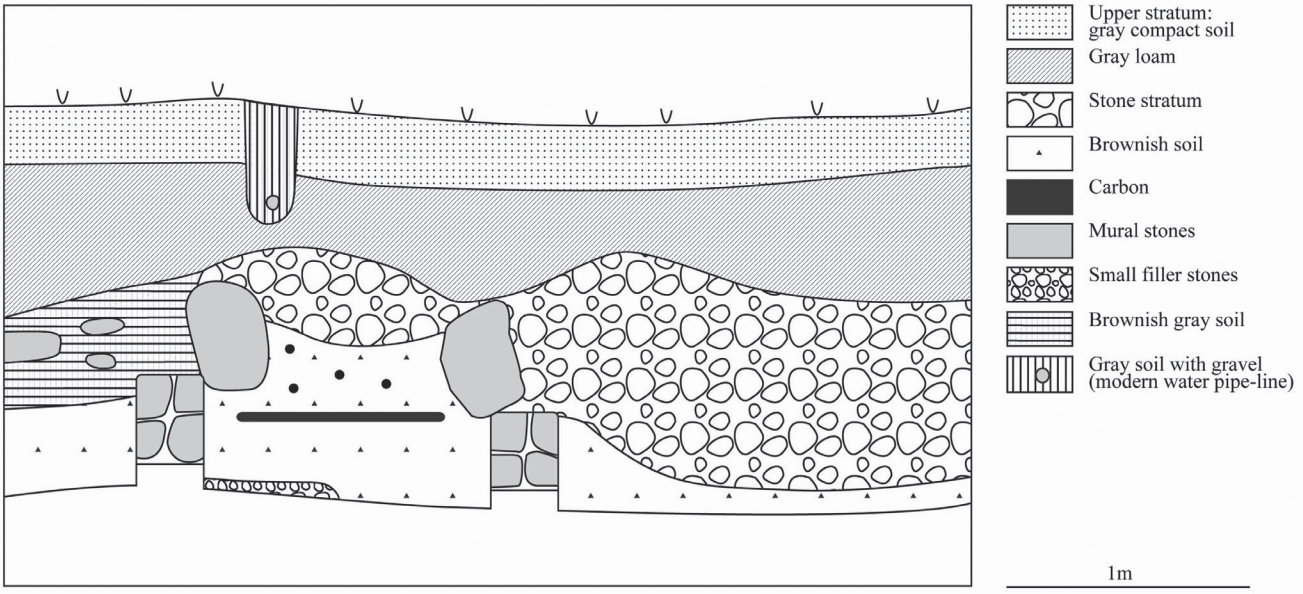


Figure 22.2. West-east profile of Pits 12 and 11. Drawing by Martti Pärssinen.

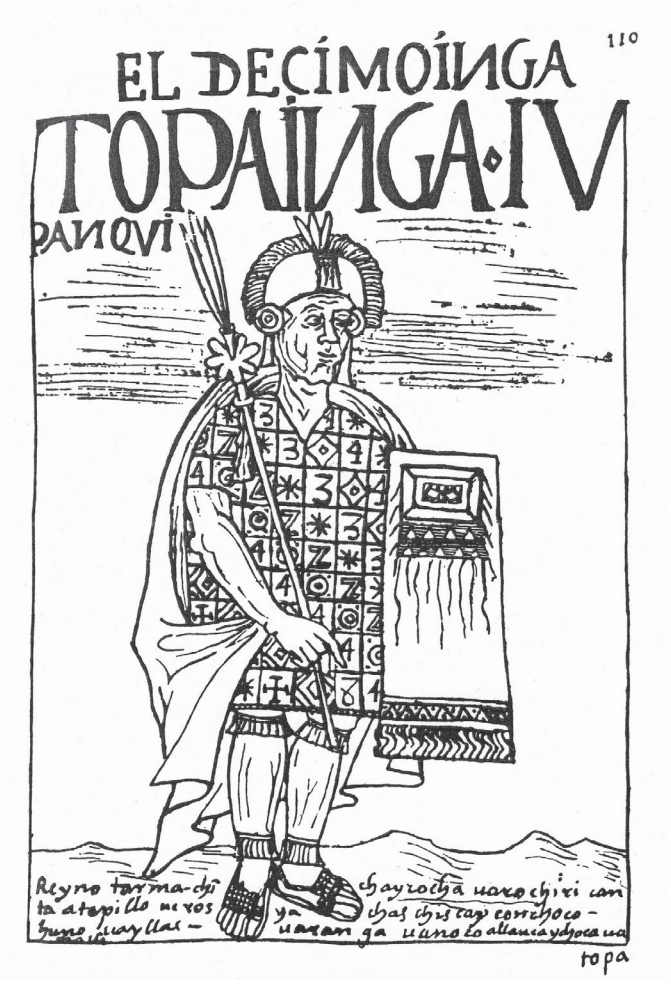


Figure 22.3. Topa Inka with his helmet and *tocapu*, after Guaman Poma (1987 [1615]:110).

conquered area near the present-day border with Brazil was considered extremely important: the Inkas had succeeded where the Spaniards had failed (Pärssinen 1992:109; Pärssinen and Kiviharju 2004:83–99; J. Rowe 1985b:195). Hence, we may expect that similar flexibility occurred in relation to different episodes of shared myths and stories within the Tiwanaku belief system.

In this study, I will analyze motifs of the Pariti pottery as linguistic (in a broad sense) and semantic signs that have signifier (*signifié*), concept, and signified (*signifiant*), image or sound, in the classic sense taught by Ferdinand de Saussure (1960 [1916]). In Saussure's structural system, all sound-images are arbitrary conventions of each human language. Thus, all linguistic signs, which necessarily combine a concept and a sound-image, are arbitrary and only intelligible to those who understand the language in question (Saussure 1960:67–70 [1916]). Nevertheless, when we speak of iconic signs and texts with pictographic symbols or even texts with signs such as "↑,→,1,2,3,@,!,?,%," we may argue that Saussure's arguments are not completely valid. To the contrary, when signs are pictorial copies of real objects or multicultural shared symbols, those may be intelligible for us without understanding any particular spoken language.

These problems are well known in poststructural critiques and hence, especially in many contemporary studies of semiotics, Charles S. Peirce's subdivision of signs

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

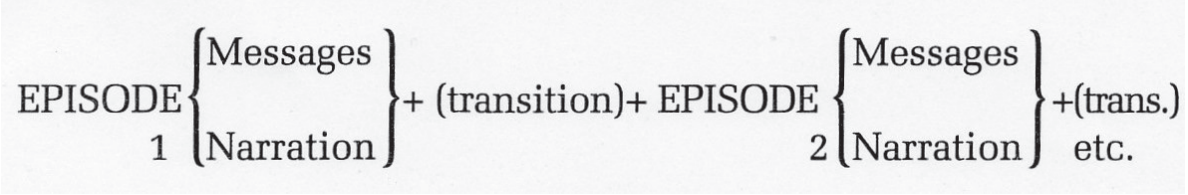


Figure 22.4. Formula for reading ritual texts among the Inka.

has been acknowledged because it takes into account also pictorial and generally shared symbols. As Peirce (1894) demonstrated, "sign" may be subdivided into three classes: (1) *iconic signs* (likenesses) that are copied images of real objects and things, (2) *indication signs* that are keys to understanding the meaning of the image "as road marks indicating the right direction to follow," and (3) *symbolic signs*, which have become associated with their meanings by usage—for example, the Sun symbolizing the sky father of the Inka king in sixteenth-century Andes. In general, in this chapter, I will try to identify some of the animal species used as *iconic signs* in Tiwanaku iconography and explore those together with some associated *indication* and *symbolic signs* to propose plausible meanings. Concerning this epistemological framework, my chapter can be placed, if one wishes, in the multidisciplinary interface between structuralism and poststructuralism.

It is significant that the three distinctions about signs made by Peirce are only tools for analysis. In practice, one sign may contain all three meanings embedded together, but when analyzed, those meanings may, indeed, be differentiated. For example, as I will show, an *iconic sign* representing a snake can also be a symbol indicating royalty and a fertility symbol. At the same time, a sign may be used as an *indication sign* affirming the hierarchical position of an image in a series such as feline (first)–avian (second, intermediary)–snake/fish (third, last) (Makowski 2001:360).

In general, it is a well-known fact that in the pre-Colombian Andes, different kinds of structural principles and hierarchies existed in genealogical, social, and political organizations. Most common were dual, ternary, quaternary, and seven-part principles (Pärssinen 1992). In the capital city of the Inka empire, Cuzco, the most important principles seem to have been the dual division between *hanansaya* (upper moiety) and *hurinsaya* (lower moiety); the quaternary division between Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, Collasuyu, and Cuntisuyu (the four corners of the Inka Empire, Tawantinsuyu); and the triad genealogical and social organizations expressed in terms of *qollana* (first)–*payan* (second or intermediary)–*kayaw* (third or last) (Bauer 1998; Pärssinen 1992:171–200; J. Rowe 1985a:35–73; Wachtel 1973; Zuidema 1995). In this chapter, I will give special attention to these latter ternary structures as they are not only related to Andean genealogical and social organizations but also, as noted by Krzysztof Makowski (2001:360), seem to be related to Tiwanaku religious iconography. In this context, it is important to note that in Andean cosmology, the ternary structure should be understood as an intermediary case of dual and quaternary structures: at least in the Inka Period, in different parts of the Andes, all known triad sociopolitical organizations were constituted within the basic dual division between opposing upper (or right) and lower (or left) moieties. In practice, in the known triad of sociopolitical structures, two sections were paired to form one moiety, and the third was considered a *chhulla*, a moiety missing its pair or complement but which opposed ideologically the other (paired) moiety. The *chhulla* moiety may have assumed either the leading or the last position (*qollana* + *payan/kayaw* or *qollana/payan* + *kayaw*) of the three-part sociopolitical or even genealogical hierarchy (Pärssinen 1992:407).

This principle means that the tripart Andean system may have also included a fourth element that was potentially present but was excluded in different ways (e.g., two elements formed a pair and one was left as the aforementioned *chhulla* with its imaginary complement missing). In Tiwanaku iconography, the fourth element may be, for example, a sign for celestial bodies in the sky (symbolically "high") or a sign for maize on the earth (symbolically "low"). Furthermore, as will be shown, depending on the context and accompanying details, the meaning of an indication sign may vary. For example, avian images may indicate either masculine or feminine symbolism depending on the total context in which they are represented.

Tiwanaku symbolic communication is even more complex than presented before. In the cultural tradition of the Andean highlands, space is extremely important. Hence, the symbolic arrangement of iconographical motifs in design space should be interpreted as a central

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

part of the grammar of any given iconographic text. In general, objects and things situated on the right-hand side (pictorial left) are symbolically masculine and superior compared to things situated on the left-hand side (symbolically feminine and inferior) (Adorno 1986:91; Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:201–207). The same holds true between the things situated "high" (as a space: masculine) and "low" (as a space: feminine). When the triad structure was applied to the domain of political hierarchy, the three were generally conceptualized linearly: 1–2–3. This division, in Quechua, is *qollana* (first)–*payan* (second, intermediary)–*kayaw* (third, last). For example, in the case of the four corners or *suyus* of the Inka state, the prestige order was expressed linearly (1) Chinchaysuyu (*qollana*), (2) Antisuyu (*payan*), and (3) Collasuyu (*kayaw*), while Cuntisuyu was left out of the triad. The same held true in the Inka system of genealogy in terms of prestige: (1) ego and father were considered as *qollana*, (2) grandfather and his descent group as *payan*, and (3) great-grandfather and his descent group as *kayaw*. When the genealogical time was referred to, the classificatory order was inverted: great-grandfather was considered as *qollana*, grandfather as *payan*, and father and ego as *kayaw* (Pärssinen 1992:181, 196; J. Rowe 1985a:43, 54).

Nevertheless, when referring to religious and ceremonial thinking, the same triad was used in iconography to represent the concentric structure: 2–1–3. For example, in the iconographic representation of the three main gods of the Temple of the Sun, the Coricancha: (1) the Creator was placed in the center, (2) the Sun on the right, and (3) the Moon on the left (Pärssinen 1992:181, 184–186). The same holds true in the Inka myth of creation related to the sacred place of Pacaritambo. Of the three caves at that symbolic place, the most important (Cápac-toco, *qollana*) was the central cave from which the first Inkas emerged, the second (Sútic-toco, *payan*) was situated on the right, and the last cave (Maras-toco, *kayaw*) was situated on the left (for more details, see Pärssinen 1992:179–192, 370, 407). Interestingly, the structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss failed to distinguish these two different types of triad organizations in his famous essay on dual and triad organizations (Lévi-Strauss 1963 [1956]), although it may well be that these two forms of triadic structures were clearly distinguished as a result of a specific Andean cultural tradition.

In practice, the three deities carved on the back of the Bennett monolith are an excellent example of tripartite composition in Tiwanaku iconography. In the center, we can see a so-called Staff God, and above on both sides are Rayed Head deities (Figure 22.5). Before continuing, let me affirm that I believe that it is an error to treat all Staff God images as representations of the same god. The remarkable differences among the numerous headdresses symbolizing individual Staff Gods are especially significant. As Krzysztof Makowski (2001) suggests, the typical front-facing portrayal and stance of the Staff God may be no more than symbolic convention, indicating that the represented figure is one of the main deities. We must analyze the entire repertoire of smaller signs and motifs associated with each individual Staff God image more closely before drawing connections and distinctions between the images (and the deities they portray) (see also Isbell and Knobloch 2006).

Makowski (2001:360) is also probably correct in identifying tripartite hierarchies of feline, avian, and fish/snake motifs in Tiwanaku iconography. Particularly, this seems to hold true for Tiwanaku capital city sculpture, where the statues placed in the Semi-Subterranean Temple (which feature feminine symbolism: "low") contain plentiful fish symbolism, whereas the statues and stelae standing on the top of temple mounds and pyramids (which display masculine symbolism: "high") contain more feline symbolism (Pärssinen 2005a:80–88). In high/low opposition, avian figures may have played the role of *mediators* and *messengers* between the earth and the sky deities, as, in fact, eagles, falcons, condors, and so on are able to both fly through the air and walk on the ground. These mediators convert the diarchy into a tripartite system. Nevertheless, we must keep in mind that each animal figure category may have been further subdivided into its respective male and female sets, as well.

Returning to the tripartite imagery on the back of the Bennett monolith (Figure 22.5), it appears that this depiction of the central Staff God may represent Pachamama, the Mother Earth, or Mamacocha, the Mother Lake, due to the fish/serpentine indication signs in her headdress and tears (see Pärssinen 2005a:84–85; Figure 22.6). On her upper right side, we can see a Rayed Head that probably represents the Sun (see also Morris and von Hagen 1993:Figure 92), based on winged rays and puma head symbols (*qollana*, the first) as indication signs in the headdress. The figure's face also has "celestial tears" (contrary to typical feline, avian, or fish tears) as indication signs. On the upper left side (pictorial right) of the central figure, the second Rayed Head probably represents the Moon, due to the potential signs of celestial bodies (rays terminating in circled dots) as well as avian heads (second, intermediary) as indication signs in her headdress. Finally,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

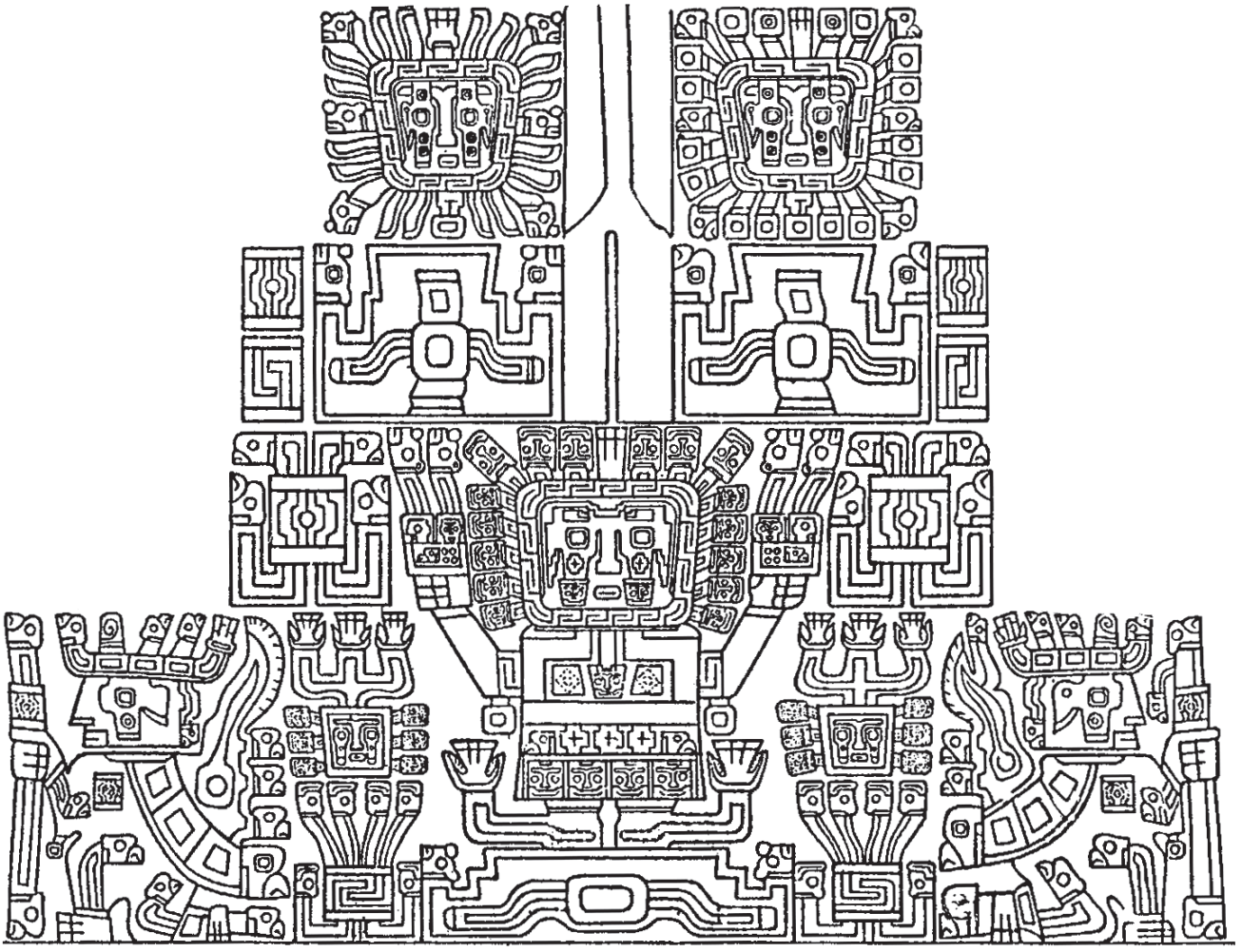


Figure 22.5. Staff God of the Bennett monolith redrawn by Martti Pärssinen after Posnansky (1945).

on the lower right and left are two minor Rayed Head deities with probable corn and fish/snake signs in their headdresses. Further away we can see messengers of the central figure with avian, shell, and other indication signs in their headdresses, but what is important here is the fact that the entire composition of images is arranged according to the principles of concentric hierarchy: The "ego" (Staff God) is in the center as a *chhulla*, with the Sun (right-hand) and the Moon (left-hand) forming a pair to complete the triad.

Justification of the Use of Ethnohistorical Models

Ethnohistory is my point of entry into the Andean past, in addition to which I also employ linguistic and semiotic methods to understand some structural principles of Andean iconography and, in general, ancient Andean ways of thinking. I understand that the use of direct analogy, or direct historical approach (e.g., Marcus and Flannery 2004), from the early colonial period to precolonial cultures is problematic and requires the scholar to exercise critical caution (Black 1962; Charlton 1981). Nevertheless, when proposing interpretations of Tiwanaku religious imagery, I think that it is much better to use known Andean models than models developed in Europe or in the Near East. It has been stressed that oral knowledge has most efficiently been stored and transmitted for many centuries through religion (Renfrew 2004:50). Hence, in this chapter, I am defending the importance of the concept of long duration, or *longue durée*, as presented by Fernand Braudel (1980:25–54, 64–82), among various French annalist school authors, because I firmly believe that, although many changes certainly occurred during the history of Andean cultural development, we cannot underestimate those interpretative models that early colonial history can give us on Andean cosmology at the time of European contact. As Karsten Lambers (2004:41) has recently noted, "The fact that certain religious practices and principles of social

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 22.6. Pariti portrait vessel with a "turban-like" headdress. Photo by Martti Pärssinen.

organization in the 20th century seem easily comparable to contexts and situations described in the 16th century indicates that, in spite of major historic break and disruptions, there is still a stable cultural foundation upon which Andean societies are based." In fact, consider how easy it still is to recognize the ethnic background of different Andean peoples by looking at their clothes and headdresses. At the time of European conquest, this phenomenon was attributed to being part of the Inka administration. Nevertheless, today we know, thanks to the advance of archaeological research, that this custom had deep roots in the Andes, and it certainly was not an Inka invention, although they undoubtedly used it to their own advantage.

Taking these various considerations into account, many Pariti ceramic portraits clearly demonstrate that headdresses used in the Tiwanaku Period were similar to hats worn by Lake Titicaca area peoples in the seventeenth century. Historical sources demonstrate that, at the time of the Spanish Conquest, the men of Collao, mostly Aymara, wore a *chuco*, a tapering hat resembling the top of a Spanish sombrero (Cabeza de Vaca 1885:69 [1586], cited also by Ponce Sanginés 1969:51 and Pärssinen 2005b:31; Mercado de Peñalosa 1885:59 [1585–1589]). In another part of the Lake Titicaca area, wider caps were used (Pizarro 1986:111 [1571]). Interestingly, some Pariti human male effigies wear a cap that very closely resembles the *chucos* seen in Guaman Poma de Ayala's (1987 [1615]:169 [171]) drawings, with the slight difference that Tiwanaku headdresses of this kind apparently had a larger number of textile bands around them (Korpisaari 2006:Figure 5.21; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Photos 17, 19, 20; see also Sagüés Silva 2008:Figure 102). According to various pictures drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala (1987 [1615]:270 [272], 293 [295], 324 [326]), wide, "turban-like" caps were worn by another ethnic group in Collao, probably the one that he refers to as *Pukina Collas*. Again, strikingly similar "turban-like" headdresses were used in the Tiwanaku Period, as best illustrated by the Pariti portrait vessel seen in Figure 22.6.

A comparative analysis of the Pariti effigy vessels and Guaman Poma de Ayala's drawings reveals obvious continuities in female clothing as well. This consisted of a dress—probably a long wrap-around garment—over which women wore a longish shawl, fastened at the front. Additionally, both the Collasuyu women drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala and at least some of the Pariti effigy vessel females seem to wear a veil or a hair net that gives a peculiar form to the appearance of women's hair (compare Guaman Poma de Ayala 1987 [1615]:177 [179] and Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Photos 1–5).

Certainly most surprising among Pariti and Inka garment similarities is the helmet-like headdress on the magnificent Pariti portrait vessel PRT 00188 (Figure 22.7). It is nearly identical to the helmets worn by the Inka ruler or by high-ranking Inka military captains in Guaman Poma de Ayala's (Figure 22.3) and Martín de Murúa's (1962–1964 [1616]) drawings. Such helmets also appear on royal portraits of the Inka kings illustrated by Antonio de Herrera (1991:149 [1615]; see also Pärssinen 1992: 217), as well as on some early Colonial Period wooden *keros* (Querejazu Lewis 1983:222–223). These finds on Pariti show that more or less direct antecedents of Colla, Puquina Colla, and Inka headdresses described in the seventeenth century were being used in the Lake Titicaca region some 600 years earlier. Consequently, these finds may justify our approach in interpreting Pariti iconography by using some Andean

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 22.7. Pariti portrait vessel of a male wearing a helmet. Photo by Martti Pärssinen.

models abstracted from historical sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Influence of Pucara, Chiripa, and Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition in Pariti and on Later Inka Belief Systems

Scholars such as J. Rowe (1967:125–131 [1958], 1967:298–300 [1963]), Chávez (1976), and Mohr-Chávez (1988), among many others, have already alluded to the existence of a link between Tiwanaku art and that of the earlier Chiripa and Pukara cultures. The connection between the Formative Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition, known in Bolivia as *pajano*, and Tiwanaku has also been noted (Bouysse-Cassagne and Bouysse 1988; Chávez 2004a:77–75; Isbell and Knobloch 2006). In fact, a clear continuity from Chiripa, Pukara, and Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition art to Tiwanaku imagery and style can be seen within the Pariti corpus.

Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant figures with feline, avian, and snake/fish attributes were already present in Pukara art (Chávez 2004b:88–93; Young-Sánchez 2004:76–85). Even earlier, the snake, the catfish and other fishes, batrachians, and a sign I interpret as the *suri* or rhea representation featured centrally in Yaya-Mama iconography (Figure 22.8:10a,d). All of these figures and motifs are present in the Pariti corpus, including the proposed *suri* motif (Figure 22.9), and as I will demonstrate, the inhabitants of the Lake Titicaca region still worshipped Yaya-Mama idols in the early Colonial Period. Consequently, this religious tradition apparently had a very long local duration in the Titicaca area, which helps to explain why some Pariti vessel forms and iconographic motifs differ somewhat from those of the more standardized, traditional Tiwanaku style.

Some 400 years after Tiwanaku's collapse, the Inka appropriated the sacredness of Lake Titicaca for their own purposes, regarding it as a mythic place of world creation and—together with and/or as an alternative to Pacaritambo—as the place where the first Inkas were created (Pärssinen 2005a:219–221, 2005b:17). It is significant that at the same time, the Inkas also appropriated certain iconographic motifs typical of the Lake Titicaca region: according to Guaman Poma de Ayala (1987:79–80 [1615]), the Inkas had two sets of symbols similar to European coats of arms. The first of these displayed (1) the Sun, (2) the Moon, (3) Chuqui Illa Villca (a Thunder deity associated with Venus; see Ziólkowski 1997:231), and (4) symbols of the Inka creation in Tanbo Toco. This symbolic complex meant that the Inka ruler was considered the son of the Sun (his father) and the Moon (his mother) and that Venus was regarded as his brother (and, in some other contexts, his son; see Pärssinen 1992:181–187). The second Inka "coat of arms" displayed (1) a bird, (2) a jaguar and a *chonta* palm, (3) the *masca paycha* (a badge of office that the Inka ruler carried attached to the front of his headdress or helmet), and (4) two large *amaro* snakes. Guaman Poma de Ayala (1987:83–85 [1615]) states that those Inkas associated with these symbols originally came from the Lake Titicaca area and Tiwanaku, appeared later in Tanbo Toco of Pacari Tanbo, and finally entered Cuzco. The relatives of these Cuzco Inkas, who had remained in Collao, were called Pukina Collas and considered unworthy because they had not followed the others to Cuzco. As a result, under Inka rule, these Pukina Collas were only allowed to use textile ear ornaments—not the symbolically more valued ones made of precious metals. Here my aim is not to analyze the historical value of these statements but to emphasize the ideological connection that existed between Cuzco and the Titicaca area, including Tiwanaku.

In general, the *amaro* snake was one of the most important symbols of the Inka ruler, together with avian and feline motifs. This is confirmed by an anonymous Augustinian priest (Anonymous 1992:31 [1560]) who wrote, "It is said that the Inka had two snakes as [symbols] of the arms, and so I have seen in many tanbos (way

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

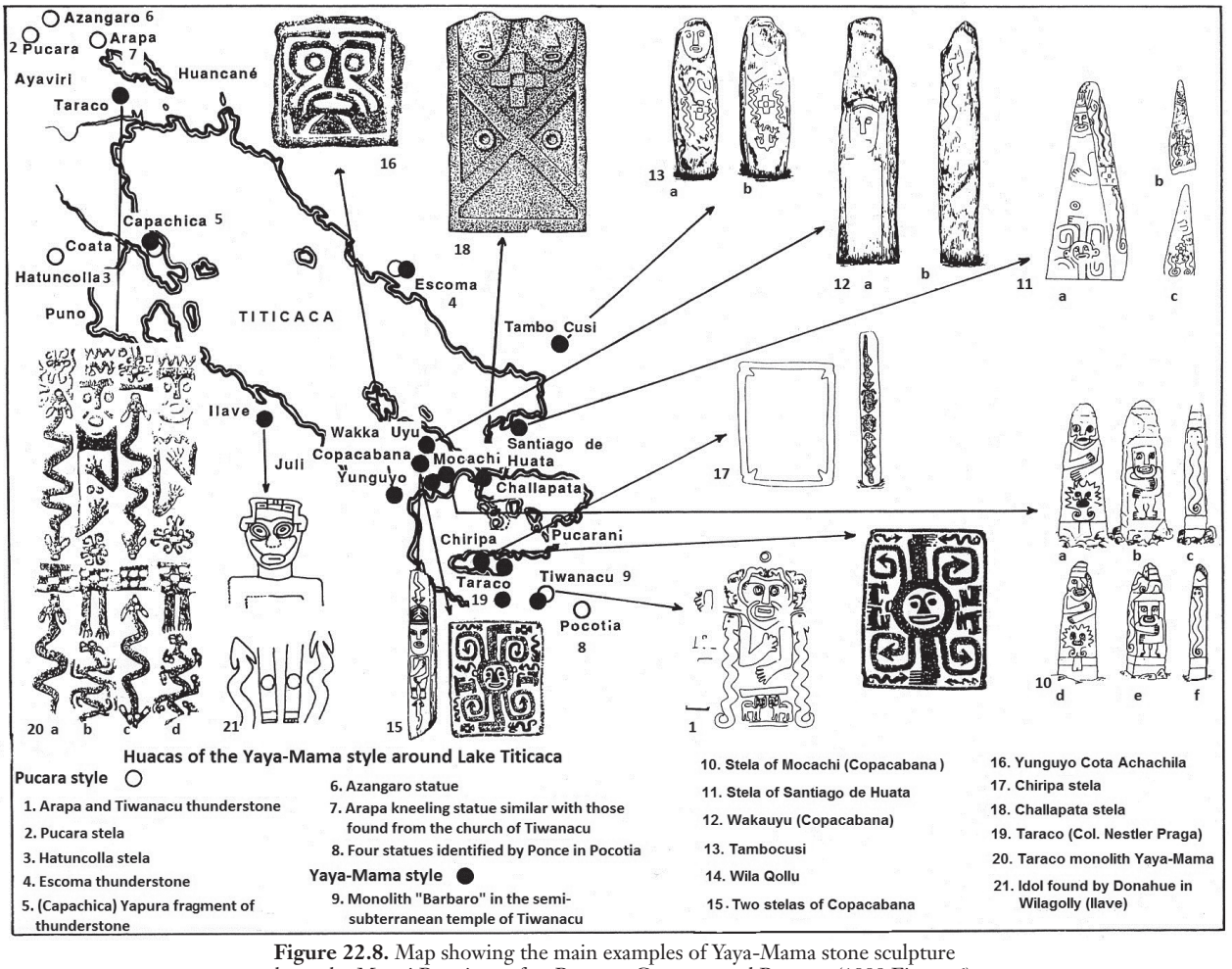


Figure 22.8. Map showing the main examples of Yaya-Mama stone sculpture redrawn by Martti Pärssinen after Bouysse-Cassagne and Bouysse (1988:Figure 6).

Figure 22.9. A probable representation of *suri* (*Rhea* sp.) in the Pariti collection. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

stations), especially in Cuzco and Huamachuco." We also know that the main idol of Inka Cuzco was called Punchao. Following the Spanish conquest, Punchao was transported from Cuzco's main temple, the Coricancha, to the town of Vilcapampa. However, during Francisco Toledo's reign, Punchao was captured and sent to Spain. Pierre Duviols (1976:170–171), José Antonio Pérez Gollán (1986:68–69), and Catherine Julien (2002:709–715), among others, describe how this golden idol had the shape of a seated Inka wearing the royal headdress and disc-shaped ear spools, with rays symbolizing those of the sun emanating from the shoulders. This central figure was flanked by two snakes and two pumas, posed as if guarding him.

It seems that this main Inka idol represented some kind of a creator god, incorporating elements of the Sun (Inti), Viracocha-Tunupa, and the Thunder God (Illapa). Curiously, many of the above-mentioned elements were not only present in Tiwanaku iconography but also in the preceding Pukara and Chiripa cultures and in the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition. This supports our suggestion

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 22.10. *Escudilla* PRT 00439 displays a pair of fish head motifs on the interior of its flaring rim. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

that the Inkas incorporated many aspects of the older traditions of the Lake Titicaca region into their own belief system and religious ideology.

Human-Like Attributes among the Principal Gods of the Andes

As discussed above, in the pre-Columbian Andes, it was often possible to tell the ethnic background and social status of an individual on the basis of the attributes and symbols of their dress, especially the headdress. Importantly, many of the principal gods of the Andean area were very human-like. For example, in the Inka Period, Tunupa and Viracocha were regarded both as creator deities and as civilizing cultural heroes who had first appeared in the Lake Titicaca region (Betanzos 1987:11–15 [1557]; Cieza de León 1986:5–12, 90–93 [1553]; Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua 1993:188–200, 211–213 [1613]). Basically, these deities represented the same god, but the Aymara called him Tunupa, and among the Quechua, he was known by the name of Viracocha. According to Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007:44 [1572]), this creator god (Viracocha-Tunupa) had a staff and a book in his hands as his symbols. Finally, both Acosta (1987:316 [1588–1590]) and Cobo (1964:II:160 [1653]) confirm the human-like attributes of the Andean main gods by describing Thunder, deity of rain, as a man who lived in the sky with a sling and with a war club in his hands.

Andean peoples tended to use rather sophisticated human genealogical terminology in referring to some "families" of gods, further emphasizing the human qualities of the pantheon. For example, according to Ramos Gavilán (1988:60 [1621]), the creator deity had a son called Taapac. Ramos Gavilán (1988:149 [1621]) wrote that on the Island of the Sun, there were three different statues called Apu Inti, Churip Inti, and Intip Guayqui, all of which were idols of the Sun. These names translate as "father Sun," "son Sun," and "brother Sun." Similarly, Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe (2003:756 [1622]) explained that in Recuay, the Lightning deity was composed of three persons: Llíviac, the Lightning; Námoc, his father; and Uchu

Figure 22.11. Iconography of vessel PRT 00215 probably depicts two snake-like fishes on its upper exterior rim. Redrawn from original by Juan Villanueva.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Llíviac, his son. Father Acosta (1987:375 [1588–1590]) connected such indigenous beliefs to the Holy Trinity. Such beliefs, however, mirrored the Andean triadic classificatory system mentioned earlier, *qollana–payan–kayaw* (the first–the intermediate–the last), extensively discussed by scholars R. Tom Zuidema (1977, 1995) and John H. Rowe (1985a, 1985b). It is important to note that, when applied to the Inka genealogy, this system includes a peculiar feature, as noted earlier, according to which a male ego and his father form a common genealogical prestige unit, called the *qollana*, before the ego establishes his own family group, called *panaca*. This means that the Inka triadic genealogical system included four generations: ego, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather (Pärssinen 1992:181, 196). Archaeologically, similarities in the way Andean culture used kinship to classify people as well as deities motivate me to seek parallels between the headdress symbolism of Tiwanaku supernaturals and Inka-era genealogical structure for human beings.

Staff Gods and Rayed Heads in Pariti

It is interesting to note that, within the Pariti ceramic collection, the three Staff God images as well as the more numerous Rayed Head motifs (Sagárnaga Meneses 2007:Figures 26–45) and the quadrangular panel or stylized collar on a pair of harpy eagle effigy vessels (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Photo 29) all feature a crown or headdress with comparatively similar characteristics: they display feline and avian heads as well as circled-dot motifs (in this case as a third element), probably related to the celestial bodies, and particularly to the Sun and the Moon.

Theoretically, using an Inka-era analogy, we may suppose that if all animal motifs of the crown or headdress of a particular Staff God or Rayed Head image are feline (*qollana*), the image in question represents the most important creator god, Tunupa-Viracocha, as the puma seems to have been one of this god's main symbols. On the other hand, if the crown features both feline and avian head motifs (*payan*) as indication signs, Tunupa's son, Taapac (also as a messenger), may be represented, and if the headdress features feline, avian, and snake heads (*kayaw*), a genealogically more distant god may be portrayed. In this latter case, a connection to the Thunder and Lightning sky god is also implied, as this deity was symbolized, at least in the twentieth century, by the puma and the snake (La Barre 1948:203). We may assume that if all animal motifs in the headdress of a particular Staff God or Rayed Head image are fish, Mother Earth/Lake is represented.

In addition to headdress imagery, I believe that other kinds of signs in the clothing, belts, footwear, and staves of Staff Gods were also related to the contexts and narratives of the Tiwanaku belief system and were meaningful to the Tiwanaku priests. Today we are just beginning to learn how to read this iconic sign system.

The Fish Iconography of Pariti

Although Pariti is an island and, therefore, fishing was probably an important subsistence activity for the pre-Columbian residents, fish figures and motifs are curiously rare in the Pariti corpus. Fish are not totally absent, however, as one Pariti Staff God image has classic profile fish head motifs projecting from the feet and from the top end of one of its two staves (Chapter 7, this volume: Figure 7.25). Equally, the secondary iconography of at least two avian-headed Profile Attendants includes profile fish head motifs (Chapter 7, this volume: Figures 7.33a–7.34d) and, finally, the above-mentioned pair of eagle effigy vessels displays incised, frontally depicted fish head motifs on the wings (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Photo 29). Otherwise, motifs depicting fishes of the *orestias* family are rare on the Pariti vessels: the large *escudilla* PRT 00439 displays a pair of large, profile fish head motifs on the interior of its flaring rim (Figure 22.10), and the iconography of the vessels PRT 00111 and 00215 depicts probable snake-like fishes (Figure 22.11).

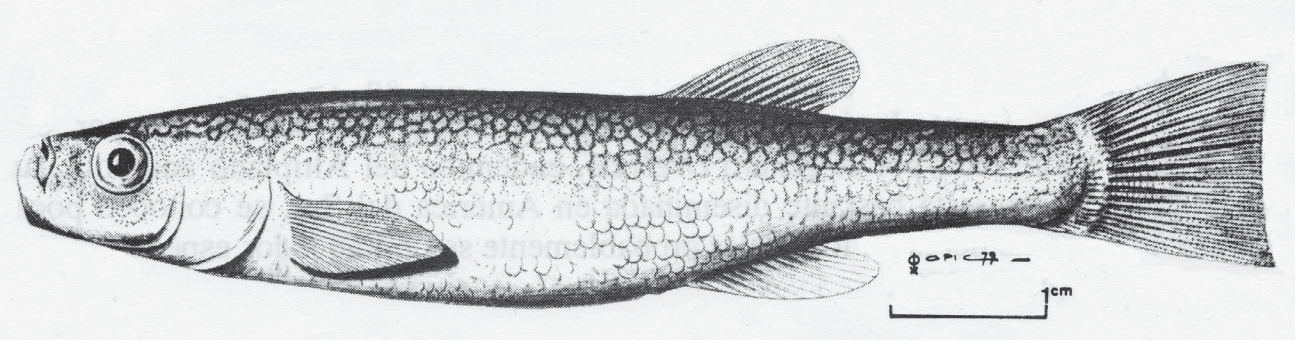


Figure 22.12. *Orestias ispi* fish after Laurent Lauzanne (1991:410).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

In general, it is quite easy to distinguish Tiwanaku profile snake head motifs from profile fish head motifs, as snake heads normally resemble feline or "dragon" heads, whereas the upturned mouth of the fish head motifs resembles actual Lake Titicaca fishes belonging to the *orestias* family (Figure 22.12). In the cases of images apparently depicting snakes and fishes as seen from above, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two categories. However, at least in the Pariti corpus, snakes normally have teeth or, alternatively, have ears (Figures 22.13 and 22.14). Common catfish species known by the names *suchi* or *mauri* have snake-like attributes, but their depictions can be distinguished on the basis of whiskers (which catfishes have and snakes do not). As the people of Suriqui Island believe today, *suchi* is the same as *mauri* with its four antennas; it is similar to snakes, and according to them, it even has a capacity to transform into a snake just as a snake may transform into a catfish (Bouysse-Cassagne and Bouysse 1988:96–97; Figure 22.15).

The fish head is one of the main indication signs (*kayaw*) in classic Tiwanaku iconography of Staff Gods and Profile Attendants. Thus, it is interesting that Aymara belief relates certain fishes to the creator god Tunupa. According to Bertonio's vocabulary (1984:II:291 [1612]), Quesintuu and Umantuu were sister fishes with whom Tunupa had sexual intercourse. As Teresa Gisbert (2004:70, n. 118) demonstrates, the names of these two fishes are still known in the Lake Titicaca area: *umantuu* refers to two *orestias* species, *Orestias cuvieri Valenciennes* and *Orestias tschudii Castelnau*, while *quesintuu* refers to the species *Orestias pentlanndi Valenciennes*. Thus, *orestias* fishes have feminine connotations not unlike mermaids of the Old World. When dealing with the local deities of the Lake Titicaca area, however, the situation may have been more complicated. I am referring to the main deity of Copacabana, which Ramos Gavilán (1988:191 [1621]) and Antonio de Calancha (1639, cited in Bouysse-Cassagne and Bouysse 1988:102) compared to Dagón, the human-faced and fish-bodied fish god of the Near East. As this god was not compared to the feminine mermaids of European lore, and as *copa* in the name of Copacabana refers to green color as well as to the sons of mountain cat (*titi*) capturers (Bertonio 1984:II:353 [1612]), my understanding is that we are dealing with a masculine god. One explanation for this could be that the Idol of Copacabana depicted the catfish, which is considered the king of fishes (Bouysse-Cassagne and Bouysse 1988:107). In appearance, the catfish is related to snakes (Bouysse-Cassagne and Bouysse 1988:96–97) and, by extension, to the masculine forces of certain snake species.

Figure 22.13. Iconography of vessel PRT 00217 depicts two horizontal rattlesnakes with teeth in their mouth. Redrawn from original by Juan Villanueva.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 22.14. A *ch'allador* PRT 00343 depicting a rattlesnake with ears. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

Figure 22.15. Two *ch'alladores* with catfish icons. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

Snake Iconography in the Pariti Ceramic Caches

In general, snakes are among the most common animals modeled and/or painted on the Pariti ceramics. Fourteen *ch'alladores* have a snake as their only decorative element, coiling around the exterior of the vessel 10 to 15 times (Figure 22.16). In addition to these *ch'alladores*, similar snakes are associated with 12 other vessels from Pariti's Feature 1. These include five pedestal bowls featuring a sculptural head with serpentine and feline characteristics rising from the interior center of the bowl or attached to the exterior of the vessel (Figure 22.17). In the four cases in which it survives, the spout represents the animal's tail (Figures 22.18). Two *vasijas* and two gourd effigy bowls display snake iconography, and in the painted decoration of three "normal" *ch'alladores*, snake motifs form horizontal bands that serve to divide the exterior of the vessel into three distinct design registers (Figures 22.12–22.14).

In contrast to the abundance of serpentine motifs in the material recovered in Feature 1, Feature 2 contained the sherds of only one vessel, a pedestal bowl, displaying snake iconography. Interestingly, the total number of vessels featuring serpentine iconography (n = 33) in Pariti's Features 1 and 2 is quite similar to the frequency of vessels displaying Staff God (n = 3), Rayed Head (n = 16), and Profile Attendant iconography (n = 17) (total n = 36). This may indicate that the vessels depicting snake (and possibly related catfish) iconography participated in the same narrative episodes as the vessels with Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant iconography (as mnemonic devices).

The rhomboidal decoration covering the Pariti serpents' body imitates actual snakeskin more or less accurately. However, although the small snake *Tachymenis peruviana* is common in the Lake Titicaca region (Vellard 1991b:463–464), on the basis of the characteristics of the tail, it seems that many if not all of the serpents of the Pariti corpus are rattlesnakes. The vessel PRT 00106 displays a pair of axe-wielding, rattlesnake-tailed sacrificer beings (Figure 22.19). Only one rattlesnake species, *Crotalus durissus*, lives in South America, but in Bolivia it

Figure 22.16. A *ch'allador* with a snake as its only decorative element. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 22.17. Pedestal bowl featuring a serpent rising from the center of the bowl. Photo by Martti Pärssinen.

Figure 22.18. Pedestal bowl with the spout representing the tail of a rattlesnake. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

only lives in the lowlands, normally below 700 m elevation (Campbell and Lamar 1989).

Early colonial sources, analyzed by Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne and Philippe Bouysse (1988:90–92), indicate that the Pukina people living on the islands and shores of Lake Titicaca considered Coac, the Snake, to be their supreme deity. In Pukina, *coa* means snake (La Grasserie 1898:13), and it is probable that the snake and/or the snake deity figures in many place-names in the lake area. A good example is Coati, the Island of the Moon, which was dedicated to the cult of the Moon by the Inkas. It is also interesting that many stories collected in the Lake Titicaca region by Ramos Gavilán (1988:45 [1621]) and Bernabé Cobo (1964:II:193 [1653]) refer to a huge snake that protected the Island of the Sun. All this may mean that the Snake deity has a long history in the Lake Titicaca area, as many stelae and idols of the so-called Yaya-Mama tradition seem to demonstrate (Chávez 2004a). Indeed, some of these old Yaya-Mama idols with snake iconography were still worshipped for rain and good harvests in the seventeenth century, as chroniclers such as Ramos Gavilán (1988:196–197 [1621]) confirm. For example, he describes the Idol of Yunguyo of the Lupaca, called Copacati, as "a very ugly stone figure that was tangled with snakes and that was worshipped during the dry periods in order to ask water for their [i.e. the Lupaca's] cultivations" (cited also in Salles-Reese 1997:14). Thus, in the Lake Titicaca area, the snake is a symbolic sign for fertility and, in this specific case, the name Copa (sons of mountain cat [*titi*] capturers; Bertonio 1984:II:353 [1612]) suggests a masculine connotation for the idol.

In Quechua, large and "dragon-like" Amazonian snakes are grouped collectively as *amaro*. A generic term for snakes was *machacuay* (Cobo 1964:I:354, 356 [1653]), a word that also referred to a snake-shaped star constellation (Acosta 1987:317 [1588–1590]). González Holguín (1989:432 [1608]) mentions a deadly snake called *catari*. In Aymara, the snake is called *asiro*, *palli*, and *katari* (Bertonio 1984:I:153 [1612]; Lucca 1987:287). According to González Holguín (1989:274, 432 [1608]), the rattlesnake had a name of its own: *pallaca tarisca payoc catari* or *ppalla carayhua (karaiwa)*; according to Cobo (1964:I:356 [1653]), it was more simply called *pallacatari*. This information is interesting because even if snakes in general were thought to have male attributes and connotations (a symbol of the

Figure 22.19. Axe-wielding, rattlesnake-tailed sacrificer being. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Thunder and Lightning deity), the rattlesnake in particular seems to have referred to the royal princess, *palla* (see Pärssinen 1992:197–200). Thus, depending on the actual species and probably on the context, the symbolic sex of a snake could vary. In fact, as early as the Yaya-Mama tradition, some idols displaying snake motifs also depict deities having both male and female attributes. Pablo José de Arriaga (1968:227–228 [1621]) described one such idol, located near Hilavi of the Lupaca province. This place was a cemetery site of the native chiefs, featuring many mortuary structures or *chullpas* of stone. A stone statue displaying two principal "monstrous" figures stood in one of the plazas. One of these figures was a man facing the sunrise (east) and the other, on the opposite side of the idol, a woman facing west. Both of these human figures "have thick snakes that rise from the foot to the head on the right and the left, and equally they have other figures such as toads." Ramos Gavilán (1988:197 [1621]) further specifies that, in this particular case, toads formed the crown or headdress of the two-faced supernatural and that the entire idol represented a deity of plenty ("Dios de las comidas").

Toad/Frog Iconography in the Ceramic Caches of Pariti

According to Gonzales Holguin (1989:145, 651, 666 [1608]), the frog was called *kayra* and the toad *hampatu* in Quechua. It may be significant that in Aymara, toads of a "normal" size were also called *hampatu*, whereas larger toads had two names: *pati* or *mama hampatu*. Given that Bertonio (1984:II:213, 262 [1612]) wrote that in Aymara, *pati marmi* meant a tall woman and *mama* ("mother") *hampatu* a large toad, both names imply a feminine connotation for toads (see also Portugal Loayza 1998:81).

Regarding the Pariti collection, there are also some difficulties in distinguishing frog representations from those of toads, but we may suppose that the images of monstrous batrachians with dotted circles on their backs refer mainly to the male of the *Bufo spinulosus* species (Figure 22.20). The most spectacular representations of this animal are found on the interior of the vessel PRT 00340, one of a curious group of Pariti vessels that morphologically resemble *ch'alladores* but have crosswise tubes in their interior and lack the characteristic perforation in the base. In two identical scenes, a monstrous, long-clawed, and white-collared toad is eating a waterfowl and at the same time holds a similarly white-collared human being by the hair (Figure 22.21). The collars of both the toad and the human look like those depicted on many Pariti human effigy vessels and portrait heads (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Photos 9–11). The imagery on the vessel PRT 00340 seems to refer to a mythical incident in which a high-ranking human is held captive by a monstrous six-legged toad being. A pair of monstrous batrachians, quite similar to the above-mentioned ones, is also painted on the interior of the kidney-shaped bowl PRT 00206. Interestingly, below these figures on the interior bottom of the vessel, there is a two-rowed white collar encircling a hand or foot motif (Figure 22.22). Thus, on a general level, hand and/or foot signs and batrachians seem to be related. However, the nature of this connection and the specific meaning of the hand and/or foot motifs remain unknown.[1]

I interpret the less ominous-looking batrachians painted on the *ch'alladores* PRT 00111, PRT 00171, PRT 00261, PRT 00264, and PRT 00507 (Figures 22.23 and 22.24) as large frogs of the *Telmatobius culeus* species, associated with fertility and rain (Boyusse-Cassagne and Bouysse 1988:91–94; Vellard 1991a:455–462). Along with snakes, they are paradigmatic symbolic signs of fertility. In some cases, frog images are portrayed with *vilca* seeds emerging from their ears (Figures 22.12 and 22.13). The motifs probably refer to the hallucinogenic plant *Anadenanthera colubrina* (Knobloch 2000; Pérez Gollán and Gordillo 1994; Torres and Repke 2006), suggesting that at least some of the religious activities in which the Pariti vessels participated involved shamanic trance, a practice that seems to have characterized much of the pre-Columbian Andes during the Middle Horizon. Most of the *ch'alladores* that display toad/frog iconography also display various kinds of round motifs that may

Figure 22.20. *Bufo spinulosus spinulosus*, male, after Vellard (1991a).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 22.21. On *ch'allador* PRT 00340, a monstrous toad being appears to eat a waterfowl, while holding a human by the hair. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

Figure 22.22. A pair of monstrous batrachians with a two-rowed white collar motif enclosing a hand or foot motif, depicted in the interior of a kidney-shaped vessel. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

represent frog and/or toad spawn, a symbol of fertility, creation, and transformation. Finally, the two *ch'alladores* PRT 00292 and 00506 each depict three or four repetitions of a sitting or squatting human whose pose is quite similar to that of the above-mentioned toad and frog representations (Figure 22.25). In Tiwanaku art, "mythical figures with raised hands" have been interpreted as Cochabamba-related motifs by Janusek (2003:75). However, given how much the form of these Pariti humans resembles that of toads and frogs, it may be that the raised-hands motif relates to the toad/frog deities of the Lake Titicaca area.

Figure 22.23. Less ominous-looking batrachians painted on the exterior rim of a *ch'allador* may represent large frogs of the *Telmatobius culeus* species, associated with fertility and rain. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

Figure 22.24. A batrachian painted on the exterior rim of a *ch'allador*. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Conclusion

The two ceramic caches excavated on Pariti seem to represent the ceremonial closing of an important Tiwanaku building, enacted around AD 1000. Most important, the corpus provides a uniquely complete collection of ritual objects that constituted the symbolic system of one place, at one moment, in Tiwanaku religious practice. The actual ritual, which may have involved reading the iconographic messages carried by the pottery, was not performed at the precise location of the offering, although the ritual probably took place close by. The principal smashing or ritual killing of the ceramics, at least, must have been carried out elsewhere, as many of the vessels are missing sherds that were not found in either of the caches. Reconstruction of the pottery was only possible combining pieces from different excavation levels and, in 19 cases, by combining sherds from both Feature 1 and Feature 2.

In conclusion, throughout this analysis, I have tried to demonstrate that in the Lake Titicaca area, there is a clear mental, ideological, and even ethnic continuity from the late Tiwanaku Period through Inka times, despite the collapse of the Tiwanaku state and repeated turbulence during the Late Intermediate Period (AD 1000 and 1100–1450, respectively; see Pärssinen 2005a). My analysis reveals that the iconography of Pariti pottery contains many typical Tiwanaku motifs, even though the collection is less standardized than many other examples of Tiwanaku pottery. At the same time, its symbols can be compared, on one hand, to much earlier Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition imagery and, on the other hand, to Late Horizon Inka and early colonial Pukina and Aymara cultures. Even modern ethnography provides interpretive insights into the caches.

Figure 22.25. The *ch'allador* PRT 00506 depicts a sitting or squatting being, with raised hands, whose pose is quite similar to that of toad and frog representations. Photo by Antti Korpisaari.

I believe that the iconography of the Pariti pottery, from its closed, double-cache context, can be understood as an extensive but unified text codified in specialized pottery, intended to be "read" in rituals involving song, dance, and oration, and subsequently ceremonially killed. Significantly, paste is relatively homogeneous in 227 Pariti vessels studied, suggesting that very few examples of pottery in the caches are long-distance imports (Fernández Murillo 2006; see also Väisänen 2008:106–107). Perhaps the pottery from Features 1 and 2 came from a single clay source, and if so, it seems likely that the religious "manuscript" for the ceremony for which the pottery was created was already determined before it was produced. Regardless, there seem to be similarities in the number of items from key symbolic classes; the number of vessels with snake/catfish iconography correlates roughly with the number of vessels with Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant iconography (and perhaps even with the number of sacrificed camelids mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, $n = 33$). In other words, vessels with Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant iconography also display feline and avian symbolism. However, snake/catfish iconography is almost completely absent in these vessels. Thus, we may regard these Pariti images as the representations of Tiwanaku gods that could constitute a paired prestige category: *qollana* (feline) and *payan* (avian). Nevertheless, the triad model (feline–avian–snake/fish) is completed by a similar number of vessels with snake/catfish representations. Thus, vessels with snake/catfish iconography represent the third element, known as *kayaw*. At the same time, snakes and catfish are positioned as *chhulla* opponents against the *qollana* and *payan* representations, with the following possible message: what used to be the last may invert to be the first.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Some mythological scenes on the Pariti cache pottery depict the capture of human beings similar to those represented by many individual male effigy vessels. This supports the idea of a grand narrative combining individual episodes into a comprehensive text that was "read" during the ritual, or sequence of rituals, last enacted on Pariti around AD 1000.

I suggest that the ceremonial closure of the excavated Pariti building was related to the collapse of the Tiwanaku state system and the dissolution of its elite class. This collapse was probably interpreted by residents as the failure of Tiwanaku's main gods to maintain the established social and economic order. Perhaps this presaged the symbolic return of a near relative of the god Tunupa,[2] as a creator and civilizing deity, as well as the return of traditional, local *huacas* and deities of the old Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition, including snakes, catfishes, and batrachians.

Finally, I interpret some aspects of Tiwanaku iconography in terms of direct analogies as well as structural models based on ethnohistory. I have also applied some linguistic methods and used Peirce's distinction between iconic signs, indication signs, and symbolic signs as a tool of analysis. By using this multidisciplinary approach, I hope I have provided a solid edifice for future studies of Tiwanaku and its iconography.

Acknowledgments

Research in Bolivia was authorized by the Unidad Nacional de Arqueología de Bolivia (UNAR), the Vice Ministry of Culture, and the Community of Pariti. Investigations on Pariti formed part of the project "Formations and Transformations of Ethnic Identities in the South Central Andes, A.D. 700–1825." The excavations were funded by the University of Helsinki and The Finnish Cultural Foundation and patronized by CEISAL (Consejo Europeo de Investigaciones Sociales de América Latina). In Pariti, Antti Korpisaari and Jédu Sagárnaga acted as co-directors of the field research. Riikka Väisänen, Risto Kesseli, Heli Pärssinen, Javier Mencias, Claudia M. Sejas Rivero, Marco Antonio Taborga, Tania M. Patiño Sánchez, Juan E. Villanueva Criales, Jenny Martínez, and María Soledad Fernández Murillo participated in the fieldwork and/or post-fieldwork. Villanueva prepared two original drawings accompanying this article while Korpisaari kindly commented on the first version of the manuscript—and allowed me to use his original photos. Also, William Isbell and Anne Tiballi made excellent suggestions and observations during the editing process of this article. Finally, my participation in the Santiago de Chile colloquium was made possible by William Isbell's kind invitation and financial support from Dumbarton Oaks and the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology. I wish to express my warmest gratitude to all.

Notes

1 In the early Colonial Period, foot motifs tended to be interpreted as signs of the presence of Saint Thomas or Jesus Christ in the Americas. However, in fact, they may have been related to the myth of Tunupa (see Bouysse-Cassagne 1997:164–169).

2 For example, Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007:45 [1572]) writes that after Viracocha(-Tunupa) disappeared across the ocean, Taguapaca (Taapac?) appeared in Collao as a new Viracocha.

References

Acosta, José de
1987 [1588–1590] *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Edited by José Alcina Franch. Crónicas de América 34, Historia 16, Madrid.

Adorno, Rolena
1986 *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Anonymous
1992 [1560] *Relación de la religion y ritos del Perú hecha por los padres agustinos*. Edited by L. Castro de Trelles. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, Lima.

Arriaga, Pablo José de
1968 [1621] *Extirpación de la idolatría del Pirú*. Edited by Francisco Esteve Barba, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo CCIX:193–277, Ediciones Atlas, Madrid.

Bauer, Brian S.
1998 *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Bertonio, P. Ludovico
1984 [1612] *Vocabulario de la lengua aymara*. Edited by Xavier Albó and Félix Layme. CERES Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social, IFEA and MUSEF, Cochabamba, Bolivia.

Betanzos, Juan
1987 [1557] *Suma y narración de los Incas*. Edited by María del Carmen Martín Rubio. Ediciones Atlas, Madrid.

Black, Max
1962 *Models and Metaphors: Studies in Language and Philosophy*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Bouysse-Cassagne, Thérèse
1986 Urco and Uma: Aymara Concepts of Space. In *Anthropological History of Andean Polities*, edited by John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel, pp. 201–227. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
1997 De Empédocles a Tunupa: evangelización, hagiografía y mitos. In *Saberes y memorias en los Andes. In Memoriam Thierry Saignes*, edited by Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, pp. 157–212. Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine, Paris—Institut Francais d'Études Andines, Lima.

Bouysse-Cassagne, Thérèse, and Philippe Bouysse
1988 *Lluvias y Cenizas. Dos Pachacuti en la Historia*. Biblioteca Andina 4, HISBOL, La Paz.

Braudel, Fernand
1980 *On History*. Translation by Sarah Matthews. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.

Cabeza de Vaca, Diego
1885 [1586] Descripción y relación de la ciudad de La Paz. In *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, edited by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, Vol. II, pp. 65–80. Ministerio de Fomento, Madrid.

Calancha, Antonio de
1639 *Corónica moralizada del orden de San Agustín en el Perú*. Barcelona.

Calnek, Edward E.
1978 The Analysis of Prehispanic Central Mexican Historical Texts. *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 13:239–266.

Campbell, Jonathan A., and William W. Lamar
1989 *The Venomous Reptiles of Latin America*. Cornell University Press, New York.

Capac Ayllu
2004 [1569] Memoria de las provincias que conquistó Topa Ynga Yupangui padre de Guaina Capac Ynga con sus hermanos. In *Textos andinos. Corpus de textos* khipu *incaicos y coloniales*, Tomo I, pp. 93–98, edited by Martti Pärssinen and Jukka Kiviharju. Acta Ibero-Americana Fennica. Instituto Iberoamericano de Finlandia and Departamento de Filología Española I, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid.

Cieza de León, Pedro de
1986 [1553] *Crónica del Perú. Segunda parte*. Edited by Francesca Cantù. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Charlton, T. H.
1981 Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnology: Interpretive Interfaces. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 4:129–176.

Chávez, Sergio J.
1976 The Arapa and Thunderbolt Stelae: A Case of Stylistic Identity with Implications for Pucara Influences in the Area of Tiahuanaco. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:3–25.
2004a The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as an Antecedent of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 70–75. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
2004b The Carved Slab of Copacabana. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 88–93. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Cobo, Bernabé
1964 [1653] *Historia del Nuevo Mundo I–II*. Edited by Francisco Mateos. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles Vols. XCI–XCII, Ediciones Atlas, Madrid.

Duviols, Pierre
1976 "Punchao," ídolo mayor de Coricancha: Historia y tipología. *Antropología Andina* 1–2:156–183.

Fernández Murillo, María Soledad
2006 Informe preliminar de análisis cerámico de vasijas de servir [Internal report of the Formations and Transformations of Ethnic Identities in the South Central Andes, AD 700–1825 project]. Manuscript on file, Renvall Institute, University of Helsinki.

Gaur, Albertine
1992 *A History of Writing*. Rev. ed. The British Library, London.

Gisbert, Teresa
2004 *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*. 3rd ed. Editorial Gisbert y CIA, La Paz.

González Holguín, Diego
1989 [1608] *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua qquichua o del Inca*. Edited by Raul Porras Barrenechea and Ramiro Matos Mendieta. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Editorial de la Universidad, Lima.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe
1987 [1615] *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*. Edited by John V. Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge L. Urioste. Crónicas de América 29a–c, Historia 16, Madrid.

Hernández Príncipe, Rodrigo
2003 [1622] Visita de Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe a Recuay (1622). In *Procesos y Visitas de Idolatrías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, edited by Pierre Duviols, pp. 755–778. Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, Lima.

Herrera, Antonio de
1991 [1615] *Historia General de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano*. Vol. III. Edited by Mariano Cuesta Domingo. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.

Janusek, John W.
2003 Vessels, Time, and Society: Toward a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization 2: Urban and Rural Archaeology*, edited by A. L. Kolata, pp. 30–91. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Julien, Catherine
2002 Punchao en España. In *El hombre y los Andes; Homenaje a Franklin Pease G.Y.*, edited by Javier Flores Espinoza and Rafael Varón Gabai, Vol. II, pp. 709–15. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo editorial, Lima.

Knobloch, Patricia J.
2000 Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata: An Interpretation of *Anadenanthera colubrina* Iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(4):387–402.

Korpisaari, Antti
2006 *Death in the Bolivian High Plateau: Burials and Tiwanaku Society*. BAR International Series 1536. Archaeopress, Oxford.

Korpisaari, Antti, and Martti Pärssinen (editors)
2005 *Pariti: isla, misterio y poder. El tesoro cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*. República de Bolivia, República de Finlandia and CIMA, La Paz.

La Barre, Weston
1948 The Aymara Indians of the Lake Titicaca Plateau, Bolivia. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 50, No. 1, Part 2. American Anthropological Association Memoirs 68.

La Grasserie de, Raoul
1898 *Langues américaines, langue puquina, textes puquina: contenus dans le rituale seu manuale peruanum de Geronimo de Ore, publié à Naples en 1607*. Librarie Orientale et Américaine Jean Maisonneuve, Paris.

Lambers, Karsten
2004 The Geoglyphs of Palpa (Peru): Documentation, Analysis, and Interpretation. PhD dissertation, University of Zurich, Zurich.

Lauzanne, Laurent
1991 Especies natives Los Orestias. In *El Lago Titicaca. Síntesis del conocimiento limnológico actual*, edited by Claude Dejoux and André Iltis, pp. 409–421. ORSTOM and HISBOL, La Paz.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude
1963 [1956] Do Dual Organizations Exist? In *Structural Anthropology*, translated by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, pp. 132–163. Basic Books, New York.

Lucca, Manuel de
1987 *Diccionario practico. Aymara-Castellano, Castellano-Aymara*. Editorial "Los Amigos del Libro," La Paz–Cochabamba.

Makowski, Krzysztof
2001 Los personajes frontales de báculos en la iconografía Tiahuanaco y Huari: ¿tema o convención? *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:337–373.

Marcus, Joyce, and Kent V. Flannery
2004 Ancient Zapotec Ritual and Religion: an Application of the Direct Historical Approach. In *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, edited by Colin Renfrew and Ezra B. W. Zubrow, pp. 55–74. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Mercado de Peñalosa, Pedro de
1885 [1585–1589] Relación de la provincia de los Pacajes. In *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, edited by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, Vol. II, pp. 51–64. Ministerio de Fomento, Madrid.

Mohr-Chávez, Karen
1988 The Significance of Chiripa in Lake Titicaca Basin Developments. *Expedition* 30(3):17–26.

Morris, Craig, and Adriana von Hagen
1993 *The Inka Empire and Its Andean Origins*. American Museum of Natural History, Abbeville Press, New York.

Murúa, Martín de
1962–1964 [1616] *Historia general del Perú, origen y descendencia de los incas* (Mss. Wellington). Edited by Manuel Ballesteros. Colección Joyas Bibliográficas, Biblioteca Americana Vetus, Vols. I and II, Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Madrid.

Niles, Susan A.
1994 Artist and Empire in Inca and Colonial Textiles. In *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, edited by Rebecca Stone-Miller, pp. 51–65. Thames and Hudson, London.

Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, Joan de Santa Cruz
1993 [1613] *Relación de las antiguedades deste reyno del Pirú*. Edited by Pierre Duviols and César Itier. Institut Français d'Études Andines, Lima.

Pärssinen, Martti
1992 *Tawantinsuyu. The Inca State and Its Political Organization*. Studia Historica 43, Societas Historica Finlandiae, Helsinki.
2005a *Caquiaviri y la provincia Pacasa: desde el Alto-Formativo hasta la Conquista Española (1–1533)*. Maestría en Historias Andinas y Amazónicas (Universidad Mayor de San Andrés), Colegio Nacional de Historiadores de Bolivia, and CIMA, La Paz.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2005b Tiwanaku: una cultura y un estado andinos. In *Pariti: isla, misterio y poder. El tesoro cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*, edited by Antti Korpisaari and Martti Pärssinen, pp. 17–37. República de Bolivia, República de Finlandia and CIMA, La Paz.

Pärssinen, Martti, and Jukka Kiviharju

2004 *Textos andinos. Corpus de textos* khipu *incaicos y coloniales.* Tomo I, Acta Ibero-Americana Fennica. Instituto Iberoamericano de Finlandia and Departamento de Filología Española I, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid.

Peirce, Charles Sanders

1894 *What Is a Sign?* http://www.iupui.edu/~peirce/ep/ep2/ep2book/ch02/ep2ch2.htm (accessed August 16, 2017).

Pérez Gollán, José Antonio

1986 Iconografía religiosa Andina en el Noroeste Argentina. *Bulletin de l'institut français d'études andines* 15(3–4):61–72.

Pérez Gollán, J. A., and I. Gordillo

1994 Vilca/Uturuncu. Hacia una arqueología del uso de alucinógenos en las sociedades prehispánicas de los Andes del Sur. *Cuicuilco* 1(1):99–140.

Pizarro, Pedro

1986 [1571] *Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú.* Edited by Guillermo Lohmann Villena. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, Lima.

Ponce Sanginés, Carlos

1969 *Tunupa y Ekako. Estudio arqueológico acerca de las efigies precolombinas de dorso adunco.* Editorial "Los Amigos del Libro," Cochabamba and La Paz.

Portugal Loayza, Jimena

1998 Los mitos de Tunupa y las estelas Pa Ajanu. *Textos Antropológicos* 9:69–98.

Posnansky, Arthur

1945 *Tiahuanacu: The Cradle of American Man*. Vols. I–II. J. J. Augustin, New York.

Querejazu Lewis, Roy

1983 *El mundo arqueológico del Cnl. Federico Diez de Medina*. Editorial "Los Amigos del Libro," Cochabamba.

Ramos Gavilán, Alonso

1988 [1621] *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana.* Edited by Ignacio Prado Pastor. Ignacio Prado P and Talleres Gráficos P.L. Villanueva, Lima.

Renfrew, Colin

2004 The Archaeology of Religion. In *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, edited by Colin Renfrew and Ezra B. W. Zubrow, pp. 47–54. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rowe, Ann Pollard

1997 Inca Weaving and Costume. *The Textile Museum Journal* 34–35:5–53.

Rowe, John H.

1967 [1958] The Adventures of Two Pucara Statues. In *Peruvian Archaeology. Selected Readings*, edited by John H. Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, pp. 125–132. Peek Publications, Palo Alto, California.

1967 [1963] Urban Settlements in Ancient Peru. In *Peruvian Archaeology: Selected Readings*, edited by John H. Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, pp. 293–320. Peek Publications, Palo Alto, California.

1985a La Constitución Inca del Cuzco. *Histórica* 9 (1):35–73, Lima.

1985b Probanza de los incas nietos de conquistadores. *Histórica* 9(2):193–243.

Sagüés Silva, Alicia Fernanda

2008 Propuesta para una estrategia de abordaje y análisis de las representaciones espaciales y plásticas. Reflexiones entorno a la cultura Tiwanaku. PhD dissertation, Departamento de Historia del Arte y Música, Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Erico Unibertsitatea.

Salles-Reese, Verónica

1997 *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: Representation of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Sagárnaga Meneses, Jédu A.

2007 Máscaras y culto en Tiwanaku. *Chachapuma. Revista de Arqueología Boliviana* 1:31–51.

Sampson, Geoffrey

1985 *Writing Systems: A Linguistic Introduction*. Hutchinson, London.

Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro

2007 [1572] *Historia de los Incas.* Edited by Ramón Alba. 2nd ed. Miraguano Ediciones and Ediciones Polifemo, Madrid.

Saussure, Ferdinand de

1960 [1916] *Course in General Linguistics*. Peter Owen Ltd., London.

Torres, Constantino Manuel, and David B. Repke

2006 *Anadenanthera: Visionary Plant of Ancient South America*. Haworth Herbal Press, New York.

Urton, Gary

2003 *Signs of the Inka Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Väisänen, Riikka

2008 Pacha Mama's Treasures: A Study of the Morphological Types of Ceremonial Tiwanaku Ceramics Found on the Island of Pariti, Lake Titicaca, Bolivia. Master's thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Helsinki.

Vellard, Jean

1991a Los batracios. In *El Lago Titicaca. Sintesis del conocimiento limnológico actual*, edited by Claude Dejoux and André Iltis, pp. 453–462. Orstom and Hisbol, La Paz.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1991b *Los ofidios*. In *El Lago Titicaca. Sintesis del conocimiento limnológico actual*, edited by Claude Dejoux and André Iltis, pp. 463–464. Orstom and Hisbol, La Paz.

Wachtel, Nathan

1973 *Sociedad e ideología. Ensayos de historia y antropología andinas*. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret

2004 Pucara Stone Sculpture. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by M. Young-Sánchez, pp. 76–85. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Ziółkowski, Mariusz S.

1997 *La querra de los wawqi: los objetivos y los mecanismos de la rivalidad dentro de la élite inka, siglos XV–XVI*. Ediciones ABYA-YALA, Quito.

Zuidema, R. Tom

1977 The Inca Kinship System: A New Theoretical View. In *Andean Kinship and Marriage*, edited by Ralph Bolton and E. Mayer, Special Publication 7:240–281. American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.

1995 *El sistema de ceques del Cuzco: la organización social de la capital de los incas*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, Lima.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 23: Introduction

Founding Fathers of the Middle Horizon
Quests and Conquests for Andean Identity in the Wari Empire

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 23, Patricia Knobloch proposes the first interpretive history of Wari that is based on human actors, not cultural processes, inferred from iconography. Like much interpretive archaeology, it is speculative, but unlike some postprocessual arguments, the discussion is based in detailed comparative analyses to such precision that the article is quite demanding to read, even with its numerous illustrations. However, scholars will find it well worth the effort, providing breakthrough ideas.

Knobloch employs her extraordinary knowledge of Middle Horizon imagery to identify, discuss, and interpret a number of "agents"—images representing individuals, social statuses, ethnic groups, or some other single or corporate identity to whom effective action can be attributed by Wari art. She believes that many of the figures in Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) art, depicting humans with no supernatural attributes, represent actual historical people who were systematically distinguished in official art by differences in headdress, face paint, clothing, and other attributes. Of course, it is preferable not to employ names that may have interpretive implications in the early study of ancient imagery, so Knobloch simply numbers her agents.

The goal of Chapter 23 is to describe several agents who recur frequently enough to determine the approximate date of their popularity in Middle Horizon chronology. Furthermore, observations can be made about their spatial distribution, contexts, associations, and activities as depicted in Wari art, permitting inferences about what the complex imagery affirmed regarding Wari history, religion, and social organization. The chapter draws on decades of research, during which Knobloch has developed information about a great number of Wari agents and organized detailed descriptions and illustrations on her website, "Who Was Who in Middle Horizon Andean Prehistory" (http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu). Currently, her website describes approximately 50 Wari agents and provides maps for provenienced examples. In this chapter, Knobloch discusses 20 of them, Agents 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 127, 128, 129, 132, 137, 140, 146, 147, and 150.

Some agents were popular at the beginning of the Middle Horizon. Others became more popular somewhat later, replacing predecessors. Many Wari agents were depicted as captives, with hands bound behind the back, or as disembodied heads—sometimes within the bodies of supernaturals, as though the human had been consumed by the deity. Other agents are represented as Sacrificers, grasping a captive or holding an axe/knife and severed head. Other agents appear as warriors. Similarly, some agents occur with a Staff God, while others appear with Profile Attendants/Profile Deities. The corpus of Wari art suggests that at least some of the compositions have narrative qualities, telling stories. Furthermore, bound human captives, who may originally have been warriors, and human sacrifice by decapitation are important themes in narrative Wari art.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The chapter distinguishes two important phases in Wari history. Relatively early in the Middle Horizon, SAIS imagery was being introduced into the Wari sphere. Agent 102 was a major player at this time, probably an elite identity that participated in introducing the new religion and imagery. Later in the Middle Horizon, especially Epoch 2, SAIS iconography representing the Staff God and Profile Attendant (or "Profile Deity," preferred by Knobloch) was dominant, and human sacrifice imagery becomes almost ubiquitous. Agents 100 and 101 were prominent figures, the former associated more with the Profile Deity, the latter more with the Staff God. Knobloch infers internal conflict within Wari society, based on forced adoptions of the new religious ideology and perhaps also conflicting versions of the new religion itself (heresies?).

This chapter begins with an intensive examination of Agent 102, who is distinguished by a chevron band on his headdress and pendent rectangle cheek designs. This representation of a social identity, person, or ceremonial activity is historically early and seems to have been associated with the appearance of SAIS iconography in the Ayacucho Valley. Knobloch reviews contexts and associations for Agent 102 that confirm his early appearance and track his spatial distribution. Her discussion considers associations with important Early Intermediate Period/Middle Horizon transitional imagery, such as the humpback animal and ventral animal icons. She goes on to explore similarities between images of Agent 102 with felines on his shoulders, from Conchopata, Ayacucho, and representations from as far away as northwestern Argentina, especially of the Aguada culture. These observations resonate with comparisons discussed formerly by Alberto Rex González (2004). They also emphasize the remarkable scope of the SAIS and highlight the research that will be required to make sense of it.

Knobloch cautiously suggests the possibility that Agent 102 represents some kind of outsider to Ayacucho, who brought SAIS concepts and art to Wari, although perhaps not so much in the form of textiles as through verbal transmission—as implied by the fact that offering urns represent effigy vessel humans with a Staff God on the tunic, while no examples of actual tunics have been found depicting this deity. Only the stone sculptures of Tiahuanaco were carved wearing such clothing.

Unfortunately, the means and the route for the possible transmission of SAIS remain obscure, although the distribution of Agent 102 imagery is providing interesting possibilities. Knobloch's observation that Agent 102 is unknown in Cusco will require revision in light of new discoveries of Wari art distributed from Vilcabamba to Pomacanchi (Fonseca et al. 2011).

The popularity of Agent 102 declined toward the end Middle Horizon Epoch 1, as SAIS imagery became prominent. New agents were depicted more frequently, especially Agents 100, and 101. To explore the social processes, Knobloch examines Wari art of Epoch 2, particularly representations that seem to have narrative, storytelling qualities. Especially fascinating is an unanticipated Wari textile that has just become available to scholars. Knobloch calls this unfortunately fragmentary weaving the Captives Tunic, not just because its agents have their arms tied behind their backs but also because the Staff God is depicted with bound wrists—apparently a captive! On the four panels that remain of this unusual Wari weaving, the captive Staff God is consistently paired with a Profile Attendant, or Profile Deity. In an insightful and detailed discussion, Knobloch associates Agent 101 and his confederates, Agents 104, 105, 108, 110, 129, 132, 137, 146, and 147, with Staff God icons. On the other hand, Agent 100 and his accomplices, Agents, 102, 103, 106, 107, 112, 127, 128, 140 and 150, seem to relate to Profile Deity icons. This opposition is inferred to represent an episode of actual conflict and warfare in Wari history that accompanied upheavals stimulated by the introduction of SAIS, the imposition of new religious practices, and different cosmologies. Furthermore, in view of the iconic prominence and important narrative roles of Agents 102, 100, and 101 in Wari history, Knobloch proposes to call these agents "founding fathers."

Interpretive archaeology is rarely convincing until its assumptions are supported by multiple lines of verification. Knobloch's conviction that ritualized human sacrifice indicates ancient warfare and conflict over religious preferences imposed by the devotees to the SAIS is speculative. I am also uncomfortable with her term "founding fathers" that seems to imply ancestors of kin groups of some kind. However, Knobloch's identifications of representational regularities within the immense corpus of Wari art are extensive and convincing, and she lines up ethnographic analogies in partial support of suggested inferences. Most important, she proposes the first outlines for a "history" of Wari, which identifies human actors in addition to cultural processes. It is certainly premature to speak of conclusions from Knobloch's study of Wari agents, but creative new understandings are proposed, and Patricia Knobloch's scholarship must provoke a great deal of new thought about the Wari past.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

References

Fonseca E., Javier, Julinho Zapata R., Patricia Knobloch, William H. Isbell
2011 Señor Wari de Vilcabamba: Description and Implications. Paper presented at the 30th Annual Meetings of the Northeastern Conference on Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Andover, Maine.

González, Alberto Rex
2004 La Arqueología del Noroeste Argentino y Las Culturas Formativas de la Cuenca del Titicaca. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropologia* 29:7–38.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 23

Founding Fathers of the Middle Horizon
Quests and Conquests for Andean Identity in the Wari Empire

Patricia J. Knobloch

Andean art of the Middle Horizon Wari empire includes a complex inventory of human depictions—referred to here as "agents"[1]—that are assumed to represent historic individuals.[2] This chapter focuses on a small subset of these agents[3] that are associated with specific religious icons—identified here as "Staff Gods" and "Profile Deities"[4]—common to the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) (Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009). This subset of agents most likely represented key individuals since the depictions occur often and usually on well-crafted artifacts, such as ceremonial vessels, fine tapestries, hammered gold, and inlaid wood. Moreover, these examples indicate that notable people in momentous historic events were well known. In this chapter, my goals are to discern their individual identities and present interpretations of their actions. Agent identity includes apparel that appears limited to hats, necklaces, tunics, capes, belts, wristbands, anklets, and pouches. Footwear is seldom depicted. Breechclouts appear on agents lacking tunics. Since most agents can be categorized by consistently individualized facial markings, the skin may have been tattooed. Analyzing the spatial and temporal associations of agents and SAIS imagery may lead more directly to discover the intentional actions or "agency" of the person. As a cautionary consideration, an agent category most likely represents the identity of an individual, but it could represent a group. In summation, agent associations and implied actions can engender narratives of possible events in the ancient cultural landscape (Figure 23.1). These goals represent my attempt to develop a research methodology of data collection and review that I have designated as "agent analysis."

Agent 102 and the Introduction of the SAIS into the Wari Heartland

In the Wari heartland during the Early Intermediate Period (AD 0–700),[5] the black-on-white painted pottery of the Huarpa culture included human images as figurines, modeled heads, and effigy vessels (Knobloch 1976, 1983). An effigy vessel can be a jar or bottle with a neck shaped to resemble a human head—also known as a "face neck"—and the jar's shoulders and body substitute for a human's shoulders and body (Figure 23.2). Huarpa agents have black fine-lined facial designs; especially vertical lines below the eyes known as "tear lines" (Figures 23.3 and 23.4). Huarpa potters also created large effigy jars without a face neck but rather a modeled head on the jar's shoulder. Arms and hands were added as black-outlined, white bands that spread across the body, some ending in black spots denoting fingertips (Figure 23.4). Both techniques continued into the Middle Horizon (MH) (AD 700–1000)[6] with the appearance of Agent 102 (Knobloch 2002)[7] in Epoch 1B (AD 725-825) (Figure 23.11—face neck; Groleau 2011:Figs. 6.8, 6.11—modeled head), including the depiction of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

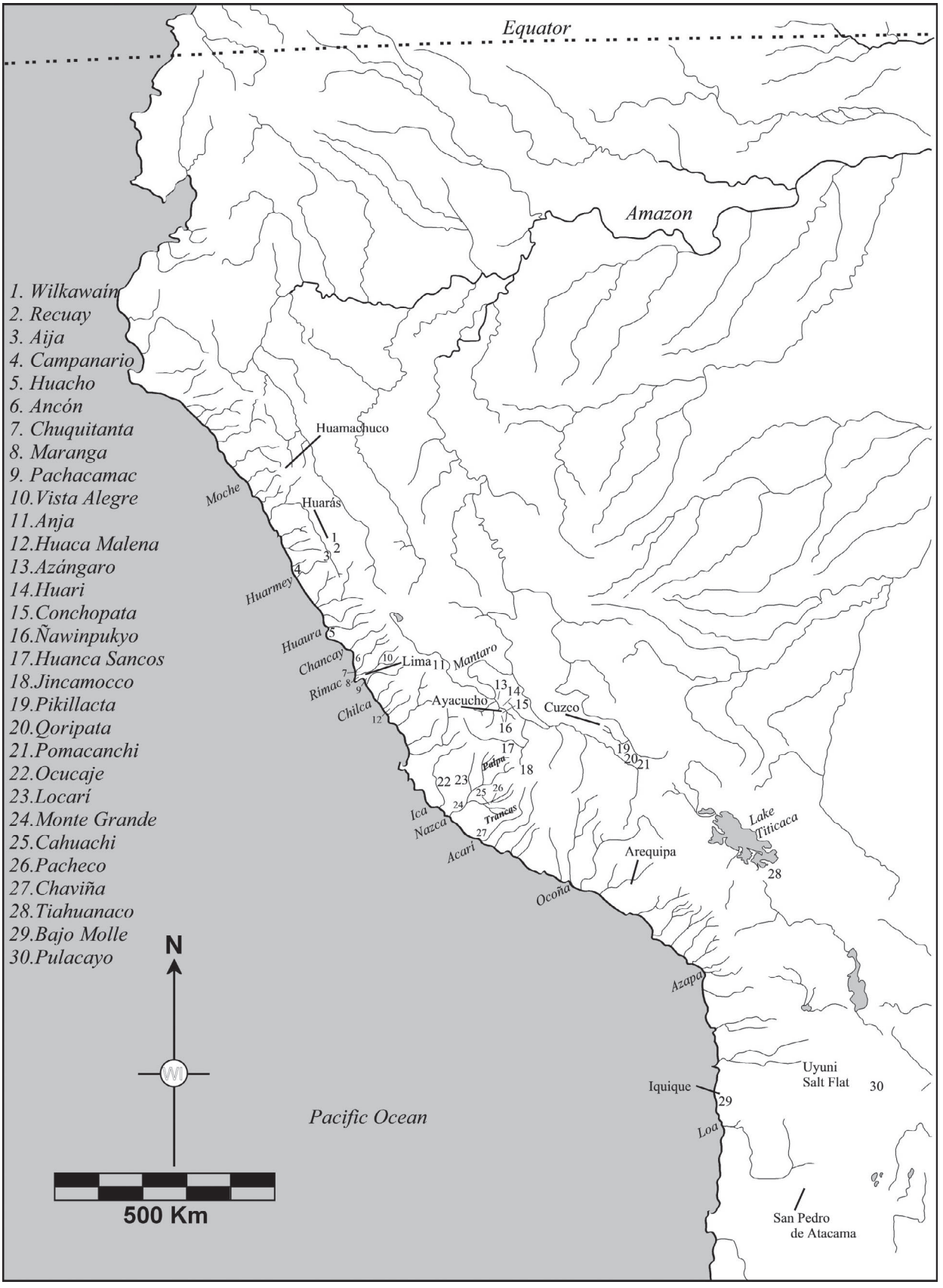


Figure 23.1. Central Andean map. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 23.2. Black-on-white effigy jar from the earliest known collection of Huarpa-style ceramics. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

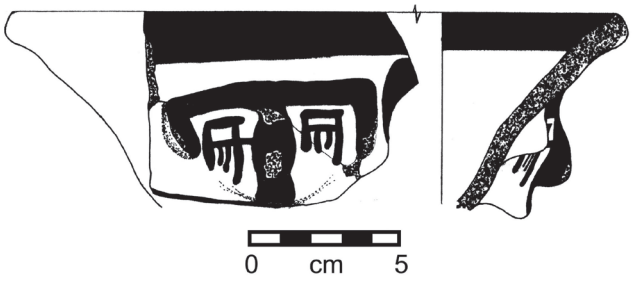


Figure 23.3. Black-on-white effigy vessel, most likely a jar because the interior was painted white as common with Huarpa black-on-white wide-mouthed jars. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

hands as black-outlined squares with five bands for fingers ending in small squares as fingertips. These depictions of Agent 102 apparently herald the introduction of the SAIS. Thus, describing, locating, and dating Agent 102 evidence is important for understanding the beginnings of the SAIS in the Wari heartland.

Describing and Locating Agent 102 Evidence

Agent 102 most often appears on ceramic effigy jars. The effigy jars are found in two basic sizes: regular, or about .3 to .5 m, and oversize, or greater than 1 m. The

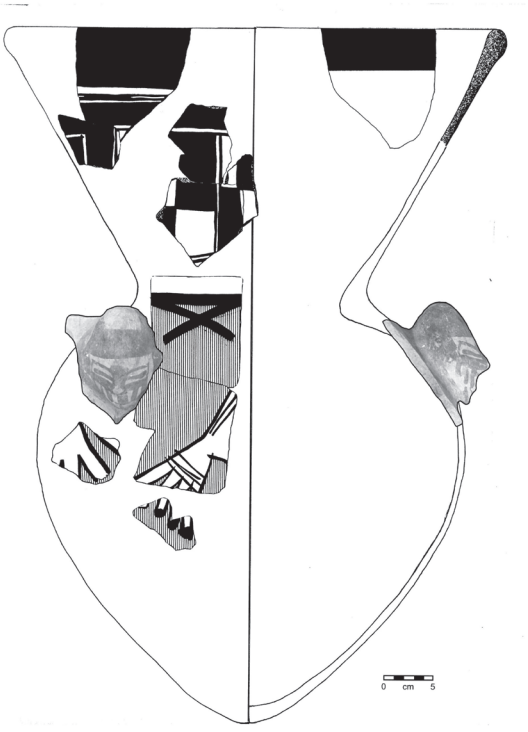


Figure 23.4. Suggested reconstruction of a large jar shape, although the thick rim sherds were previously ascribed to large, "vertical sided open vessels" (Menzel 1964:9). Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

jars' pigments, motifs, and modeling range from scant detail on dull pottery surfaces, as found on regular size jars, to complex, multicolored motifs on oversize jars, some denoted by a further level of expert realism on polished surfaces with SAIS imagery. Agent 102 consistently has a chevron band as a headband, and the cheeks are usually decorated with the "pendent rectangle" motif. This motif consists of a rectangle divided into three or more vertical bands; some examples include vertical wavy lines in the center band.

Agent 102 appears on a tapestry from Ocucaje, in the Ica River valley, and on several ceramic effigy jars found at Pachacamac, south of Lima; Qoripata, southeast of Cuzco; Huari, 10 km north of Ayacucho; and Conchopata, on the eastern edge of Ayacucho.[8] The Ica Tapestry (O'Neale and Kroeber 1930:Plate 12) (Knobloch 2002)[9] displays numerous agents, both bodiless and full body, in a symmetrical face-to-face layout. Two full-body, avian Profile Deities hold two full-body agents at the top of their heads.[10] Agent 102 is a bodiless head in the top row, far left. The Pachacamac Agent 102 jar (Knobloch 2002)[11] has the chevron headband but the cheeks are painted with tear bands terminating in feline heads (Schmidt 1929:Figure 283-2). The Qoripata Agent 102 jar has the chevron headband

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

protruding just below the rim like a realistic turban, and tear bands are squared arches (Glowacki and McEwan 2002:Figure 14). It lacks SAIS imagery.

A 1977 Huari excavation exposed many cultural layers, 4 m deep, reaching sterile soil (Figure 23.5). The excavation was located in the side of a roadbed created in 1974 when the site was bulldozed for road construction. Face-neck, rim sherds from regular-sized Agent 102 jars were found in Strata 4 (Figure 23.6), 5 (Figure 23.7), and 17 and 22 (Figure 23.8) and one fragment of the eye with eyebrow in Stratum 26. Body sherds that depict Agent 102's hands and fingers as black-outlined bands occurred in Strata 16 and 21.

In 1977 at Conchopata, workmen dug a pipeline trench along the road leading to the Ayacucho airport. During this construction, the smashed remains of 23 oversize Agent 102 effigy jars bearing SAIS imagery (Figure 23.9) were discovered in a prepared offering pit.[12] The resulting salvage program also recorded a group burial, layers of cultural debris, and a 16-m-wide enclosure (Isbell 1987), recently labeled

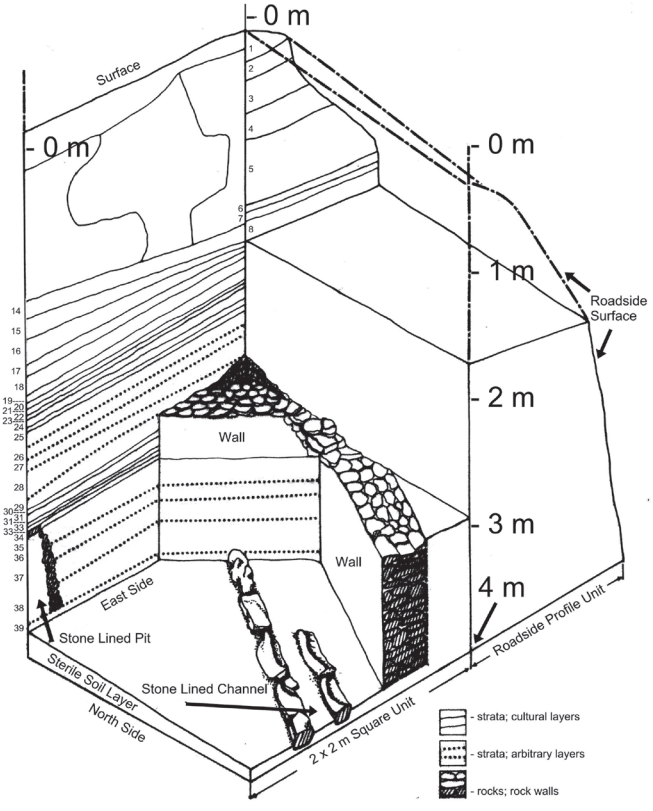


Figure 23.5. Schematic drawing of unit Eb4-2-200 excavated at Huari in 1977 by Dr. Isbell's Huari Urban Prehistory Project. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

Figure 23.6. Ocros-style Agent 102 effigy jar sherd from unit Eb4-2-200, Stratum 4 and assigned to middle Epoch 1B (AD 750–775). Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

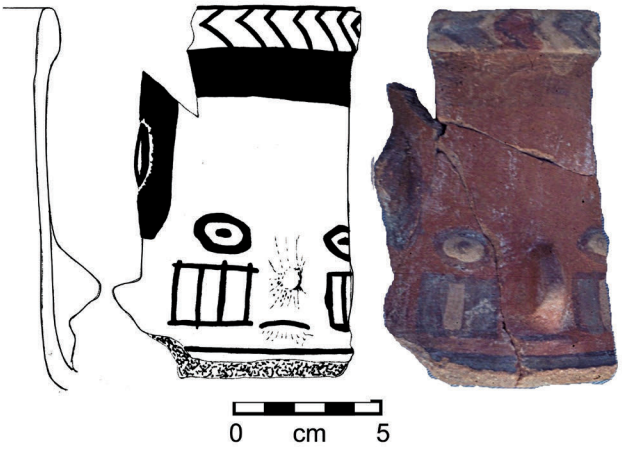


Figure 23.7. Chakipampa-style Agent 102 effigy jar sherd from unit Eb4-2-200, Stratum 5 and assigned to middle Epoch 1B (AD 750–775). Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

Figure 23.8. Ocros-style Agent 102 effigy jar sherd from unit Eb4-2-200, Stratum 22 assigned to a transitional time between Epoch 1A and Epoch 1B (circa AD 725). Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 23.9. Composite of two effigy jar fragments from the 1977 Conchopata offering excavation. Courtesy of William H. Isbell.

the "Pink Plaza" (Isbell and Cook 2002:Figure 9.5), that appears to be contemporary with construction of many walls and other offering pits. Along the trench, two excavated units, A and C, produced about 1,000 sherds including Agent 102 examples from effigy jars (Figure 23.10).

In 2000, another Conchopata offering pit was located about 3 m north of the 1977 offering pit and may have contained about 27 oversize effigy jars including Agent 102 jars (Isbell and Cook 2002:268–269, Figures 9.18–9.19) in a style lacking SAIS attributes. Dating Agent 102 and the introduction of the SAIS will be inferred using stylistic and stratigraphic evidence from the 1977 Huari/Conchopata excavations and 1977/2000 Conchopata offering pits.

Dating Agent 102 and the Introduction of the SAIS in the Huari Heartland

Agent 102's identity apparently originated in early Huari society. The chevron band design originates in the Huarpa style and the MH Epoch 1 pendent rectangle motif was a stylization of EIP Nasca Phases 7 and 8 "monkey" motifs (Knobloch 2005).

The 1977 Huari excavation produced ceramics ranging from EIP Huarpa styles to MH Epoch 1B styles. Since the upper layers did not produce pottery that displays the diversity and more elaborate examples of late Epoch 1B (AD 775–825) designs, I argue that the deposits terminated before the end of Epoch 1B (Knobloch 1983). Stylistic analysis of the ceramics resulted in five temporal designations: Huarpa/Epoch 1A (Strata 30–39), Epoch 1A (Strata 25–29) (AD 700–725), Epoch 1A/early 1B (Strata 17–24), early Epoch 1B (Strata 8–16) (AD 725–750), and middle Epoch 1B (Strata 1–7) (AD 750–775) (see Figure 23.5). These designations are not exact but represent relative patterns of sherd concentrations distributed through the strata that indicate temporal changes from EIP Huarpa into Epoch

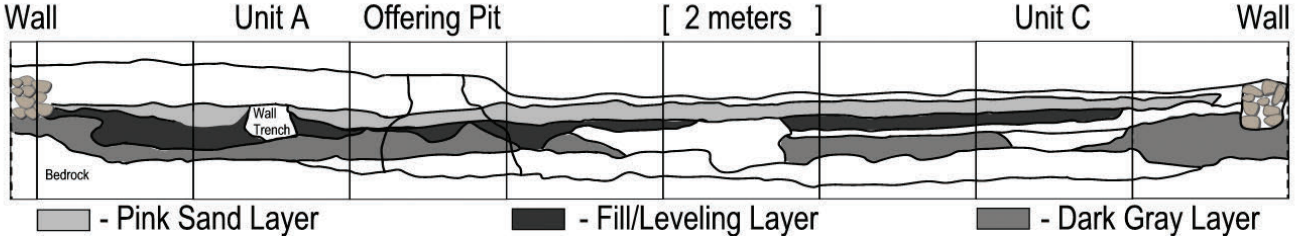


Figure 23.10. Profile of stratigraphy in the 1977 pipeline trench at the Conchopata site. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1 Chakipampa and Ocros styles (Menzel 1964, 1968, 1977). Consequently, Agent 102 sherds from Strata 4, 5, 16, 17, 21, 22, and 26 suggest that this personage was known from late Epoch 1A through middle Epoch 1B and represents the Wari elite at that time.

From the 2000 Conchopata offering, Agent 102's headdress is more elaborate than the Huari examples, with an additional field of Chakipampa-style bicolored, symmetrical ray motifs below the chevron band. Facial features are more precise such as modeled eyebrows with evenly spaced, tickmarks above ovate shaped eyes with black round pupils whereas Huari's examples may not have eyebrows or just simple lines, irregular-shaped eyes, and dash marks for pupils. The Conchopata reconstructed vessel bodies reveal various abstract, curvilinear ray motifs and stylized zoomorphic designs in the Chakipampa style, although their meanings have not been inferred. On one jar, the body field is symmetrically divided by rectangles with five straight bands tipped by squares with small, black-on-white dashes (Isbell 2001:Figure 24) that probably represent a stylization of hands, fingers, and fingernails, respectively (Figure 23.11)—derived from the Huarpa effigy jars previously mentioned. Consequently, these advanced stylistic attributes indicate that a late Epoch 1B date seems most appropriate for this cache of Agent 102 jars. The offering pit included a carbon sample with a ^{14}C date of cal. AD 689 to 883,[13] but the 200-year range renders it rather useless for refining Epoch 1 temporal divisions.

Figure 23.11. Chakipampa-style effigy jar from the 2000 Conchopata offering depicting Agent 102 with a chevron headband at the rim and pendent rectangle motifs on the cheek. Courtesy of William H. Isbell.

Since the 1977 Huari and 2000 Conchopata examples are not associated with the SAIS, how can they be sequenced chronologically to the 1977 Conchopata effigy jars of Agent 102 that display imagery from the SAIS? Two analyses of stratigraphic evidence may help determine when SAIS appeared in relation to the "agency" of Agent 102. To begin, the 1977 Conchopata offering pit area had been bulldozed (Figure 23.10). Below the disturbed surface layer remained three cultural layers; the bottom-most was an irregular, dark gray soil (Unit A, Stratum 7 and Unit C, Stratum 8), the middle layer was fill that apparently leveled the area (Unit A, Stratum 5 and Unit C, Stratum 4), the upper-most layer was the pink, sandy soil of the Pink Plaza surface (Unit A, Stratum 4 and Unit C, Strata 2/3, 3). The original top of the offering pit remains uncertain, but the cavity was most likely dug through the fill layer and definitely through the dark gray layer. In the first analysis, a regular size Agent 102 jar sherd (Figure 23.12a) was recovered from a thin layer (Unit A, Stratum 6) between the fill/leveling layer and the dark gray layer. Surely this sherd deposit predates the offering pit and indicates that Agent 102 existed prior to his SAIS examples from the offering pit. In the second analysis, the fill/leveling layer (Unit C, Stratum 4) sherds included a partial face (Figure 23.12b) and hand and finger designs from an oversized Agent 102 effigy jar associated with examples of the Ocros-style "ventral animal" (Figure 23.12c) and a Chakipampa-style "Ayacucho serpent" (Figures 23.12d) that stylistically date to middle Epoch 1B (AD 750–775). Agent 102's face on this Conchopata example has pupils as black dash marks that are clearly similar to the Huari example (Figure 23.7) of middle Epoch 1B. Therefore, the Huari examples from older strata or early Epoch 1B (AD 725–750) also support the existence of Agent 102 prior to his appearance on the 1977 Conchopata offering of effigy jars with SAIS icons.

The significance of the middle Epoch 1B evidence in the fill/leveling layer is whether or not it dates the introduction of SAIS in the Wari heartland. Again, analyses of stratigraphic evidence may provide an answer. First, a sherd from the fill/leveling layer (Unit A, Stratum 5) depicts the mouth and nose of a SAIS feline Profile Deity (Figure 23.13a). Second, these SAIS attributes

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 23.12. Sherds from the 1977 Conchopata excavation units. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

are identical to examples discovered in 2003 on several sherds displaying SAIS feline Profile Deity icons (Figure 23.13b): the attributes are a short rayed, bulb-based tuft at the mouth with a single interior line, diagonal canine lines, circled-dot nose, protruding chin band, and animal head ray at the end of the headband. Third, one of the 2003 sherds displays an almost identical version of the torso and belt of a Staff God (Figure 23.13c) as painted on the jars from the 1977 offering pit (Figure 23.13d) (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 27d). Thus, the 2003 sherds associate the 1977 offering jars and fill/leveling layer events as closely contemporary. Perhaps soon after the offerings were buried, Wari laborers disturbed both the 1977 offering pit and another offering pit that had the 2003 sherds, thereby mixing pieces into the fill/leveling layer. This association indicates that Agent 102's likeness with the SAIS icons on the effigy jars from the 1977 Conchopata predates his likeness on the 2000 Conchopata offering jars. Remarkably, this linkage also indicates that the 1977 versions of SAIS icons predate the Pink Plaza layer.

Sequencing the 1977 Conchopata offering pit as dating to middle Epoch 1B and before the Pink Plaza when the site was greatly enhanced is important for dating other SAIS imagery. The Pink Plaza is associated with ritual offerings of oversized urns with SAIS icons in the Conchopata style—a ceramic style defined by Dorothy Menzel (1964, 1968) based on Julio Tello's 1942 Conchopata excavations that she dated to Epoch 1A. Thus, the question is: does stratigraphic evidence support Menzel's chronology or a different sequence of events? An urn rim sherd that displays the crown area of a

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

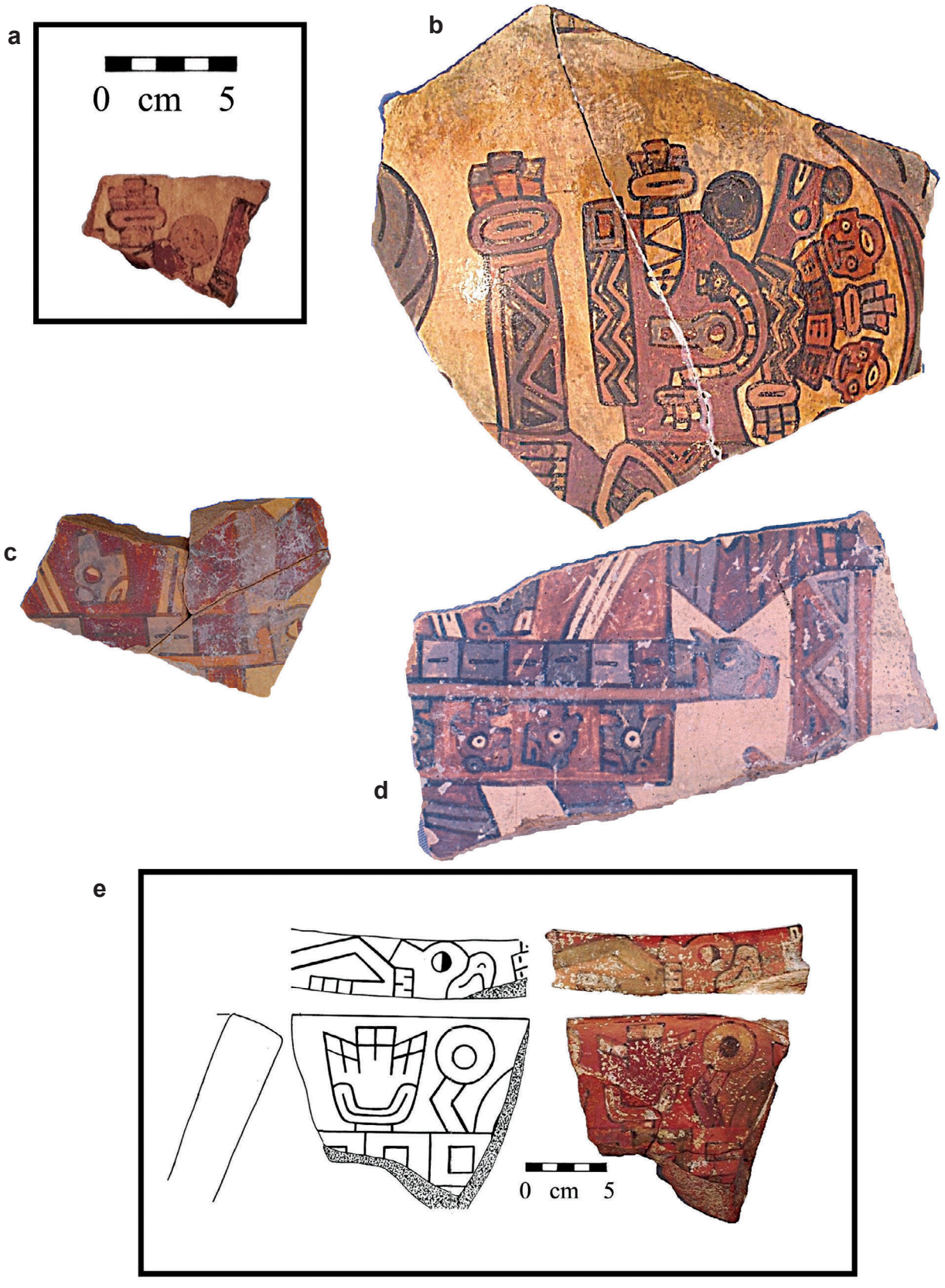


Figure 23.13. Ceramic sherds from Conchopata ceremonial vessels depicting incomplete SAIS (a, b) Profile Deities, (c, d) Staff Gods, and (e) a bodiless Profile Deity. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch (a, e) and William H. Isbell (b–d).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

bodiless Profile Deity head (Figure 23.13e) is identical to those found in the 1942 Conchopata offering (Spielvogel 1955:Plate LV).[14] It was found in the fill of a trench where a wall once stood (see Figure 23.10, Unit A). Before the wall was removed, the Pink Plaza floor had abutted its foundation. Consequently, subsequent fill must have come from events contemporary or after the Pink Plaza floor was created. Therefore, the 1942 SAIS examples date later than the 1977 and 2003 SAIS examples and most likely resulted from Epoch 2 events (AD 825–900). In 1983, I proposed the first major change to Menzel's Wari chronology by dating the Conchopata style later than Epoch 1A and then to late Epoch 1B (Knobloch 1983, 1991a). Here, I now date it to Epoch 2A (AD 825–850) based on "agent analysis" discussed below. Further detailed stylistic analysis will provide insights into the associations and "agency" of Agent 102 with Epoch 1B events.

Agent 102 on Oversize Jars with SAIS Imagery from the 1977 Conchopata Offering

Menzel inspected these Agent 102 oversize effigy jars.[15] Although she assigned them to Epoch 1B, the following analysis will assume the more refined dating of middle Epoch 1B (AD 750–775). All have a chevron headband, but the faces are so diverse in shape, expression, and painted designs that Agent 102 most likely represents a group of individuals (Figure 23.14) (Cook 1987:Figures 1–7). None of these faces have the pendent rectangle motif, but some display an elaborate creature motif on the cheeks (Figure 23.14a,b) or no cheek designs at all (Figure 23.14c). The small moustache and chin beard (Figure 23.14a) is similar to Nasca effigy jar agents (see Lumbreras 1974:131, Figure 138, right). Just below the effigy head is a V-shaped neckband indicating

Figure 23.14. Examples of effigy jar fragments from the 1977 Conchopata offering with incomplete depictions of individuals assigned to the Agent 102 category who wear the chevron headband. Courtesy of William H. Isbell.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

that the body images may represent decorations on a tunic. Covering the "shoulders," several versions of the "humpback animal" icon appear (Cook 1987:Figures 15–20; Isbell and Cook 1987:32, top left figure), but at least two jars have a pair of human hands instead (Cook 1987:Figures 13, 14; Isbell and Cook 1987:27, top figure). The vessel bodies display two scenarios of supernatural beings. The less common scenario is a pattern of zoomorphic icons that surround a dome-shaped motif (Cook 1987:Figures 29, 30; Isbell and Cook 1987:29). The zoomorphic icon is similar to the fancy Chakipampa 1B "ventrally extended animal with ray appendages, a triangular tail, and an elongated 'stinger' in front" (Menzel 1964:11), but it lacks the "stinger" and so will be referred to as the "ventral animal."[16] The more popular jar scenario displays a Staff God atop a pyramid-shaped pedestal and two rows of Profile Deities, one row facing toward and the second away from the Staff God (Cook 1987:Figures 21–28; Isbell and Cook 1987:30, bottom left figure). More detailed discussion of this iconography is necessary to interpret Agent 102's activities leading to the introduction of the SAIS.

Humpback Animal Icon. This icon may represent various mammals but most often is referred to as a feline even though it does not display the typical Wari-style, disk-shaped, feline nose.[17] Among the 1977 jars, there are two ways of depicting and grouping humpback animal icons: either two large or eight small. The two large humpback animals face one another and occur on at least six jars (Cook 1987:Figures 15, 16) (Figures 23.15a–d). The body space is filled with medallion motifs—a circled dot surrounded by symmetrically placed recurved rays and circled dots between the rays. The paws are circles with several small curves, indicating claws that radiate around the circle. The mouths have either zigzag teeth (Figure 23.15a) or N-shaped canines (Figure 23.15b–d). The ears vary from none at all (Figure 23.15b), to bumps (Figure 23.15c), to a short curl (Figure 23.15a,d). The feline bodies are usually outlined with a modular width, single-fillet band (Figure 23.15a,b,d).[18] At least three 1977 jars are decorated in the same space with eight small humpback animals that face in various directions (Cook 1987:Figures 18–20).

The two large humpback animal figures on the jar's shoulders face the agent's head. This combination of an agent with two flanking, profile felines is a common image that Julio Tello (1923:230–235, Figures 32–37) interpreted as the pan-Andean theme of a central deity with attending feline guardians or *custodios*. For example, this combination is found on ceramics and stone sculpture in the upper Huarmey River region near Huaráz at Aija (Kan 1972:Figure 21) and Recuay. However, these northern examples differ from the Agent 102 examples in that they all indicate claws as nested curves and do not have medallion motifs embedded in the body. Feline images are also found in northwest Argentina beginning with stone sculpture in the Tafi-Alamito-Condorhuasi cultures (200 BC–AD 800), continuing through the Ciénaga culture, and developing to a climax on pottery and metal in the Aguada culture around AD 650 to 850. In Aguada art, Rex González (1972) has identified a cult with an iconic trilogy of warrior, trophy head, and feline images. The feline depictions have individual curled claws that radiate around the paw and have medallion motifs embedded in the body (González 1972:Figures 13–20) that are remarkably similar to the humpback animal icons on the 1977 Conchopata jars. Stylistic similarities between the Conchopata examples and a southern version, rather than a northern version, of this pan-Andean theme of central deity and *custodios* are not surprising given the other SAIS imagery on these Agent 102 effigy jars.

Tunics preserved in the arid environment of Peru's central and south coast display humpback animals very similar to those on the 1977 Conchopata jars. These tunics are also shorter than later Middle Horizon tunics—covering only the wearer's shoulders and upper torso—as replicated by the short tunic size on the effigy jars.[19] These textiles include camelid fiber, suggesting highland connections. The feline bodies are outlined with a modular width, single-fillet band and have curled claws, a short curled ear, and embedded medallion motifs of recurved rays (Figure 23.16) (Frame 1999a:Plate 15; Stone-Miller 1992:115–116, Plate 29). Similar feline depictions are found on other coastal textiles, including pouches (Lapiner 1976:Figures 519, 520; Moraga 2005:Figures 17–18; Museum of Primitive Art 1958:Figure 10; Taullard 1949). The feline depictions on these textiles display embedded medallions and zigzag-toothed mouths but, in contrast, have long, finger-like claws or squared-digit claws.

On two of these tapestry fragments, the feline bodies are combined as though representing a double-headed animal (Figure 23.17) (Anton 1972:Figure 204; Lothrop et al. 1957:Figure 229) and provide datable stylistic comparisons with other artifacts. In the upper corners of the tapestry in Figure 23.17 are two bicolored, interlocking designs with recurved rays. These designs are almost identical to those on a ceremonial textile assigned by

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 23.15. Variations in humped-animal motifs painted on the front, shoulder areas of the Agent 102 effigy jars from the 1977 Conchopata offering and most likely represent short tunics with tapestry representations. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

Ann Pollard Rowe (1979:Figure 5) to Epoch 1B. In the middle of the tapestry is a single-fillet, profile head with a tripartite, recurved ray on top of the head, a curled nose, and hatch-marked teeth. This head motif is almost identical to the heads on single-fillet, humpback animals on Nievería-style pottery from Vista Alegre (J. Rowe 1974:Figure 400), dated by Menzel to Epoch 1B, as well as on a tapestry pouch (Lumbreras 1990:202) that displays 12 small humpback animals. This pouch indicates connections to coastal cultures since there are similar displays of multiple, small humpback animals on the shoulders of three Agent 102 jars (Cook 1987:Figures 18–20). Consequently, humpback animal imagery associates the clothing of those identified by Agent 102 perhaps more closely with coastal weaving than the Aguada culture and strongly indicates trans-Andean interests.

Ventral Animal Icon. As mentioned, there are two scenarios of supernatural imagery on the jars' bodies, and the less popular scenario displays the ventral animal icon.[20] The face of this ventral animal has a triangular head with two, circled-dot eyes and an open mouth of peg teeth (Figure 23.18). Similar faces appear on four more rectangular or semi-spherical, severed heads dangling from the ends of the arms and legs. Agent 102 jar examples have numerous tripartite rays appended to the ventral animal but with squared sides and flat central points—an uncommon design detail in Wari ceramic art—most likely copied from the warp and weft angularity of woven designs. On several coastal textiles, Lawrence Dawson identified similar ventral animal images with bodiless heads appended to the hands and feet as Nasca Phase 9 (d'Harcourt 1962:Plate 4; Knobloch 1983:299; Dawson

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 23.16. A small tunic of interlocked tapestry weave with symmetrically arranged, confronting feline motifs. Courtesy of © Dumbarton Oaks, Pre-Columbian Collection, Washington, DC. B-511.

Figure 23.17. A tapestry fragment of interlocked weft and short slits about one-fourth the size of the small tunic in Figure 23.16 and therefore perhaps part of a small tunic as also implied by continued warp threads at bottom edge. Courtesy of © Dumbarton Oaks, Pre-Columbian Collection, Washington, DC. B-512.

personal communication, 1981).[21] Agent 102's ventral animal is most similar to the Nasca Phase 9 example, which has been assigned to Epoch 1B. On another coastal textile (Ubbelohde-Doering 1926:Plates VI–VII), a similar ventral animal image occurs with appended severed heads at the hands and feet and possibly more hanging from a head between the figure's hind legs (Figure 23.19, left). This image occurs next to an agent with a chevron headband that may represent a Nasca rendition of Agent 102 with a short tunic, a belt of faces, skirt, and breechclout (Figure 23.19, right). Again, the associations of animal icons on highland ceramics and coastal textiles support Epoch 1B trans-Andean encounters.[22]

Staff God and Profile Deities. The Staff God on the 1977 effigy jars has been compared to the carved Staff God on the back of the Ponce monolith from Tiahuanaco (Isbell and Knobloch 2006:327–328, Figures 12.2, 12.5).[23] The Ponce statue holds a glass-shaped *kero* that displays a torus—a low relief band just below the rim—of geometric patterns and, thus, a Tiwanaku V–style vessel shape (Janusek 2003:62) that dates to Epoch 2 (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Table 4). The carving obviously occurred after this version of a Staff God was well known in the Tiwanaku heartland. The Profile Deities on the jars are so stylized that only lesser elements are shared with the SAIS even though their positioning of flanking the Staff God is similar to the layout of such icons on the Gateway of the Sun. On the other hand, sherds from a 2003 Conchopata excavation that are most likely from other Agent 102 oversize jars as previously described (see Figure 23.13b), clearly display feline Profile Deities that relate to SAIS examples (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figures 27a–c,f). These icons face upward and have a bent-knee stance, a double-banded crown with appended severed heads, embedded limb bands, a pointed wing attached to the back, staff and belt bands of zigzag-nested triangles, but no axe or severed head to indicate combat or the act of decapitation. These Profile Deities are quite dissimilar from those on the oversize urns from the 1942 and 1999 Conchopata excavations and remarkably more similar to the Profile Deities on the Gateway of the Sun. In other words, the 2003 Profile Deities share more design similarities with Tiahuanaco's stone carvings, the Ponce and Kochamama monoliths, and snuff tablets from San Pedro de Atacama (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:194, Figure 20; Torres 2002:Figures 3, 8b,f), such as the aforementioned pose, crown, canines, chin band, belt, wing, and staff bands. These comparisons suggest various forms of contact between those

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 23.18. Body sherds from one Agent 102 effigy jar from the 1977 Conchopata offering depicting the less popular scenario of a dome-shaped motif surrounded by ventral animal icons. Courtesy of William H. Isbell.

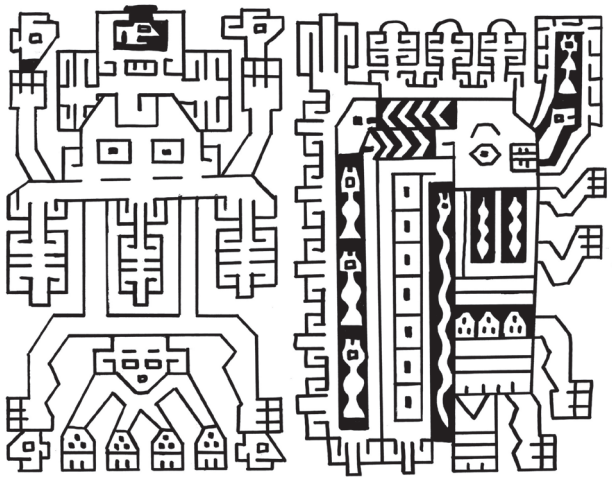


Figure 23.19. A ventral animal icon next to a possible coastal rendition of Agent 102 as drawn from a coastal textile. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

living at Conchopata and SAIS original sources, perhaps involving wood tablets and textiles that could be easily transported[24] yet perished in Ayacucho's wet climate as well as verbal communications with varied accuracy in translations and descriptions.[25]

The Ica Tapestry and Pachacamac jar date to Epoch 1B/2A and 2A, respectively (Menzel 1977:57 and 1964:54, respectively). The Qoripata Agent 102 jar may also date to Epoch 1B/2A. These Agent 102s may represent those few who endured or became legendary in Epoch 2.

Summary of Agent 102–Related Activities

Huarpa artisans modified their ceramic art through contact with the Nasca culture thereby borrowing new colors, abstract design elements, and certain icons that were significantly more stylized than Nasca Phases 7 and 8 representations (Knobloch 1983, 2005). Huarpa and Wari Epoch 1A and early 1B style ceramics are very rare in south and central coast sites.[26] Early Epoch 1B Wari artisans elaborated on the Huarpa design elements and introduced symmetrical and asymmetrical recurved ray motifs and small animal icons. Symmetrical design fields and straight-sided bowls with hard polished surfaces and dark orange to red backgrounds became standard. These ceramic changes developed into the Epoch 1B Fancy Chakipampa style and essentially influenced and replaced more traditional art of the Nasca culture on the south coast. As Epoch 1B styles developed, Agent

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

102 began to appear on Huari and Conchopata effigy jars. The faces from less fancy Agent 102 jars have few details other than the pendent rectangle motif. This motif was also painted on common pottery vessels such as bowls at Huari, Conchopata, and Pikillacta (McEwan 1991:Figures 12, 30 upper). Since the pendent rectangle motif is not used on all Wari agents and pottery, it may have been a symbol significant to a subset of the population who identified themselves with Agent 102.[27] At the beginning of late Epoch 1B, these agents were accorded sufficient prestige to be portrayed on fancy, oversize effigy jars at Conchopata. These jars have several realistically represented faces, some with a moustache and chin beard, others with elaborate cheek panels, some with both, and others with none of these (see Figure 23.14). The shoulder areas display short tunics with motifs shared with coastal textiles, such as short tunics, that suggest a well-established coastal trade system by the end of middle Epoch 1B. The bodies of the partially reconstructed jars seem barrel shaped[28] rather than the more typical egg shape of many Wari jars, and they display a SAIS Staff God and Profile Deities that have yet to be found on tunics. This absence suggests that the potters were not depicting clothing but possible tapestry or painted cloth that artistically expressed symbolic information witnessed by Agent 102 as an informant. Therefore, the potters may have been treating these ceramic vessel bodies like the stone carvers treated the bodies of their Tiahuanaco monoliths, as the means to archive the SAIS information on prestigious objects with an enduring legacy.

Although Wari-style artifacts are absent in the Tiwanaku heartland (Menzel 1964), artifact evidence in the Wari heartland indicates early social contacts into the far south coast.[29] A possible route relies on two sets of evidence. First, the current dearth of Epoch 1B SAIS imagery at the sites of Pikillaqta and Huaro suggests that the Wari in the Cuzco region did not have contacts outside the Cusco area prior to Epoch 2.[30] Second, EIP Nasca and Arequipa regional art (Frame 1999b:Plate 23; Haeberli 2006:Plates 8–12) has similar images of staffed beings and decapitation with those of the early SAIS (Isbell and Knobloch 2009). Thus, coastal cultures may have been receptive to or even participated in the transfer of the SAIS northward, lending a social context of religious exploration and spiritual quest to the Wari.

Based on the dominance and quality of their depictions in the Epoch 1B materials, the individuals of Agent 102 most likely acquired elite status with no apparent principal ruler. Because of their association with the SAIS, they were probably key decision makers, responsible for introducing and fostering a new cult or religion. Since "agent analysis" defines agency as the "intentional actions of an individual," then Wari's Agent 102 elites may be interpreted as having intentionally used the SAIS as a source of empowerment. But to control religious authority and expand political boundaries, for what further activities were these and other Wari elites responsible? To discern subsequent actions, I will present evidence for later agent and SAIS associations by analyzing probable "narratives" represented on exceptional Wari tapestries and elaborate ceremonial pottery.

The SAIS among the Wari

Wari artisans created many artifacts depicting warriors, prisoners, severed heads, and supernatural beings that can be construed as indicators of human sacrifice. However, an astoundingly detailed tapestry tunic presents some doubt to such possible interpretations. This tunic's imagery depicts four groupings of two bodiless, bound deities or "Captive Staff Gods," two Profile Deities that are not captives (Isbell and Knobloch, 2009) and four captive agents (Figures 23.20 and 23.21) arranged in four quadrants of alternating red and green backgrounds. Because of this rare imagery, I have named this textile the Captives Tunic (CT). A selvage occurs on all four sides. Two sets of grouped icons are arranged in a rotated symmetry from the other two sets enabling imagery to be viewed right side up on both front and back. The Captive Staff God's arms are crossed in front with the wrists bound. A staff is at either side. The Profile Deity is full body, facing upward, with an arm that grasps a band emerging from the mouth—perhaps a staff-like elongated tongue—one bent leg and a wing attached to the back. Four full-body agents are in prone position with arms bound at the back, implying captive status. Most design elements are shared, including round noses, square-toothed grimacing expressions, black pupil eyes, dotted chevron heels, ankle bands, upper-leg bands, squared fingertips, and long, pointed thumbnails. One nose is a spiral and the others have a central dot. Some pupils are attached to the top of the eye, promoting an "almost dead" expression. The legs are in the bent-back-leg stance, a convention so ingrained in the SAIS that it was used even though the agents are obviously not genuflecting or running. Two profile agent heads are within the Profile Deity's body and another is a full-face head between the hands of the Captive Staff God. Two more profile agent heads appear as being fed to the felines at the bottom ends of the staffs. Bodiless agent heads were not assigned to any agent category.[31]

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 23.20. Section of the Captives Tunic depicting the Captive Staff God, captive Agents 104 and 146, and winged Profile Deity on red background. Courtesy of Margaret Young-Sánchez.

Figure 23.21. Section of the Captives Tunic depicting the Captive Staff God, captive Agents 147 and 110, and winged Profile Deity on green background. Courtesy of Margaret Young-Sánchez.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

A captive Staff God is obviously unexpected and more so in the disparity between one paired with an aggressively posed Profile Deity. Though unforeseen, the tunic's narrative is, likewise, surprisingly irrational. Since deities are considered supernatural beings, rationally they are immortal and cannot be put to death. So why would one be captured? Analysis of this tunic's pictorial narrative of "captive-ness" may reveal an intriguing history of Wari political events.

Describing, Locating, and Dating the Captives Tunic's Imagery

Staff God and Profile Deity. The icons' band elements are filled either with circled dots or nested squares, exceptions being the Captive Staff God's crown of interlocking frets and the Profile Deity's tail of Y-face motifs (Editor's note: Haeberli, Chapter 6, this volume, discusses this motif as well).[32] Rays fill spaces and are appended by short bands to various design elements: bulb-based tripart tufts, both wavy and straight with the central tuft longer; feline heads with a circled-dot nose; profile human heads, although only on the Captive Staff God's crown; circled-dot and avian heads, although only on the Profile Deity; and a long-nose creature head. Attached to the Profile Deity's staff/tongue are fish heads with short curled bodies. The icons' wrist and anklet bands have two dots. The Captive Staff God displays most of the standard SAIS design elements, such as the encircling crown band, symmetrically arranged rays, T-shaped nose with eyebrows, winged eyes with fancy cheek band, N-canine mouth, collar, wristbands, embedded limb bands, and two staffs. The CT's Profile Deity does not hold an axe or severed head. Its wing motif is a single band that arcs up from the back and branches into three bands of nested squares ending in long-nose creature heads. Inconsistent elements are a crown-like band that flattens the rump, a curled band with an avian head for a nose, the tongue/staff, and the body's filler motifs of agent heads and another feline-headed creature that looks like a miniature version of the Captive Staff God's staff, but with an arm and hand.

Compared to the Conchopata style (Menzel 1964, 1968), the CT's Profile Deity is enhanced with more innovative elements than the former Profile Deities (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 25), although with similarities to the floating Profile Deities that have Y-face motifs and lack collars (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 30). The CT Profile Deity shares design elements with profile figures on a textile fragment from Huari (Oakland Rodman and Fernández 2001:123–124, Figure 9A,B): a curled band nose, pointed ears, N-canine mouth, divided eye, a rump that ends in a flat band of rays, Y-face motifs, most colors (except green and brown), white outlining, no collars or belts, unusual staff that is best described as a snake of segmented nested squares and fish heads with open mouths, and, most importantly, profile human heads in the body as though devoured.[33] This comparison may indicate that the CT was woven at Huari. The lack of textiles from Huari does not preclude the possibility of master workshops, as the highland humidity quickly destroys textiles.[34] On the other hand, the CT could have been woven on the coast due to similarities with two other tapestry woven textiles: (1) a textile from Trancas showing the back leg and clawed foot of a Profile Deity (O'Neale and Kroeber 1930:Plate 14, top) and (2) a textile from Huaca Malena showing the leg and clawed foot of a Profile Deity standing over a row of profile agent heads (Angeles and Pozzi-Escot 2001:Figure 10A,B).[35] All share a red background and white outlining, and significantly, all three have anklet bands containing dots. This design element is not yet documented for the SAIS in the Wari heartland. Based on these innovative SAIS attributes, the CT style is most likely derived from the Conchopata ceramic style but dates later to Epoch 2B.

The CT displays at least four distinct agents: 104 (Figure 23.22), 147 (Figure 23.23), 110 (Figure 23.24), and 146 (Figure 23.25). Agents 104 and 147 have similar headgear and will be discussed together. Agents 110 and 146 will each be discussed separately.

Figure 23.22. Agent 104 as drawn from photos of the Captives Tunic. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

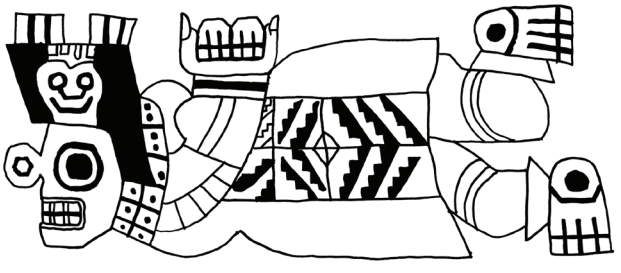


Figure 23.23. Agent 147 as drawn from photos of the Captives Tunic. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

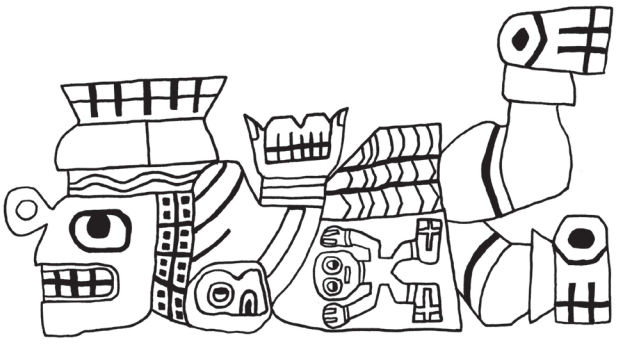


Figure 23.24. Agent 110 as drawn from photos of the Captives Tunic. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

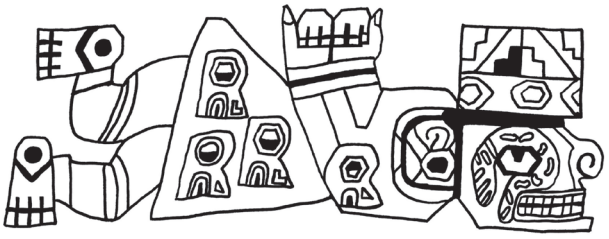


Figure 23.25. Agent 146 as drawn from photos of the Captives Tunic. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

Agents 104 and 147. Agents 104 (Figure 23.22) and 147 (Figure 23.23) have a similar black headdress but are separated due to dissimilar clothing. The headdress may display a front-face "skull" with teeth and hollow eyes or a front-face "sun" image with short rays.[36] Agent 104's hat does not have top appendages. Over a tunic of profile animal heads is a cape of black and white chevron bands—perhaps raptor feathers. This attire is similar to Agent 110 discussed below. The profile animal heads may be abbreviated versions of full-body profile animal figures that are usually winged (see Bergh 1999).[37] Agent 104's necklace appears to hang like strung beads.

At the top of Agent 147's hat are two short tufts that could be feathers. The actual necklace was most likely made of rectangular *Spondylus* shell beads with drill holes. The tunic has vertical bands alternating with either plain red or multicolored geometric patterns. Agent 147's tunic design may represent Susan Bergh's (1999:794–823) "Profile Creature" pattern, Types 3 and 4; the "Profile Bird Heads" pattern (Bergh 1999:896–901); or the "Stepped Cross" pattern (Bergh 1999:902–908). These tunics have vertical panels in various plain colors—brown, gold, orange, red—that alternate with vertical panels of multicolored geometric patterns. The geometric patterns display a stepped-cross motif (i.e., a "plus sign" shaped center surrounded by diagonal stepped bands) within alternating quadrants of two background colors.

Locating and dating are difficult as there are few examples of Agents 104 and 147 with secure proveniences, and in some cases, only accessory elements distinguish one agent from the other. Agent 104 (Knobloch 2002)[38] occurs on several artifacts yet none have secure proveniences. On a small, unprovenienced effigy jar, Agent 104 has a tunic with profile animal faces that may be abbreviated profile winged figures (Bergh 1999:18) and a shield (d'Harcourt 1924:42 top, right). The shield displays a fine-line, geometric motif of a circle with symmetrical double rays. A very similar image depicts two Agent 104s as captured by a Profile Deity (Lapiner 1976:Figures 580 and 581). As the other artifact images of this agent indicate, Agent 104 may represent Epoch 2 warriors who engaged in battles on the central and south coasts.

Agent 147 (Knobloch 2002)[39] appears on several duplicated Epoch 2A (AD 825–850) Atarco-style, wide-mouthed jars with two other agents: a full body, front-face warrior (Agent 105) (Knobloch 2002)[40] with two bodiless, profile heads—one above each shoulder—one of which (Agent 107) faces Agent 147 (Anton 1962:Figure 107; Lumbreras 1990:204; Zuidema 1972:Figures 2, 3).[41] On three, Epoch 2 Pachacamac-style effigy jars (Schmidt 1929:Tafel III, right) Agent 147 (Knobloch 2002)[42] is seated—perhaps with bound feet—and has a black headdress with the central, rayed "sunface" and a tunic with two vertical panels of profile animal faces or abstract tie-dyed patterns. As previously mentioned, the CT's Agent 147 tunic with a stepped-cross motif is similar to tunics in Bergh's "Profile Creature" (Types 3 and 4), "Profile Bird Heads," and "Stepped Cross" groups. The "Profile Creature" group has four provenienced tunics (Bergh 1999:566, 569, Chart 7). Two tunics came from Chaviña in the Acarí Valley and Huacho in the Huaura Valley.[43] A third tunic came from Hacienda Monte Grande in the lower Nazca drainage, stylistically dated by Ann Pollard Rowe (1986:Figure 8) to MH Epoch 2B and with a ^{14}C date of cal. AD 775 to 1026; this 1-sigma range is rather useless to refine the MH temporal units. The fourth tunic came from Tomb 107 at Solcor in the San Pedro de Atacama region with a ^{14}C date of cal. AD 901 to 1012.[44] The "Profile Bird Heads" group has one tunic provenienced to Campanario in the Huarmey Valley (Amano and Tsunoyama 1979:Catalog 18; Knobloch 1991b:Figure 10). The "Stepped Cross" group has only one tunic, reported to be from the Nazca area. Thus, Agent 147's tunic pattern most likely dates sometime within Epoch 2B (AD 850–900) and the earlier years

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

of Epoch 3 (AD 900–1000) and individuals who wore this tunic style may have traveled as far south as the San Pedro de Atacama area and as far north as the Huarmey Valley.

Agent 110. The Captives Tunic's Agent 110 has a headband below a bicolored, bowl-shaped hat possibly topped with feathers (Figure 23.24). The tunic has a profile animal head at the shoulder and a sprawled anthropomorphic image on the front. The cloak is similar to Agent 104's and the necklace to Agent 147's.

There are two examples with known provenience to locate and date Agent 110 (Knobloch 2002).[45] The first is an effigy jar found in 1974 at the northwestern edge of Huari, and the second is a captive image on the 1942 Conchopata oversize urns. On the Huari jar, Agent 110 has a tunic with a fret/fret[46] pattern with embedded triangles in the frets that is unlike any of the known tunics displaying face/fret[47] or fret/fret patterns with a curved volute as described by Bergh (1999) (Figures 23.26 and 23.27).[48] This fret/fret pattern is similar to Tiwanaku-style pottery (Knobloch 2001:80, Figure 110) and is almost identical to a Huari sherd in the Bennett (1953:Figure 11E) collection that Menzel (1964:16, 40, Figure 233) regards as an innovation in the Chakipampa style of Epoch 1B that continues into the less fancy Viñaque Epoch 2 style (also referred to as the Huamanga style). The effigy holds a square plaque or shield that displays a sprawled anthropomorphic figure similar to the CT's version. In the effigy's left hand, against the body, a small, white, C-shaped implement that may be a ceramic clarion or an archer's bow, although no bowstring or arrows are depicted. On the 1942 Conchopata urns, Agent 110 is a captive held upside-down by a Profile Deity (Isbell and Cook 1987:30 bottom right[49]). Stripped of the tunic, only a leg-wrapped loincloth (e.g., subligaculum) with a red and white striped hem, necklace, and ear spools are depicted. These two Agent 110s indicate an individual who had direct involvement with the SAIS phenomenon after its Epoch 1B introduction and who most likely was a member of a highland population. The tunic with the fret/fret pattern may indicate contact or even origins with altiplano populations such as the Tiwanaku (Knobloch 2001:80, Figure 11a,b).

Agent 146. On the CT, this agent's facial design is a single broad band that outlines the upper eye and curves down onto the cheek at either end (Figure 23.25). The band is filled with small dashes and curved elements.[50] The tunic displays profile animal heads similar to the Agent 104 example. The rectangular hat motif

Figure 23.26. A front view of an effigy jar depicting Agent 110 in the Less Fancy Viñaque style (aka the Huamanga style). Courtesy of William H. Isbell.

Figure 23.27. A profile view of an effigy jar (Figure 23.26). Courtesy of William H. Isbell.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

represents a four-cornered hat with a rim band of angular circles below a top pattern of two squares with the fret/fret motif. This version of the hat is more realistically depicted on modeled effigy jars as worn by Agent 100 (Benson and Conklin 1981:93) and Agent 127 (Knobloch 2002[51]; Lapiner 1976:249, Figure 576[52]). Such hats are considered elite attire due to the fine thread knotting involved and occur in both the Wari and Tiwanaku regions (Frame 1990). They have predominately geometric and zoomorphic patterns. Added short strands or "pile" structures are more common to Wari-style hats[53] and nonpile to Tiwanaku- and Atacameño-style hats (Frame 1990:10) but are not mutually exclusive. A nonpile hat was found in the Huanca Sancos caves associated with several Wari, mummy bundle remains and, stylistically, is almost identical to another housed at the Berlin Museum that lacks provenience (Figure 23.28). This hat and several others are small, as though for a child's head, but could possibly fit the head of an adult with cranial modification.[54] Despite the many known four-cornered hats,[55] Agent 146's particular hat design—a rim band of angular circles below fret/fret motifs—is rare. One possible example is woven with no pile, with a rim band that consists of diamond shapes (O'Neale and Kroeber 1930:Plate 26), and is provenienced from the Nievería site of Vista Alegre, therefore possibly dating to Epoch 1B. Another, similar nonpile example is from the Bajo Molle site near Iquique, Chile (Moragas 1995; see Chapter 10, this volume). Since other examples of Agent 146 (Knobloch 2002)[56] are lacking, I will briefly describe examples of agents that wore similar four-cornered hats, such as Agent 100, that can help date Agent 146 and the CT.

Figure 23.28. Four-cornered hat with design elements that are similar to those on a fragment of a four-cornered hat found in cave burials near Huanca Sancos, Ayacucho. Courtesy of Patricia J. Knobloch.

Agent 100 (Knobloch 2002)[57] does not have the same tunic or the same facial characteristics as Agent 146. One side of Agent 100's face has a large x-like field of four triangular areas while the other side has a grid of fret/fret motifs (Anton 1962:113; Larco Hoyle 1966:Figure 116). Examples occur on Epoch 1B pottery[58] as well as sherds within Epoch 2 contexts from Wilkawaín (Bennett 1944:Figure 10F), Jincamocco,[59] Huari (Brewster-Wray 1990:618, Figure 78c; Wagner 1981:296, Figure A10B), and Azángaro (Anders 1986:Figure 7.56a). Agent 100 has a four-cornered hat only on Epoch 2 artifacts, including an effigy jar from Jauja in the Mantaro Valley (Anton 1962:Figure 113; Kubler 1975:184).[60] Another effigy jar shows a tunic with the face/fret pattern (Bergh 1999:721–793; Larco Hoyle 1966:Figure 116 or Stierlin 1984:135). The Epoch 2 Ica Tapestry (see Menzel 1977:57 and Knobloch 2002[61]) shows three versions of Agent 100: a profile head just below a profile body and another profile head in the wing area of an avian Profile Deity. These three versions of Agent 100 on one artifact are intriguing; perhaps the weaver was documenting differences such as generational identities. Agent 100 was described as an armed warrior (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2001b:Figures 9–10, 2002:241, Figure 8.5A–C) and may have fought on the coast and in the central highlands though artifact depictions have not yet been found in the Cuzco area. Thus, Agent 100 with the four-cornered hat help to date Agent 146 and the CT to MH Epoch 2.

To summarize, the earliest evidence of Wari's SAIS has the 1977 Conchopata effigy jars with similarities to the Ponce Statue's Staff God (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 33) as well as the layout of the Gateway of the Sun icons and the 2003 sherd deposit's Profile Deities with similarities to the Profile Deities carved on the Kochamama statue and San Pedro de Atacama snuff tablets (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 15d–g with Figure 27c) that probably date to middle Epoch 1B (AD 750–775). In Epoch 2A (AD 825–850), evidence of Wari's SAIS has the 1942 Conchopata offering urns with similarities to the Gateway of the Sun followed soon after by the Captives Tunic in Epoch 2B (AD 850–900) with innovations that are derived from the more conservative SAIS counterparts as depicted on the urns. Also, the examples of the CT agents indicate notable individuals

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

rather than group depictions who apparently participated in events from the Huarmey Valley in north-coast Peru to the far south coast and into the Atacameño oases of Chile as well as the Wari heartland. Some examples may indicate contact with the altiplano.

Interpreting the Narrative of the Captives Tunic

The Captives Tunic records a dramatic narrative of complex social interactions between the Wari and other Andean populations as well as an iconic inconsistency that require a reinterpretation of the traditionally inferred, hierarchical relationship between Staff Gods and Profile Deities.[62] Most likely the weaver(s)'s choice of the CT's agents was informed by past intentional actions of individuals. To test the historical accuracy of the CT's narrative, evidence will be presented from archaeological and bioarchaeological contexts. Ethnohistoric myths may also provide insights into understanding the CT's icons and narrative.

Artifact Evidence. Several artifacts depict Staff Gods and Profile Deities in such a way that they suggest independent roles for these entities. Most ceremonial cups and tumblers for ritual libation depict only one deity per vessel, usually a Staff God (Menzel 1977:Figures 47, 92, 93, 119, 120). The reconstructed ceremonial urns found smashed and buried at Pacheco display Belted and Beltless Staff Gods but not Profile Deities (Menzel 1977:Figures 122, 123). Tunics are replete with examples of Profile Deities, such as anthropomorphic birds and other mammals (Bergh 1999), but no Staff Gods. I have proposed that such tunics were symbolically used to impart god-like authority to the wearer to the possible extent of enacting the ceremonial role of a deity (Knobloch 1986, 1991b, 2000, 2007). Most lime/snuff containers[63] depict individual actions of a deity—for example, a winged feline Profile Deity with a belted tunic grasping an agent's head (Uhle 1912:Figure 13[64]) and another with a captive agent similar to Agent 100 (Lapiner 1976:Figure 556; Sawyer 1968:Figure 532). These artifacts clearly show that Staff Gods and Profile Deities could be represented separately. Thus, Staff Gods and Profile Deities were often represented separately and artifacts that combine them may or may not represent hierarchical relationships.

Although few examples as spectacular as the CT have been discovered, Wari art includes remarkable imagery that animates deity and human depictions. The 1942 and 1999 Conchopata urns (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 25) display conservative SAIS designs on the deities and thus are earlier than the CT. The urns' narratives record a decisive event that demarcates Epoch 1 from Epoch 2 in Wari history and most likely were made at the beginning of Epoch 2A. Remarkably, one 1942 urn (Figure 23.29d,h) and the CT (Figure 23.21, lower right) both display a captive Agent 110, thereby creating continuity and collaboration by ancient artisans in confirming the narrative of this historic event. On each urn the narrative scene is painted within a wide band around the upper exterior surface. The Staff God has been interpreted as a single, principal figure flanked by rows of Profile Deities that have been interpreted as secondary figures and given names such as "angels" (Menzel 1964, 1968, 1977) or "attendants" (Cook 1986, 1987, 1994). However, I completed partial reconstructions of these urns that show a significant departure from this theme.[65] The principal figures are two tunic-wearing Staff Gods, belted (Figure 23.29c,e,g,i) and beltless (Figure 23.30b,d). Unlike the Pacheco urns, these icons do not occur together on the same urn but establish two distinct scenarios on four, possibly five, urns. The Belted Staff God grasps a captive Agent 140 by the top of the head and the Beltless Staff God, a captive Agent 150 (Knobloch 2002).[66] Agent 140's headdress is a black cap with a headband of diamond shapes, sometimes with additional red dot elements, and two feathers attached by a medallion to the back. He wears an ear spool, necklace, belt, leg-wrapped loincloth, and anklets. With the Beltless Staff God Agent 150's face decorations vary from a white, T-shaped band to a jagged black-outlined, white line drawn from the forehead down the cheek (Figure 23.30b; Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 25). His hat varies from one similar to Agent 140 with diamonds to one with curve and dot elements that represent a jaguar's pelt. The agents' belts of plus sign elements occur with the Belted Staff God (Figure 23.29c,e-2) and of diagonally divided squares occur with the Beltless Staff God (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 25).

The importance of this new reconstruction is that one Staff God is not predominant on an urn but several occur—each repeatedly paired with one of the Profile Deities within sections demarcated by vertical bands of face/fret motifs. Profile Deities face away from the Belted Staff Gods (Figure 23.29a,d,f,h) and face toward the Beltless Staff Gods (Figure 23.30a,c)—although the 1999 example shows the pairing without the vertical bands (see Isbell and Knobloch 2009:Figure 25—note the captive agent feet at the far left indicating another Staff God image). The Profile Deities alternate, with tan or purple bodies, grasping captive agents by the feet, and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

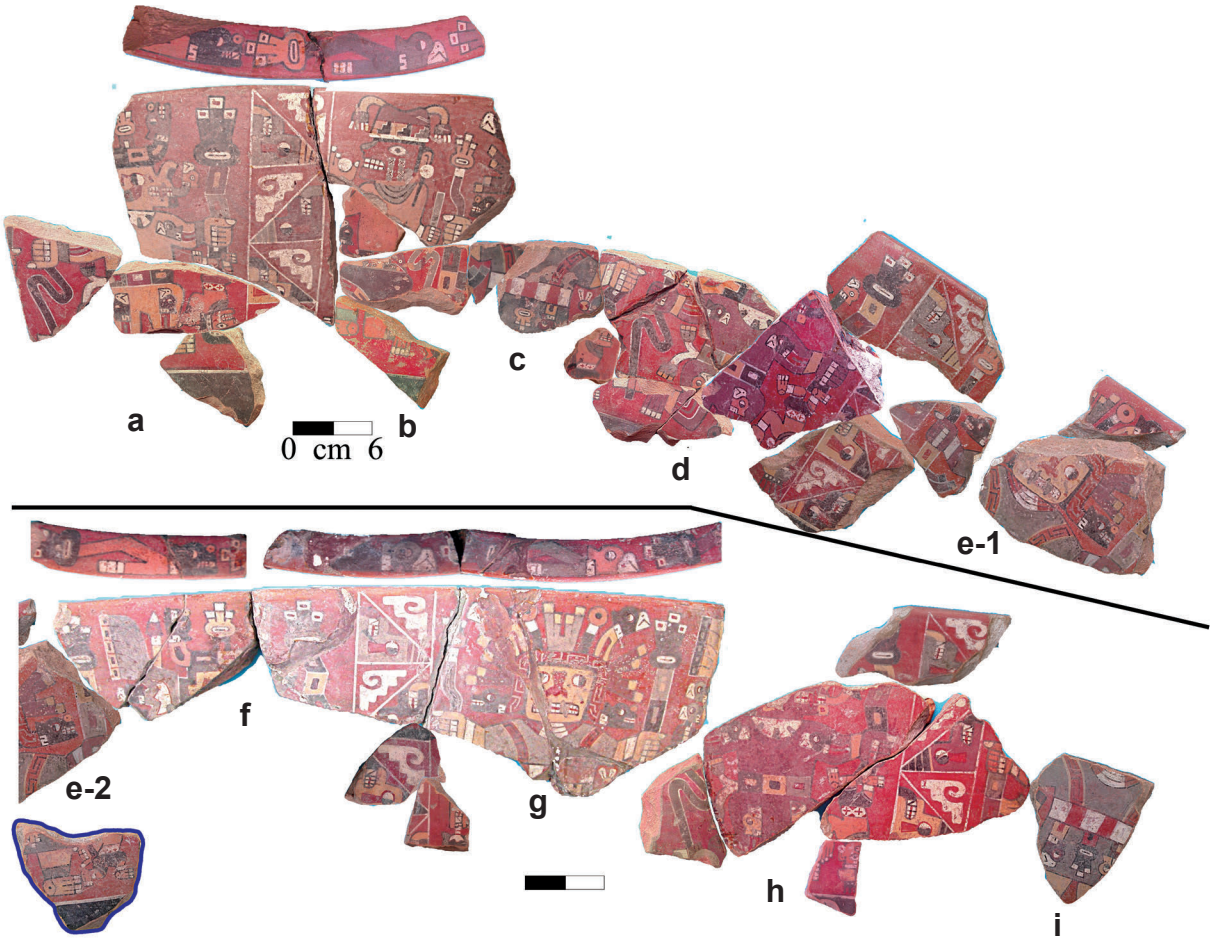


Figure 23.29. Partial reconstruction (based on individual photos and not actual sherds) of one Conchopata-style urn from Julio Tello's 1942 excavations depicting Belted Staff Gods alternating with Profile Deities and positioned as pairs between vertical bands of face/fret textile designs. Courtesy of William H. Isbell and Patricia J. Knobloch.

are associated with a number of distinctive design elements that are mutually exclusive between the two urn scenarios. In the Belted Staff God scenario, the Profile Deities have avian-headed limb bands, a flaring band attached to the belt, mouth ray, and central bulb-based tuft in the crown. In the Beltless Staff God scenario, the Profile Deities have no belt attachment, no mouth ray, and a probable *Anadenanthera colubrina* symbol in the crown (Knobloch 2000). With the Belted Staff God, the tan Profile Deity grasps a captive Agent 132 (Knobloch 2002)[67] (Figure 23.29a) and the purple-bodied Profile Deity grasps a captive Agent 110 (Figure 23.29d,h); in the Beltless Staff God scenario, both beings grasp severed heads of Agent 107 (Knobloch 2002)[68] (Figure 23.30a,c). Agent 132 wears a black, corona shaped hat with a band of dots across the forehead and down the sides of the cheeks. Both captive Agents 132 (Figure 23.29a) and 110 (Figure 23.29d) have belts with the plus sign elements. Notably next to one Belted Staff God stands Agent 101 (Knobloch 2002)[69] (Figure 23.29b) in a profile stance holding a weapon in one hand (axe with an s-shaped handle) and a round white object in the other. This Agent 101 has one or two vertical bands of x's on the face and wears a four-cornered hat with tassels (Benavides Calle 1999:353, Plate 4; see Frame 1990:Plate 8, back cover).

With these reconstructions, the pairing and repetition of the two deities share the same amount of space on the urn that suggests an equal degree of authority rather than subordination, especially in the Belted Staff God scenario with a Profile Deity facing away or turning its back on the Staff God.[70] The traditional interpretation of subordination also falters in certain logic: the Staff Gods should grasp captives similar to those being offered or none at all. This certain logic characterizes the Moche religious narrative of the "Sacrifice Ceremony" where human attendants kill prisoners and apparently collect

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

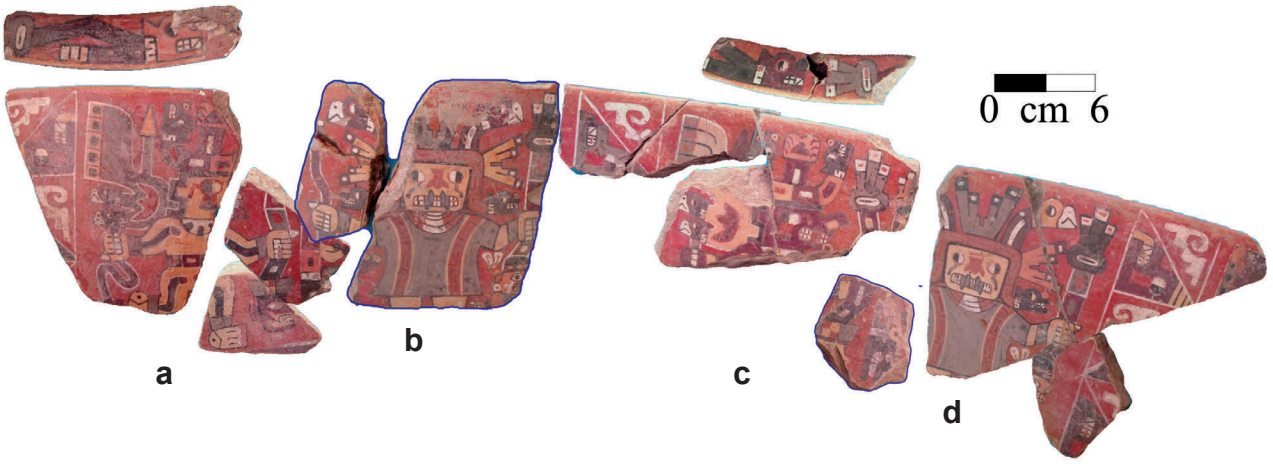


Figure 23.30. Partial reconstruction of one Conchopata-style urn from Julio Tello's 1942 excavations depicting Beltless Staff Gods alternating with Profile Deities and positioned as pairs between vertical bands of face/fret textile designs. Courtesy of William H. Isbell and Patricia J. Knobloch.

their blood in a goblet. All face a Warrior Priest dressed in diagnostic garb who accepts the goblet (Alva and Donnan 1993:132–141). As would be logically expected, the Warrior Priest does not participate in the killing but only receives the results. Thus, counter to this logic, the Conchopata Staff Gods are not the focus of an entourage of subordinate attendant beings but are paired with Profile Deities of equal size and with a similar duty of human capture, torture, or death of different agents.

As a narrative, I suggest that Staff Gods and Profile Deities are symbols of religious belief systems or "cults" and the symmetrical layout artistically documents opposition and conflict in Wari history. Thus, a Profile Deity's captive agents are not depicting prisoners for sacrifice to a Staff God but elites or warriors captured from an opposing cult symbolized by Staff God icons. With the narratives of the CT and Conchopata urns thus far, the Staff God Cult consists of Agents 101, 104, 110, 132, 146, and 147, whereas only Agent 140 is a captive of the Staff God and is thus assigned to the Profile Deity Cult. More examples of agent and deity associations are needed to test the integrity of these narrative interpretations and the past actions of Wari individuals or their "agency" as members of opposing cults. To this end, artifacts depicting such evidence of Wari "agency" will be presented and denoted as Staff God (SG) Agent # or Profile Deity (PD) Agent #.

As one or more warriors, SG Agent 104 occurs in scenes of combat against other agents and deity icons. On an extremely detailed effigy vessel modeling a two-step pyramid with side ramp (Isbell 2000:Fronticepiece; Lumbreras 2000:21), SG Agent 104 is a figurine that stands on the lower platform holding a shield painted with a symmetrical double-ray motif and grasping an unidentified captive agent by the hair. On an unprovenienced gold *kero*, a similar shield with ray motif is used here to identify two SG Agent 104s. As such, they represent captives that flank a victorious, front-facing, feline supernatural being wearing a belted tunic and holding an axe. This being does not have staffs or a rayed corona and most likely represents a Profile Deity in a frontal pose (Lapiner 1976:251, Figures 580, 581; Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.44a,b[71]). The assumptions here are that a Staff God is defined by wearing a corona-like head piece while holding two staffs and in a stable position rather than a Profile Deity that is defined by wearing a less encumbered head piece and, at times, holding weapons and/or a staff, but indicates an anthropomorphic being in motion such as walking, running, and fighting. On an unprovenienced textile (Bergh 1999:Figure 86), SG Agent 104 and two others are in a similar scene of combat against a victorious Profile Deity who wears a belted tunic and holds an axe and one captive agent. Although Agent 104 and a second agent are not bound or held by the deity, they are upside-down, weaponless, and within a meandering band that appears to enclose them, perhaps an architectural pattern that suggests detention or entombment. As expected, these artifacts could represent historic narratives of conflict between SG Agent 104 and those identified with a conquering Profile Deity Cult.[72]

Associations of nonviolent, agent images are important indicators of cooperation, such as partnerships in a cult. SG Agents 101 and 104 are depicted on a fine

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

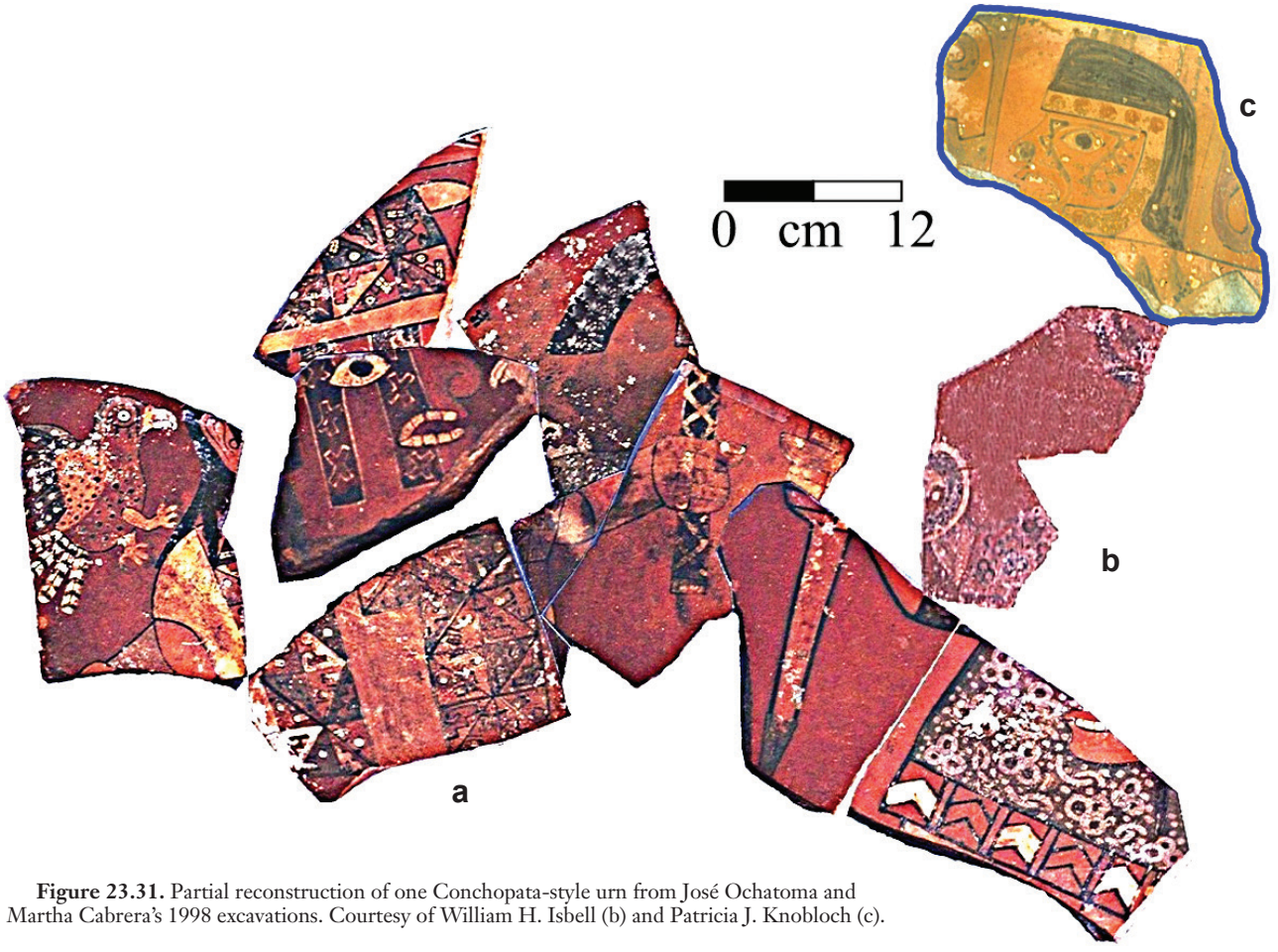


Figure 23.31. Partial reconstruction of one Conchopata-style urn from José Ochatoma and Martha Cabrera's 1998 excavations. Courtesy of William H. Isbell (b) and Patricia J. Knobloch (c).

tapestry as multiple rows of profile heads (Benavides 1999:353; Museum of Fine Arts 1961:Figure 286). SG Agents 101 and 132 are combined with Agent 137 (Knobloch 2002)[73] on an effigy bottle from Conchopata as full-face heads above plant motifs, suggesting mutual agricultural concerns.[74] Thus, Agent 137 is a SG agent.

Associations of opposing agent images support a model of confrontation, such as embattled enemies. SG Agent 101 is depicted on an urn's rim fragment from Conchopata with Agent 112 (Knobloch 2002)[75] who wears a conical shaped hat with horns, a sleeved shirt made of a feline pelt with a severed human head on the chest, and holds a round shield. The SG Agent 101 (Figure 23.31a) (Knobloch 2000:Figures 10b, 11; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:Figure 8.6A) holds an axe and faces to confront Agent 112 (Figure 23.31b) (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:Figure 8.11B), which defensively holds an axe and is therefore defined here as a PD agent. Above these figures is part of a rim band of profile agent heads (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2001c:203, bottom), although only a partial image of SG Agent 132 remains and appears above PD Agent 112 (Figure 23.31c). The rim sherd is such a small section of the urn that no apparent relationship between the profile agent heads and agent figures below can be determined.

This narrative of confrontation between SG Agents 101 and PD Agent 112 also occurs on the Ica Tapestry. As previously mentioned, this remarkable tapestry displays numerous agents arranged symmetrically into two groups that face each other. Other significant details are (1) the three versions of PD Agent 100 all appear on the same side of the tapestry, (2) on the opposing side are two versions of the SG Agent 101, (3) weapons are not depicted, and (4) two Profile Deities with avian features hold PD Agent 100 and SG Agent 101 by hair locks at the top of their heads. Since the agents appear to be controlled by the deities and lack weapons, this narrative does not depict a warrior confrontation and thus the bodiless heads are not severed trophy heads. The symmetrical opposition of the SG Agent 101 and PD Agent 100 may also indicate that the other agent images represent

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

humans who chose sides and are assigned here as either the Staff God Cult Agents 108 (Knobloch 2002)[76] and 129 (Knobloch 2002)[77] or the Profile Deity Cult Agents 102, 103 (Knobloch 2002), [78] 106 (Knobloch 2002),[79] 112, and 128 (Knobloch 2002).[80,81] I believe that the tapestry's narrative is one of the Wari culture's most important historical records. It places specific Wari elites together at a crucial moment in time. The exact reason may never be known but they were certainly forced together to create a scene of cooperation.

To conclude this interpretation of agent analysis and SAIS artifact imagery, I suggest that human depictions in Wari art provide suitable evidence for discerning at least two social groups whose complex associations with SAIS icons may indicate two opposing cults within the Wari empire. Their associations are as follows: PD Agents 100, 102, 103, 106, 107, 112, 127, 128, 140, and 150, and SG Agents 101, 104, 105, 108, 110, 129, 132, 137, 146, and 147 with the caveat that Agent 107 category will need refining.

Bioarchaeological evidence. At Conchopata, excavations produced 31 bodiless skulls found in two ceremonial enclosures—one D-shaped and one circular (Tung and Knudson 2008). Thus, the dead at Conchopata have been plausibly tied to ritual events of extreme killings. Tung and Knudson's (2008:Table 1) strontium isotope analysis also indicates different local and nonlocal childhoods and adulthoods for five individuals. Decapitation could indicate methods of civil punishment, rites of passage for warriors, or, of course, ceremonial rituals of sacrifice. Nonlocals could have been slaves or enemy captives. The future of such research promises rewarding results and supports compelling narratives for trophy heads, warriors, captives, and axe-wielding deities (Figures 23.29–31).

Ethnohistoric Evidence. Returning to the fact that SG Agent 110 is a captive on both the Captives Tunic and the 1942 Conchopata urns and, more notably, the victim of actions associated with a Profile Deity and not a Staff God suggests that both types of artifacts—textile and ceramic—display a similar narrative that was so well known that artisans at different times, places, and with different crafts could employ the narrative of SG Agent 110's capture in their art. To understand how ancient narratives can associate humans and supernatural beings, I present a brief discussion of ethnohistoric evidence regarding symbolic images from Andean mythology.

The wealth of ethnohistoric information about the Inca textually documents accounts of Andean religion that are often used to interpret earlier cultural narratives. However, Inca scholars caution a reliance on such resources because Inca creator worship was a relatively recent development during Pachakuti's theological revolution (J. Rowe 1960:422; Salomon 1991:4). Sabine MacCormack (1991:149) suggests that "the persuasive power of Inca religion resided not so much in its imperial prestige as in the fact that it converged with long established Andean religious traditions," thereby providing ethnohistory with a textual reference to practices modified and adapted from various earlier cultures and not solely reflective of ancestral traditions local to the Cusco population. Perhaps the ethnohistory of more ancient, non-Incan myths could provide better clues to deciphering Wari narratives. In her study of the Huamachuco, MacCormack (1991:146–147) states that all Andean landscapes and objects "were both the theatre and the dramatis personae of divine action" and that all regions had origin myths that describe an earlier age of creator gods and explanatory myths for their local holy places. I will briefly discuss the ethnohistory of a pre-Incan religion from an area east of Pachacamac.

The Huarochirí myths are a treasured resource of elaborate and detailed descriptions of deities and events that predate the Inca. In deciphering this ancient folklore, Frank Salomon (1991:4) proposed a broad cultural premise that Andean mythic allegory often relies on a familial process of "passage from mere difference (for example, the juxtaposition of antagonistic deities strange to each other) to complementary difference (for example, a revised juxtaposition in which the deities become male and female spouses or siblings embodying opposite ecological principles)." In other words, the ancient Huarochirí invented a belief system of behavioral relationships among deities that was similar to their everyday experience but with a pretext of supernatural explanations for historic events. Of special interest here is Salomon's (1991:8–9) recognition that the following Huarochirí myth is a possible allegory of ancient conflict and resolution toward cooperation between highland "invaders" and lowland "aboriginal" agriculturalists and, perhaps, Wari prehistory.

Huarochirí's primary deity, Paria Caca, came from a mountain to save the Yunca lowlanders from their mountain deity, Huallallo, a cruel cannibal god. Paria Caca "attacked and expelled the ancient cannibal deity in a world-shaking combat between storm water and volcanic fire . . . he subjected the Yunca to his own

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

people, expelling many of them, reorganizing their lands, creating a cultic order in which both victors and vanquished would participate" (Salomon 1991:6). This conflict is resolved when Paria Caca becomes a brother to Chaupi Ñamca, the supreme female deity in the lower Rimac region and wife of Pacha Camac, the supreme male deity of the central coast. As a result, "the gender mythology of Huarochirí, though centered on an idealized complementarity, is at the same time emphatically a conflict model of society" (Salomon 1991:10).

This narrative's ethnohistory helps to explain the CT's unusual icons by demonstrating that ancient beliefs included deities that could cannibalize people, fight each other, and capture other deities. As I interpret Salomon's analysis, I suggest that the artistic allegory of the CT's icons may actually recount conflicts and conquests among Wari contemporaries. Paria Caca's conflict resolution might even be a model for the weavers of the Ica Tapestry. The myth's allegorical examples of invasion and conquest are also apropos for explaining how trophy heads of nonlocal people could be found in the Wari heartland. Moreover, Wari expansions from its highland heartland into coastal territories were actual events that could have engendered those of Paria Caca in this myth.

Conclusion

Analysis of the Conchopata style urns and Captives Tunic has brought into question an assumed pan-Andean theme involving two SAIS icons, Staff Gods and Profile Deities, in which Profile Deities are subordinate to Staff Gods when found in associations such as painted ceramics, tapestries, and stone carvings. In a similar criticism of this theme, Krzysztof Makowski Hanula (2009) also questioned and reevaluated iconic relationships of the SAIS deities on Tiahuanaco's stone sculpture. I agree with Makowski's proposal that the Gateway of the Sun's central figure is one of many Staff Gods and does not represent a "hierarchical theme" of central authority over all other SAIS deities (Makowski Hanula 2009:148–153). With regard to agents, Tiwanaku narratives of human and deity relationships are preserved on grand monoliths that are positioned within individualized sacred areas or "arenas" of the site, and appear to represent humans wearing elaborate iconic garb. Makowski proposes that the Bennett and Ponce statues represent different founders of royal lineages (Makowski Hanula 2009:155). The iconic differences from one carving to the next are the results of lineages that competed for power and reflect "the family that had conquered the throne at that given moment" (Makowski Hanula 2009:157). Without detailed agent analysis, hypothetical Wari agents as individuals or groups might be interpreted similarly as kin-based lineages. However, I believe that the details and diversity of agent attire more likely indicate distinct individuals or ethnic groups who formed social groups such as political allies, trade partners, or cult members. Likewise, if detailed agent analysis existed for Tiwanaku society, then it might associate different groups as contemporary rather than sequential. In other words, could different groups have used the arenas for seasonal rituals throughout the year rather than one arena having been abandoned and replaced after decades as one lineage replaced another?

This study of Wari narratives presented a select sample of Middle Horizon agents from my ongoing research into "agent analysis." As indicated by the title, I argue that certain key agents had crucial roles in SAIS-related narratives and represent individuals who attained a high status. I acknowledge them as "founding fathers" in Wari history. During Epoch 1, Agent 102 dominates the iconic evidence from Huari and Conchopata and may represent a Wari ethnic identity that evolved from Huarpa ancestry. No other equivalent agent category existed at this time. After Epoch 1, the Ica Tapestry portrays Agent 102 with one profile head among several others, indicating a diminished role during Epoch 2. Though the record of their ancient activities is incomplete, I suggest that Agents 102 represented Wari culture's first founding fathers who traveled the ancient highland/coastal trade routes for religious purposes similar to pilgrims on a quest. The result was the dissemination of SAIS knowledge into their heartland as shown on the 1977 Conchopata effigy jars.

In Epoch 2, Agents 100 and 101 dominate the artifact evidence, although Agent 100 was depicted on multiple copies of an Epoch 1B, Robles Moqo–style effigy jar. During Epoch 2, the distribution of his image to many distant Wari locations was probably due to a reputation as a paramount warrior. Agent 101 also appears as a warrior, but the distribution of his image is limited to the Wari heartland and south coast.[82] On the 1942 offering urn, Agent 101 officiates in a ritual context associated with the Belted Staff God (Figure 23.29b,c). He seems to hold up a mirror that could reflect the sun's rays—indeed, a significant spectacle if this Staff God represented a solar deity (Knobloch 2000:399-400). He wears a four-cornered hat that is usually depicted on Epoch 2 effigy vessels but with tassels at the corners.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

With their prominent displays, Agents 100 and 101 are also deemed founding fathers that continued the dissemination of the SAIS after its initial acceptance into Wari society.

The artistic narratives of warrior agents and victorious deities depict the transition into Epoch 2 as a period of increased conflicts, possibly due to Wari expansion or rebel forces within the Wari state. I believe Agents 100 and 101 each led an alliance or cult that used deity icons as symbols of identity. Indeed, the narrative on the Conchopata-style urns may document a conflict between two cults, culminating in the CT narrative depicting the conquest of the Staff God Cult by the victorious Profile Deity Cult. In the Ica Tapestry narrative, Agent 100 and 101 founding fathers were forced to face each other in a moment of reconciliation, possibly to end religious-based conflicts between the two cults. Two dominant Profile Deities hold them in this position of confrontation, thereby symbolizing the power of the Profile Deity Cult to control and officiate this meeting. I argue that these scenarios provide more plausible interpretations of narratives depicting captives and trophy heads than any that might simply begin and end with human sacrifice.

The results of "agent analysis" presented here only attempt to elucidate the intentional actions or agency of a select few. There are many other Middle Horizon agents that denote the extensive complexity of Wari society and need further research. For example, Agents 110 and 132 may identify ethnic groups from the altiplano. As previously mentioned, Agent 110's effigy bottle from Huari depicts a tunic with a square fret/fret motif with white outlining; both Huari and Tiwanaku ceramic styles share this motif. Agent 132 is depicted as an effigy bottle from the island of Pariti in Lake Titicaca associated with Tiwanaku-style ceramics (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005:Figure 6) (see reconstructed jar in Sagárnaga 2007:cover, Figure 53).[83] If the above identities are further substantiated, then Agents 110 and 132 together on the 1942 Conchopata urns document the first artifact evidence of Wari contact with Tiwanaku-related people or middlemen (Figure 23.29). Most recently is the discovery of the Wari site of Espíritu Pampa in the Vilcabamba region by Javier Fonseca (Fonseca et al. 2011). Using "agent analysis" on Agent 103, the results elucidate Wari strategies of confrontation and resolution with an autonomous, regional elite (Knobloch 2016). Consequently, "agent analysis" is proving to be a practical research tool to infer social and political dynamics of Wari society.

Acknowledgments

From my research in the 1980s, I thank the late Dr. Dieter Eisleb at the Dahlem Ethnologisches Museum of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Teresa Carrasco de González at the Instituto Nacional de Cultural museum in Ayacucho, and especially the many years of discussion and training with Lawrence Dawson of the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology at UC Berkeley. I am grateful to the organizers of the 2007 conference held in Santiago, Chile: Joanne Pillsbury and Emily Gulick from the Dumbarton Oaks, Mauricio Uribe Rodríguez from the Universidad de Chile, and William H. Isbell from the State University of New York, Binghamton. I am thankful for Anne Tiballi's excellent editing in the final drafts and Edward Zegarra (SUNY- Binghamton) along with the Cotsen editorial staff for this volume's completion. Bill Isbell has fostered my endeavors and career to study Middle Horizon archaeology since 1971 and contributed generously of his time, data, and expertise to this chapter; a very special thanks to him for his abiding support.

Notes

1 The term "agent" was chosen to reflect recent discussions of "agency" theory. This theory has produced many differing approaches to discerning the intentional actions of individuals (Dobres and Robb 2000), although its common goal is to provide insights into changing and dynamic individual contributions within broad social structures (Dornan 2002). Through a smaller unit of analysis than institutions, networks, or states, the identities of individuals may provide important insights into processes of agency, such as activities of warriors, priests, and traders enacted during specific social events of confrontation and cooperation.

2 James Hill and Joel Gunn's (1977) began developing methods, techniques, and theory to study style variations that view the individual as a group member. This approach recognized that an individual might have a unique artistic technique but may also share a repertoire of techniques and at any moment may change or adopt a technique (Muller 1977). Initially, the individual was identified as an artisan who by intent created smaller groupings of design elements within a larger body of evidence such as a culture's art or ceramic style (Redman 1977).

3 Agents are numbered from 100 in an online archive (Knobloch 2002:http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu; see Menzel 1964:27–28, 49, n. 126, 131, 294 for Agents 100, 105, and 106 in the Robles Moqo and Atarco styles).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

4 A "Staff God" icon faces forward with a full face, full body standing posture, wears a tunic and holds two staffs, one to either side. A "Profile Deity" icon has at least one profile attribute either with the head or the body and usually holds one staff before the body. A Profile Deity can occur without being attendant to a Staff God and can be bodiless. There are several variations of both icons.

5 For Isbell and Knobloch (2009), the determination of the beginning of the Middle Horizon remained questionable since there were no ^{14}C dates associated with Epoch 1A evidence. Two ^{14}C dates for Huarpa evidence come from Juan Leoni's (2004) excavations of a temple at Ñawinpukyo as BP 1600 ± 70, cal. AD 426 to 573 and BP 1583 ± 34, cal. AD 476 to 578, both at 1 sigma, set for SHcal13 (Hogg et al. 2013; Stuiver and Reimer 1993; Stuiver et al. 2016). Certainly, Huarpa culture could have continued well beyond 600 AD.

6 In reviewing the ^{14}C data from recent excavations at Tiahuanaco and Conchopata, I suggest that MH 1B/2 correlates with Tiwanaku IV and V (TIV, TV) periods between AD 800–950. TIV/TV (AD 800–1000/1100) represents two somewhat contemporary rather than sequential styles (Knobloch 2013).

7 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#102

8 The Huari and Conchopata excavations in 1977 were part of William Isbell's Huari Urban Prehistory Project of the State University of New York at Binghamton, with the salvage operation at Conchopata also part of Abelardo Sandoval's Proyecto Arqueológico Huari of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura of Peru.

9 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWIcaTextileJPGasWebPage.html

10 This description contrasts with Menzel's (1977:57, Figure 130): "The design shows segments of two large deity or angel figures, each holding in his hand a human victim by a hair strand. . . . The position of one finished edge of the cloth shows that the deity or angel figures were headless." They are not headless. Her figure is reversed and the tapestry dates to Epoch 1B/2A.

11 See Agent 102-12 at http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#102. Pachacamac artifacts from the Dahlem Ethnologisches Museum of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin were gifts or donations from Arthur Baessler and Wilhelm Gretzer. Please note that Agent 102-12 was recently reassigned to Agent 134-3.

12 Descriptions are based on photos generously provided by William Isbell, from his 1977 Huari Urban Prehistory Project. I was laboratory director for this project and participated in the salvage excavations.

13 Sample B146399, BP 1270 ± 40, was calibrated at 1-sigma with the program CALIB 7.1 set for Southern Hemisphere (Hogg et al. 2013; Stuiver and Reimer 1993; Stuiver et al. 2016).

14 An identical urn was excavated at Conchopata in 2001 (Isbell and Cook 2002:Figure 9.22).

15 Isbell (Isbell and Knobloch 2006:325) provided Menzel with photographs of the jars. She is convinced that the jars were produced after the SAIS-style urns found in 1942 by Julio Tello—that Menzel had earlier assigned to Epoch 1A (personal communication to Isbell, 1978). Isbell notes that among the features most influencing her decision was the idiosyncratic profile attendants with elements like a pointed head, unique mouth and nose, and vertically segmented collar appearing on the torso. Since these features did not appear in later Wari iconography, they were judged "provincial," or off the main evolutionary line. So they must have "derived" from 1942/1999 style imagery that was judged "main line."

16 Lawrence Dawson (personal communication, 1980s) suggested that this anatomical description should be a "stinger tail" since a bee, for example, has a pointed proboscis in front and stinger in back. However, the probosci of mosquitoes, aphids, and ticks, for example, are referred to as stingers since they penetrate the skin and leave a bite. Consequently, "stinger" is not a definitive descriptive term. "Ventral" defines the animal's apparent position of lying on its belly with its dorsal side depicted.

17 Furthermore, many examples of the humpback animal do not display the curling tail of a monkey as Nasca 7 examples do (Knobloch 2005:Figure 2).

18 The "single-fillet" is a design term to describe a black-outlined, single colored band of consistent or "modular" width within an image—usually used to outline a figure or field, although it may also be layered or nested into the body of an icon (Menzel 1976:7).

19 The author knows only one complete tunic, but similar tapestry fragments probably represent more examples of such tunics. Visit the British Museum website and search for Am1954,05.548. Frame (1999a:344, n. 31) notes, moreover, that fragments of some such tunics were probably remade into other articles such as pouches.

20 Although only body sherds of this scenario have been reconstructed, most likely it had Agent 102 on the neck since all sizable rim sherds displayed the chevron band.

21 Another antecedent ventral animal could be from Nasca Phase 7 ceramic motifs (see Seler 1961:264, Abb. 210).

22 As a further connection between the Agent 102 jars and coastal textiles, a pouch with a multicolored top band displays a bodiless head (Moraga 2005:Figure 150 suggests a spider) with similar hanging heads (also see Chapter 6, this volume). Epoch 1B Wari and coastal Nasca contacts may have revived and introduced Nasca Phases 6/7 designs into the Chakipampa style. The association of the humpback animal and ventral animal icons resonates with the association of similar depictions on a textile from Trancas (O'Neale and Kroeber 1930:Plate 16).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

23 In 2004, William Isbell generously provided me with the 1977 Conchopata offering data that I analyzed, thereby discovering the remarkable similarities of the two Staff Gods. See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/images/WWWMINDICONDeityEFComparison.jpg (Knobloch 2002).

24 Bennett (1953:117) advocated textiles as the optimal medium for symbolic and artistic diffusion and "reasoned that ceramics were too fragile to be taken on long journeys" (Spielvogel 1955:254, n. 21). This reasoning may help to explain "the difference in ceramics of Peru and Bolivia (Spielvogel 1955:9).

25 Snuff tablet fragment was found at the coastal Huari site of El Castillo in the Huarmey Valley (Prümers 2001:Figure 25 top, left).

26 One Nasca gravelot of three vessels—two Ocros and one Chakipampa—includes an Ocros bowl with pendent rectangle (Menzel 1964:Figure 14). Early Wari-style sherds were found at Maranga's Huaca 20 on the central coast (MacKay and Santa Cruz 2001:Figures 19–21).

27 This motif continued into Epoch 2 on Huamanga or less fancy Viñaque-style pottery with an increased variety of central band designs such as chevrons, C-shape elements, circles, and step fret motifs (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2001a:161, 163–164, 166–167, 174, respectively) that may indicate more social markers. The rectangular shape also anticipates the Incan use of rectangular *tocapu* motifs as ethnic markers. See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWTocapus.html (Knobloch 2002).

28 Reconstructed vessels are on display at the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú (MNAAHP).

29 The presence of Chilean lapis lazuli at Conchopata is evidence of a long-distance contact or trade activity. Also, in Wendell Bennett's Wari collection at Yale University, I identified a blackware kero (ANT.212663 YPM) with the characteristic incised base band found with Tiwanaku's Omo style from the Moquegua Valley, Arequipa region (Owen and Goldstein 2002:Figure 4).

30 The Pomacanchi, Cuzco funerary offerings are an exception and do represent SAIS art found locally (Chávez 1987). The examples are a ceramic flask and tumbler that Chávez dates to Epoch 1B with reference to Menzel's style assignments. The flask could be Epoch 1B Chakipampa but similar ones continue into Epoch 2 (Castillo et al. 2008:Fig.54). The tumbler is similar in shape and design to one held by an agent wearing a four-cornered hat on a modeled ceramic vessel (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 260) and to a sherd from Huari in Bennett's (1953:Plate 4G) pit 10 level g; both examples would date to Epoch 2, implying a more likely date for the offering with the flask as an inherited piece.

31 Most likely more than one weaver created the Captives Tunic. A plausible clue remains in one of the green squares where two errors occur in the positioning of both Agent 147's foot and the hat on Agent 110's bodiless profile head. These errors suggest that a less experienced weaver worked in this area of the tapestry.

32 Circle divided by an inverted Y into three "pie" sections to depict a face with two dots for eyes and a dash for a mouth.

33 Isbell (personal communication, 2007) suggests the bodiless heads were victims eaten by the Profile Deity.

34 The oversize effigy jars could have preserved clothing during the Wari period just as large jars did for the Inca in Cuzco (J. Rowe 1963:224). Furthermore, Epoch 2A effigy jars from the Ocoña Valley stored feathered mantles (Menzel 1968:68–69).

35 The imagery of human profile heads includes Agent 100 that will be discussed.

36 The "sun face" possibility may have earlier Nasca origins as seen on the hat of a Nasca Phase 6 effigy jar of a man with moustache, beard, and red tear lines holding a severed head (Kauffman-Doig 1998:102).

37 Many Wari tunics display zigzag patterns with embedded profile faces and step-frets known as the "split-face" (Menzel 1964:42) or "face/fret" patterns (Bergh 1999); the latter is used here as well as "fret/fret" for a related pattern. I doubt that the weaver was depicting such a tunic here since this geometric layout could be depicted as distinctly as the geometric pattern on Agent 147's tunic.

38 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#104

39 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#147

40 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#105

41 Although Menzel (1964:49) does not state outright that these vessels are Atarco A, she described them as having "Derived Robles Moqo, Derived Nasca 9 and borrowed Viñaque features and themes," all characteristics that separate the 2A from the 2B examples. Tom Zuidema (1972) wrote an extensive interpretation of this imagery.

42 See Agents 147-2 (two copies) and 147-3 at http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#147

43 Peabody Museum, #42-12-30/3345 and #46-77-30/9687, respectively.

44 Assuming Bergh's (1999:569) published dates are based on uncalibrated BP dates: 800 ± 105 AD is here assumed to be BP 1150 ± 104 (p = .97; cotton; Museo Regional de Ica, #DB-47) and AD 800 to 850 is here assumed to be BP 1125 ± 25 (p = .86; San Pedro de Atacama). In the above text, both are recalibrated with CALIB rev7.1.0 set to Southern Hemisphere at 1-sigma. The last date was a personal communication from William J. Conklin in 1996 to Susan Bergh (1999:566). The ^{13}C value is not known.

45 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#110

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

46 A fret is a geometric figure that usually combines a stepped element with a curved ray element. On four-cornered hat motifs, the frets are usually squares divided diagonally by a stepped line and no curved element.

47 Menzel (1964:40–43) assigns the face/fret design to Viñaque Epoch 2 that includes its depiction on a Huari ceramic cup as a tunic worn by a staff god (Bennett 1953:Figure 15G). (Editor's note: Haeberli, Chapter 6, this volume, discusses face/fret tunics and provides radiocarbon dates that are earlier than Middle Horizon Epoch 2.)

48 This jar came from archaeological deposits associated with buildings on the steep slopes west of, and below, the Capilla Pata sector of Huari. The vessel was broken and dislodged by highway construction in July 1974. William Isbell, Katharina Schreiber, and the author collected the fragments while conducting reconnaissance and mapping in anticipation of Isbell's Huari Urban Prehistory project (Isbell et al. 1991:Figure 4).

49 Photos were kindly provided by William H. Isbell.

50 Agent 147 displays a similar facial band around the eye on the Atarco-style jars with Agents 105 and 107 but with different design elements embedded in the band (Zuidema 1972).

51 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#127

52 On this double-vessel from the south coast, Agent 127 is depicted on the effigy half while the other half is a narrow-spout bottle with images of fine-line, double-headed serpents that match those on a Huari sherd associated with Epoch 2–style pottery (Bennett 1953:Plate 9N).

53 An exception is an unprovenienced Wari-style hat (Frame 1990:Plates 9–10).

54 For example, Posnansky (1957:Plates LXVI G, H) depicts a Tiwanaku *retrato* vessel with head deformation and a four-cornered hat.

55 Few of the many known four-cornered hats have provenience. There are pile hats from Chancay area (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 342), Ancón (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 347), Chuquitanta (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 348), Pachacamac (Baessler 1902–1903:Figures 408, 408b), Ica area (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 341), Palpa area (Benson and Conklin 1981:92), Cahuachi (O'Neale and Kroeber 1930:Plate 20), Nasca area (d'Harcourt 1962:Plate 73A,B), and Acarí area (Taullard 1949:Figure 193). With burial proveniences, there is a pile hat associated with a mummy wearing a tunic with a simple tie-dyed design from the Chilca Valley (A. Rowe 1986:Figures 38, 39), probably dating to Epoch 2 (A. Rowe 1996:407). Another mummy bundle with nonpile hat was found in a Chilean tomb in the Azapa Valley (Goldstein and Rivera 2004:171, Figure 6.22). Other nonpile hats were found in a Bolivian burial with amazing artifacts—including copper accessories and an elaborate tunic—that was discovered in a Pulacayo cave at the southern edge of the Uyuni salt flat (Berenguer 2000:86).

56 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#146

57 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#100

58 Epoch 1B examples occur in the Robles Moqo style (Nazca Valley) (Lumbreras 1969:243; Ubbelohde-Doering 1967:201), Nievería style (Vista Alegre, Rimac Valley) (Schaedel 1957:Figure 4E), and at Conchopata (Isbell and Cook 2002:Figure 9.21; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:Figure 8.5B,C).

59 Based on a slide generously provided by Katharina Schreiber (Knobloch 1991a).

60 Bennett's (1953:34, Plate 6G) Pit 8, Level a (0–25 cm below the surface) produced one sherd from an effigy jar that matches the tie-dyed pattern on the effigy bottle from Jauja (Spielvogel 1955:Plate 93, Figure 2). Most of this pit's collection of about 14,000 sherds was assigned to Epoch 2.

61 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/images/WWWIcaTextileJPGasWebPage.html

62 Luis Valcárcel (1935) defined one such SAIS Profile Deity as the "sacrificer" based on anthropomorphic images of beings holding an axe and a severed head. However, the term "sacrificer" implies an action of human death to directly appease a deity, yet these icons are often portrayed individually and may represent metaphors of supernatural strength in societal conquest and torture. Another interpretation is a shaman's ecstatic experience of identity transformation by replacing his human head with the head of a spirit animal. Therefore, I prefer the more neutral terminology of "decapitator" since it depicts a supernatural being holding a decapitated head with a yet to be determined function.

63 These small, carved receptacles have a hollow center with a plug on top. They have been called "lime containers," assuming that they were used with coca. Since they exhibit many icons and themes of the SAIS that are linked to snuff tablets well documented for the San Pedro de Atacama region, I suggest that these containers might have contained hallucinogenic snuff, such as *Anadenanthera colubrina* (Knobloch 2000).

64 In this drawing, it is impossible to discern what the deity is grasping in his right hand.

65 In 2003, William Isbell generously provided photographic images of Tello's Conchopata ceramics for my study. The reconstructions are sadly incomplete due to numerous missing pieces, perhaps from the intensity of smashing that probably pulverized much of the vessels. I estimate vessel diameters to be about 100 cm.

66 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#140 and http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#150

67 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#132

68 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#107. These severed heads have tall hats with a checkered square similar to Agent 142's hat (not discussed here). Only the mouth

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

motif with points on the cheeks is common among artifacts in this category and therefore Agent 107 may break up into more agent categories with future information.

69 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#101

70 This description thus far only begins to detail the exquisite symmetry and artistic balance of colors throughout these alternating figures.

71 This cup has been incorrectly assigned to the Tiwanaku style (Young-Sánchez 2004:Figure 2.44a,b). The dotted chevron heel is a Wari design motif (Pat Lyon, personal communication, 1985). It was found with gold ear disks and a gold wrist band (Lapiner 1976:Figure 580).

72 These artifacts also offer the possibility that further research may discern different Profile Deities. Menzel (1964, 1968, 1976) described regional preferences for profile icons, including feline, avian, and griffin, that might represent different religious cults. The present analysis reaffirms her observations of a crisis that changed Wari religion and political structure between Epochs 1 and 2, but a detailed comparison of this analysis with her extensive research is beyond the scope of this chapter.

73 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#137

74 Knobloch (2002: http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/images/WWWAgentsPlants.jpg).

75 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#112

76 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#108

77 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#129

78 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#103

79 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#106

80 See http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#128

81 Further support for the association of profile deity Agents 100 and 103 is found on a pouch depicting both profile faces and no weaponry (see Chapter 6, this volume).

82 SG Agent 101 is also depicted on Epoch 2 sherds from Huari (Bennett 1953:Figure 15D; Lumbreras 1960a:Lámina Xa, 1960b:Lámina 8E; Spielvogel 1955:Plate 43, Figure 2), a tapestry fragment from Trancas (O'Neale and Kroeber 1930:Plate 14), and an unprovenienced Epoch 2 effigy jar wearing a tunic with the Profile Creature (Anton 1962:Plate 113; Knobloch 2002:http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/images/WWWAgent101MilwaukeePublic.jpg). Similar tunics—not with Agent 101 images—were found at Ancón, Trancas, the Huanca Sancos caves (Bergh 1999:776–811), and Locarí (Ubbelohde-Doering 1967:Plate 173). The image is almost identical to a Berlin Dahlem Museum example (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Plate 320). This tunic pattern is also depicted on Conchopata pottery (Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero 2002:Figure 8.7A–C).

83 Knobloch 2002: http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#132

References

Alva, Walter, and Christopher Donnan

1993 *Royal Tombs of Sipán*. Fowler Museum of Cultural History, UCLA, Los Angeles.

Amano, Yoshitaro, and Yukihiro Tsunoyama

1979 *Textiles of the Andes: Catalog of Amano Collection*. Heian/Dohosha, San Francisco and Japan.

Anders, Martha

1986 Dual Organization and Calendars Inferred from the Planned Site of Azangaro: Wari Administrative Strategies. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.

Angeles, Rommel, and Denise Pozzi-Escot

2001 Textiles del Horizonte Medio: Las Evidencias de Huaca Malena, valle de Asia. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:401–424.

Anton, Ferdinand

1962 *Alt-Peru und seine Kunst*. E. A. Seemann, Leipzig.

1972 *The Art of Ancient Peru*. Putnam, New York.

Baessler, Arthur

1902–1903 *Ancient Peruvian Art: Contributions to the Archaeology of the Empire of the Incas from His Collections, IV*. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

1984 *Culturas Precolombinas: Huari*. Banco de Crédito del Perú. Lima, Perú.

Benavides Calle, Mario

1999 Tejidos Wari. In *Tejidos Milenarios del Peru*, edited by José Antonio de Lavalle and Rosario de Lavalle de Cardenas, pp. 353–411. AFP Integra, Lima.

Bennett, Wendell C.

1944 *The North Highlands of Peru*. Anthropological Papers, Vol. 39, Part 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

1953 *Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 49. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Benson, Elizabeth P., and William J. Conklin (text commentators)

1981 *Museums of the Andes*. Newsweek, Inc. & Kodansha Ltd., Tokyo.

Berenguer, José

2000 *Tiwanaku: Lords of the Sacred Lake*. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.

Bergh, Susan E.

1999 Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics. PhD dissertation, Columbia University.

Brewster-Wray, Christine C.

1990 Moraduchayuq: An Administrative Compound at the Site of Huari, Peru. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton.

Chávez, Sergio J.

1987 Funerary Offerings from a Middle Horizon Context in Pomacanchi, Cuzco. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:1–48.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Cook, Anita G.
1986 Art and Time in the Evolution of Andean State Expansionism. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton.
1987 The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:49–90.
1994 *Wari y Tiwanaku: Entre el Estile y la Imagen*. Pontifica Universidad Católica, Lima.

d'Harcourt, Raoul
1924 *La Céramique ancienne du Pérou*. Albert Morancé, Paris.
1962 *Textiles of Ancient Peru and Their Techniques*. Edited by G. G. Denny and C. M. Osborne. Translated by S. Brown. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Dobres, Marcia-Anne, and John E. Robb (editors)
2000 *Agency in Archaeology*. Routledge, London.

Donnan, Christopher B., and Donna McClelland
1999 *Moche Fineline Painting: Its Evolution and Its Artists*. UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, Los Angeles.

Dornan, Jennifer
2002 Agency and Archaeology: Past, Present and Future Directions. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 9(4):303–329.

Eisleb, D., and R. Strelow
1980 *Altperuanische Kulturen III: Tiahuanaco*. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

Fonseca E., Javier, Julinho Zapata R., Patricia Knobloch, William H. Isbell
2011 Señor Wari de Vilcabamba: Description and Implications. Paper presented at the 30th Annual Meetings of the Northeastern Conference on Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Andover, Maine.

Frame, Mary
1990 *Andean Four-Cornered Hats, Ancient Volumes*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
1999a Nasca-Huari y Otros Textiles de la Costa Sur. In *Tejidos Milenarios del Peru*, edited by Jose Antonio de Lavalle and Rosario de Lavalle de Cardenas, pp. 311–351. AFP Integra, Lima.
1999b Textiles de Estilo Nasca. In *Tejidos Milenarios del Peru*, edited by Jose Antonio de Lavalle and Rosario de Lavalle de Cardenas, pp. 261–310. AFP Integra, Lima.

Glowacki, Mary, and Gordon McEwan
2002 Pikillacta, Huaro y la gran Región del Cuzco: Nuevas interpretaciones de la ocupación Wari de la Sierra Sur. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:31–49.

Goldstein, Paul S., and Mario A. Rivera
2004 Arts of Greater Tiwanaku: An Expansive Culture in Historical Context. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 150–185. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

González, Alberto R.
1972 The Felinic Complex of Northwest Argentina. In *The Cult of the Feline: A Conference of Pre-Colombian Iconography (October 31st to November 1st, 1970)*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, pp. 117–138. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Washington, D.C.

Haeberli, Joerg
2006 When and Where Did the Nasca Proliferous Style Emerge? In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 401–434. Springer, New York.

Hill, James N., and Joel Gunn (editors)
1977 *The Individual in Prehistory: Studies of Variability in Style in Prehistoric Technologies*. Academic Press, New York.

Hogg, Alan G., Quan Hua, Paul G. Blackwell, Caitlin E. Buck, Thomas P. Guilderson, Timothy J. Heaton, Mu Niu, Jonathan G. Palmer, Paula J. Reimer, Ron W. Reimer, Christian S. M. Turney, and Susan R. H. Zimmerman
2013 SHCAL13 Southern Hemisphere Calibration, 0-50,000 Years CAL BP. Radiocarbon 55(4): 1889-1903.

Isbell, William H.
1987 Conchopata: Ideological Innovator in Middle Horizon 1A. *Ñawpa Pacha* 22–23:91–126.
2000 Huari, Tiahuanaco, Arquitectura, Identidad, y Religion. In *Los Dioses del Antiguo Peru*, edited by Kryzsztof Makowski Hanula, Vol. II, pp. 1–37. Banco de Crédito del Peru, Lima.
2001 Repensando el horizonte medio: El caso de Conchopata, Ayacucho, Perú. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:9–68.

Isbell, William H., Christine Brewster-Wray, and Lynda E. Spickard
1991 Architecture and Spatial Organization at Huari. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, pp. 19–53. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Isbell, William H., and Anita G. Cook
1987 Ideological Origins of an Andean Conquest State. *Archaeology* 40(4):26–33.
2002 A New Perspective on Conchopata and the Andean Middle Horizon. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 249–305. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch
2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development, and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 165–210. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

Janusek, John W.

2003 Vessels, Time, and Society: Toward a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland. In *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, edited by A. Kolata, Vol. II, pp. 30–91. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Kan, Michael

1972 The Feline Motif in Northern Peru. In *The Cult of the Feline: A Conference of Pre-Colombian Iconography (October 31st to November 1st, 1970)*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, pp. 69–90. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Washington, D.C.

Kauffman-Doig, Federico

1998 *Ancestors of the Incas: The Lost Civilizations of Peru*. Translated by E. Guzman. Wonders, Memphis, Tennessee.

Knobloch, Patricia J.

1976 A Study of the Huarpa Ceramic Style of the Andean Early Intermediate Period. MA thesis, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton.

1983 A Study of the Andean Huari Ceramics of Middle Horizon 1. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton.

1991a Stylistic Date of Ceramics from the Huari Centers. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, pp. 247–258. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

1991b Teikoku no kougeikatachi_Huari teikokujidai no bijutsu [Artisans of the Realm: Art of the Wari Empire and Its Contemporaries]. In *Kodai Andesu Bijutsu* [Ancient Art of the Andean World], edited by S. Masuda and I. Shimada, pp. 107–123. Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.

2000 Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata: An interpretation of Anadenanthera Colubrina Iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(4):387–402.

2001 La Cronología del Contacto y Encuentros Cercanos de Wari. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:69–87.

2002 Who Was Who? In the Middle Horizon Andean Prehistory. Retrieved August 2017 from http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu

2005 Monkey Saw, Monkey Did: A Stylization Model for Correlating Nasca and Wari Chronology. *Andean Past* 7:111–134.

2010 La imagen de los Señores de Huari y la recuperación de una identidad antigua. In *Señores de los Imperios del Sol*, edited by Krzysztof Makowski, pp. 196–209. Banco de Crédito, Lima.

2012 Archives in Clay: The Styles and Stories of Wari Ceramic Artists. In *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*, edited by Susan E. Bergh, pp. 122–143. Thames & Hudson, New York.

2013 Tiwanaku's Coming of Age: Refining Time and Style in the Altiplano. In *Visions of Tiwanaku*, edited by Alexei Vranich and Charles Stanish, pp. 211–233. Cotsen Institute of Archeology, Los Angeles.

2016 La vida y los tiempos de El Señor de Vilcabamba: cronología e identidad del Agente 103 en el imperio Wari durante el Horizonte Medio. *Andes: Boletín del Centro de Estudios Precolombinos de la Universidad de Varsovia* 9:91–119.

Korpisaari, Antti, and Martti Pärssinen

2005 *Pariti: Isla, Misterio y Poder. El tesoro Cerámico de la cultura Tiwanaku*. CIMA, La Paz.

Kubler, George

1975 *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America: The Mexican, Maya, and Andean Peoples*. Penguin, Baltimore.

Lapiner, Alan

1976 *Pre-Columbian Art of South America*. Harry N. Abrams, New York.

Larco Hoyle, Raphael

1966 *Peru: Archaeología Mundi*. World Publishing Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

Leoni, Juan B.

2004 Ritual, Place, and Memory in the Construction of Community Identity: A Diachronic View from Ñawinpukyo (Ayacucho, Peru). PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton.

Lothrop, Samuel K., W. F. Foshag, and Joy Mahler

1957 *Robert Woods Bliss Collection: Pre-Columbian Art*. Phaidon, New York.

Lumbreras, Luís G.

1960a La cultura de Wari, Ayacucho. *Etnología y Arqueología* 1(1):130–227.

1960b Esquema arqueológico de la sierra central del Perú. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 28:64–117.

1969 *Antiguo Perú*. Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima.

1974 *Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

1990 *Visión Arqueológica Del Perú Milenario. Editorial Milla Batres, Lima. 2000 Las formas historicas del Perú*. Lluvia Editores, IFEA, Lima.

2000 *Las Formas Historicos del Perú*. Lluvia Ed, IFEA, Lima.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

MacCormack, Sabine
1991 *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

MacKay, Martín, and Raphael Santa Cruz
2001 Las Excavaciones del Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca 20 (1999 y 2001). *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:583–595.

Makowski Hanula, Krzysztof
2009 Royal Statues, Staff Gods, and the Religious Ideology of the Prehistoric State of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 133–164. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.

McEwan, Gordon F.
1991 Investigations at the Pikillacta Site: A Provincial Huari Center in the Valley of Cuzco. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, pp. 93–119. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Menzel, Dorothy
1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–105.
1968 New Data on the Huari Empire in Middle Horizon Epoch 2A. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:47–114.
1976 *Pottery Style and Society in Ancient Peru*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Moraga, Vanessa D.
2005 *Animal Myth and Magic: Images from Pre-Columbian Textiles*. OLOLO Press, Larkspur.

Moragas, C.
1995 Desarrollo de las comunidades prehispánicas del litoral de Iquique-desembocadura río Loa. Actas del XIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Chilena, pp. 65–80. Antofagasta, Chile.

Muller, Jon
1977 Individual Variation in Art Styles. In *The Individual in Prehistory: Studies of Variability in Style in Prehistoric Technologies*, edited by James N. Hill and Joel Gunn, pp. 23–39. Academic Press, New York.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
1961 *Twenty-Five Centuries of Peruvian Art: 700 B.C.–1800 A.D.* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Museum of Primitive Art
1958 *Art of Ancient Peru*. Museum of Primitive Art, New York.

Oakland Rodman, Amy, and Arabel Fernández
2001 Los Tejidos Huari y Tiwanaku: Comparaciones y Contextos. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:119–130.

Ochatoma Paravicino, José, and Martha Cabrera Romero
2001a *Poblados Rurales Huari: Una visión desde Aqo Wayqo*. Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Cano asociados, Lima, Perú.
2001b Arquitectura y Áreas de Actividad en Conchopata. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:449–488.
2001c Ideología Religiosa y Organización Militar en la Iconografía del Área Ceremonial de Conchopata. In *Wari: Arte Precolombino Peruano*, pp. 173–211. Centro Cultural el Monte, Lima.
2002 Religious Ideology and Military Organization in the Iconography of a D-Shaped Ceremonial Precinct at Conchopata. In *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape, and Society*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, pp. 225–247. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

O'Neale, Lila M., and Alfred L. Kroeber
1930 Textile Periods in Ancient Peru. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 28(2):23–56.

Owen, Bruce D., and Paul S. Goldstein
2002 Tiwanaku en Moquegua: Interacciones regionals y colapso. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:169–188.

Prümers, Heiko
2001 "El Castillo" de Huarmey: Una plataforma funeraria del Horizonte Medio. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:289-312.

Posnansky, Arthur
1957 *Tihuanacu, the Cradle of American Man*. Vols. 3/4. Ministerio de Education, La Paz.

Redman, Charles
1977 The "Analytical Individual" and Prehistoric Style Variability. In *The Individual in Prehistory: Studies of Variability in Style in Prehistoric Technologies*, edited by James N. Hill and Joel Gunn, pp. 41–53. Academic Press, New York.

Rowe, Ann Pollard
1979 A Late Nasca Derived Textile with Tapestry Medallions. *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Art* 57(3):115–123.
1986 Textiles from the Nasca Valley at the Time of the Fall of the Huari Empire. In *Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles, April 7–8, 1984*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe, pp. 151–182. Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.
1996 Four-Cornered Hats. In *Andean Art at Dumbarton Oaks*, edited by Elizabeth H. Boone, Vol. 2, pp. 407–412. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Rowe, John H.
1960 The Origins of Creator Worship among the Incas. In *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin*, edited by Stanley Diamond, pp. 408–429. Columbia University Press, New York.
1963 Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest. In *Handbook of South American Indians: The Andean Civilizations*, edited by Julian H. Steward, Vol. 2, pp. 183–330. Cooper Square, New York.
1974 Kunst in Peru und Bolivien. In *Das alte Amerika*, edited by Gordon R. Willey, pp. 285–350. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Band 18. Propyläen Verlag, Berlin.

Salomon, Frank
1991 Introductory Essay: The Huarochirí Manuscript. In *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religions*, pp. 1–38. Translated from the Quechua by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste; annotations and introductory essay by Frank Salomon; transcription by George L. Urioste. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Sagárnaga, Jédu
2007 Máscaras y Culto en Tiwanaku. Chachapuma: *Revista de Arqueología Boliviana* 7:cover, 31–51.

Sawyer, Alan R.
1968 *Mastercraftsmen of Ancient Peru*. Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, New York.

Schaedel, Richard P.
1957 Highlights of Andean Archaeology, 1954–1956. *Archaeology* 10(2):93–99.

Schmidt, Max
1929 *Kunst und Kultur von Peru*. Propyläen-Verlag, Berlin.

Seler, Eduard
1961 *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*. Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, Graz, Austria.

Spielvogel, Rosalind B.
1955 Wari: A Study of Tiahuanaco Style. PhD dissertation, Department of History of Art, Yale University.

Stierlin, Henri
1984 *Art of the Incas and Its Origins*. Rizzoli, New York.

Stone-Miller, Rebecca
1992 *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Thames and Hudson, New York.

Stuiver, Minze, and Paula J. Reimer
1993 Extended 14C Database and Revised CALIB Radiocarbon Calibration Program. *Radiocarbon* 35:215–230.

Stuiver, Minze, Paula J. Reimer, and Ron W. Reimer
2016 CALIB 7.1 [WWW program]. http://calib.org (accessed February 28, 2016).

Taullard, Alfredo
1949 *Tejidos y ponchos indígenas de Sudamérica*. Kraft, Buenos Aires.

Tello, Julio C.
1923 Wira-Kocha. *Inca: Revista Trimestral de Estudios Antropologicos* 1(1):Enero-Marzo.

Torres, Constantino
2002 Iconografía Tiwanaku en la parafernalia inhalatoria de los Andes centro-sur. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:427–454.

Tung, Tiffiny A., and Kelly J. Knudson
2008 Social Identities and Geographical Origins of Wari Trophy Heads from Conchopata, Peru. *Current Anthropology* 49(5):915–925.

Ubbelohde-Doering, Heinrich
1926 *Altperuanische Gefäsmalereien. Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*. Bd. 2. Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Marburg, Lahn.
1967 *On the Royal Highways of the Inca: Archaeological Treasures of Ancient Peru*. Praeger, New York.

Uhle, Max
1912 Las Relaciones Prehistóricas entre el Perú. Actas del XVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas: Sesión de Buenos Aires, 17–23 de Mayo de 1910, pp. 509–540. Buenos Aires.

Valcárcel, Luis E.
1935 Litoesculturas y Cerámica de Pukará (Puno). *Revista del Museo Nacional* 4:25–28.

Wagner, Lida J.
1981 Information Exchange as Seen in Middle Horizon 2 Ceramics from the Site of Huari, Peru. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Watanabe, Shinya
2002 Wari y Cajamarca. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:531–541.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret
2004 The Art of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez, pp. 24–69. Denver Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Zuidema, R. Tom
1972 Meaning in Nazca Art: Iconographic Relationships between Inca-, Huari-, and Nazca Cultures in Southern Peru. *Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum Arstryck* 1971:35–54.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 24: Introduction

From Structure to Cognition
The "Logic of Models" in the Pattern Systems of Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics

William H. Isbell

Chapter 24 by Mary Frame is a breakthrough paper on spatial organization in Middle Horizon tunics. The discussion emphasizes two-panel tunics, generally identified as Wari, following Amy Oakland Rodman's (1986) seminal distinction between Tiwanaku shirts and those produced by Wari weavers. Significantly, however, many of the patterns Frame and several other textile specialists identify in two-panel tunics also appear in the smaller and less studied sample of single-panel Tiwanaku tunics. Consequently, this chapter represents a major step toward identifying systems of organization and surely also visual communication, which were explicitly Late Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS). Apparently, some systems were shared not only by Wari and Tiwanaku but perhaps also with Pukara, as implied by fourfold spatial organization in designs on the Arapa Thunderbolt stela. Unfortunately, however, actual Pukara textiles have not been discovered. A related style of SAIS tunics, bags, and other garments, named Provincial Pucara (see Haeberli 2002 and Chapter 6, this volume), apparently comes from coastal valleys of Arequipa. Significantly, Provincial Pucara shares some imagery but not the spatial organization or logical structure of the Wari (and Tiwanaku) weavings discussed in this chapter.

Decoration of Wari tunics employs vertical bands of images, at least when oriented as the tunic was worn. Frame argues that in addition to figure compression described by Sawyer (1963), she has detected two completely different systems of spatial logic and symmetry in the organization of these banded decorations. The first is based on locomotion—human movement along a pathway, as in walking or dancing on a surface. This logic organizes representational images on what are denominated "figurative" Wari tunics. The second spatial logic, most easily described for "geometric" tunic designs, is not grounded by movement on a surface or even by crystallography and mathematical proofs that securely locate Western concepts of symmetrical motion in a Euclidean plane. This second form of Wari (SAIS) spatial logic is better understood as multidirectional and expressive of three-dimensional fiber technology. To explicate these concepts, Frame develops a model, complete with numerous illustrations, based on colored yarns wrapped around sticks. She carefully describes root patterns for sets of tunics that express the similar structures in terms of "helical (spiral) direction of the pathway (of) a yarn wrapping around a pole." Eventually she also argues that actual cord-wrapped sticks could have stored information about design structures, communicated patterns to weavers that were desired in finished textiles, and facilitated planning/experimentation with innovative schemes of symmetry.

For Frame, each Wari tunic employed multiple systems of symmetrical logic, expressed in complementary dimensions of variation, but usually organized in "contrapuntal directions" that expanded design variation and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

at the same time obscured underlying systems of order. Consequently, garments simultaneously presented competing patterns and statements of meaning. Sophisticated viewers surely would have experienced "the independent systems as semitransparent overlays, stacked together." Only by separating the systems can analysts determine their individual logics, but stacked together they "produce a fixed, opaque composition in tapestry that is lively and flickering . . . as figures and pattern systems operating on different levels compete with each other."

Frame unpacks organization in Wari tunics, exploring especially color, symmetry, and distortion—although she denies that these exhaust the dimensions of variation manipulated by ancient weavers. She examines distortion of representational images, first explicated by Alan Sawyer (1963), within and between vertical bands of decoration, showing how symmetry conforms to erect "grounded walkers" moving along directional pathways—which she calls locomotion. She questions older explanations of figure orientation and distortion presumed to express weavers' experiences of horizontal looms as metaphorical for altiplano horizontal sky lines (of course, at that time, Wari tunics were identified as Tiwanaku and believed to have been woven on the flat expanses of the Titicaca Basin, not the narrow valleys of central highland Peru). Frame argues that these explanations did not fully appreciate the remarkable expertise of Andean weavers to produce complex images despite looms rotated 90 degrees to the orientation of tunics as worn. But most important, Frame shows that the important system of spatial order in representational imagery is kept entirely separate from several equally important and entirely different systems of order in Wari tunics.

Examining geometric tunics with stepped fret designs, as well as stepped fret and profile face imagery, Frame explicates their symmetry through directionality. She determines a "root pattern" based on the logic of three-dimensional fiber technology that can be conceptualized in terms of and illustrated with yarn-wrapped sticks. Another group of geometrically decorated tunics, with designs that Frame refers to as "four-part creatures," are also analyzed, determining the root pattern for their color symmetry. Again, the logic is shown to be consistent with the fabric model that Frame materializes in yarn-wrapped sticks. Although not always easy to understand for readers lacking knowledge of weaving, an excellent and abundant set of illustrations helps clarify the compelling arguments. Indeed, Frame has identified very important features of Andean—or perhaps only SAIS—cultural logic that are inconsistent with Western ways of knowing but that explain complex organization repeated in diverse transformations employed in the spatial structure of Middle Horizon tunic decorations. In concluding this groundbreaking chapter, Frame points out that logical orders in Wari's vertical banded tunics resonate with the organization of information on vertical stings of khipus and that these Wari tunics could also be studied as forms of recording—from writing, on one hand, to direct representation of social geometry, on the other. Readers are left with many issues to ponder and exciting ideas for future directions in SAIS research.

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

Haeberli, Joerg

2002 Tiempo y Tradición en Arequipa, Perú, y El Surgimiento de la Cronología del Tema de la Deidad Central. *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 5:89–137.

Oakland Rodman, Amy

1986 Tiahuanaco Tapestry Tunics and Mantles from San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by A. P. Rowe, pp. 101–121. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Sawyer, Alan

1963 Tiwanaku Tapestry Design. *Textile Museum Journal* 1(2):27–38.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 24

From Structure to Cognition
The "Logic of Models" in the Pattern Systems of Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics

Mary P. Frame

Middle Horizon tunics are among the most elusive and enigmatic artistic expressions from the ancient Andes. The wide color palette, the complex geometry, and the figures that float in and out of focus both please and confound the viewer. The eye is led on a journey, often in contrapuntal directions, as colors, figures, spatial divisions, and multiple pattern systems coalesce in the tapestry plane (Figures 24.1a and 24.2a). Yet, there is order—a surfeit of order. Woven tunics exhibit more levels of systematic patterning than objects in other media, such as pottery or stonework. The corpus of geometric and figural motifs that comprise the patterns, on the other hand, is fairly circumscribed. The imbalance between the complex pattern systems and the limited set of motifs, particularly in some groups of tunics, indicates that pattern merits close attention.

The large number of extant tunics and fragments provides a sample of related artifacts that will be explored for what can be revealed about pattern systems and the logic behind the systems. Properties such as color and number, which have been described fully by other authors, as well as symmetry and direction will be discussed along with the pattern systems. I will discuss parallels with several cultural domains and suggest that models drawn from fiber technology and from locomotion[1] provide the logic for pattern systems. Both are spatial models, but the orientations of motifs and the resulting symmetry patterns suggest that space is conceptualized differently in the resulting pattern systems. Through identifying models for the pattern systems in tunics, my intention is to contribute to an understanding of how ancient people generated and systematized information, as well as inscribed it in a graphic medium. Graphic inscriptions, such as the miniaturized patterns on Inka textiles that are called *tukapu* (Frame 2004a, 2007a, 2010, 2014), as well as the large-scale patterns on Middle Horizon tunics, can be approached as "semasiographic" systems, which are considered writing systems by some authors, including linguists (Boone 1994, 2004; Sampson 1985). In a semasiographic system, or notation system, information is inscribed independently from words in a particular language. Boone (1994:16) describes the logical system that drives and orders a semasiographic system as "a system comparable to a grammar." In this investigation of the models behind the pattern systems in Middle Horizon tunics, I organize the patterns in a way that foregrounds the logical systems of two models.

I approach the pattern systems on tapestry tunics as independent systems, which I believe reflects the manner in which they were designed and meant to be read. Each system displays regularity along certain axes in the patterned field, and the axes of one pattern system do not coincide with the axes of other pattern systems. In fact, the axes of regularity in different pattern systems

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

generally run in contrapuntal directions, resulting in a large number of formal variants among figures that tends to obscure the regularity of the patterns.[2] I think of the independent systems as semitransparent overlays, stacked together. When the overlays are separated, the orderliness of each system becomes apparent. When stacked together, they produce a fixed, opaque composition in tapestry that is lively and flickering (Figures 24.1a and 24.2a), as figures and pattern systems operating on different levels compete with each other. The pattern systems that will be discussed here include symmetry, color, and, to a lesser extent, distortion.

Prior Studies

Describing aspects of pattern in tapestry tunics has occupied the attention of a handful of scholars, myself included, for many years. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Franz Boas (1955 [1927]:Figures 33, 34) devoted several diagrams to sketches of figures and color repetitions. My professor, Alan Sawyer (1963), provided the first concrete lesson in discerning one of the pattern systems in tunics. He described the distortion conventions of lateral compression and expansion, whereby figures closest to the center seam are stretched sideways (expansion) while those closest to the side seams are squashed (compression). Identifying this convention allowed him to reconstitute figures by reversing the distortion process. His seminal work clarified the figures, and the logic of the artistic convention, within the confusion of shapes and colors (Sawyer 1963:Figures 4–6). Sawyer recognized the plastic effect of distortion on the visual plane and connected it with perspective, an artistic convention for producing a three-dimensional visual effect on a flat surface. William Conklin (1986) took up Sawyer's theme and used the term "vanishing line" perspective to describe the effect of the distortion on tunics. Conklin associated the vanishing line with the altiplano horizon, arguing that the weavers' sideways view of the tunic while it was being woven was privileged over the orientation of tunics as worn. He asserted that figures on tunics were depicted as "flying" parallel to the receding horizon, based on the weavers' viewpoint. An alternative approach to the pictorial space in tunics, and the orientation and locomotion of the depicted figures, will be presented here. Conklin (1996) also addressed the symmetry patterns in one group of tunics, and his approach is discussed below.

Rebecca Stone-Miller, in her doctoral thesis (Stone 1987) and other publications (Stone-Miller 1986, 1992), discussed the color repetitions on nearly 200 tunics or fragments. She then focused on the anomalies in color patterning, to draw conclusions about certain colors and irregularity in patterning. She offered a more complete classification of figure types and of design layout than prior studies and included many charts that visually convey the regularity of color patterns on tunics. Susan Bergh (1999), 2012 in her doctoral thesis and publication, returned to the examination of color patterns, focusing on the regularities in color patterning. She extended the sample assembled by Stone significantly and provided detailed data in catalogue entries for about 350 tapestries. She classified color patterns and examined binary-based number sets that are present in the color repetitions and in formal variants of figures. Bergh connected the number system articulated in the tunics with the expression of political ideology and cosmological precepts.

My study builds on the accumulated contributions of the researchers mentioned above, as well as my own research into pattern systems on Paracas, Nasca, Chuquibamba, and Inka textiles,[3] and looks at the logic underlying systematic variations in patterns on Middle Horizon tunics. I contend that at least two different models are implicated in the creation of the patterns in tunics. To support this contention, I summarize the range of variants in different groups of tunics and their consistency with the two separate models. This study falls within the realm of cognitive archaeology (Renfrew and Zubrow 1984), as it investigates how the patterns were conceptualized, designed, and transmitted. The analysis of the pattern systems may also illuminate the lineaments of a social geometry, providing a basis for speculations regarding how the patterns may have related to the organization of human activities.

The sample considered here (based largely on Bergh 1999) encompasses tunics made of two panels of cloth that are patterned in vertical bands, including tunics that are banded in the lower half only.[4] Tapestry tunics made of two panels of cloth are generally considered garments used by dignitaries of the Wari culture during the sixth to tenth centuries of the current era. Tapestry tunics that are made of one panel of cloth are considered Tiwanaku style. Amy Oakland Rodman (1986) proposed the technological distinction between Wari (two-panel) and Tiwanaku (one-panel) tunic styles, which is adopted here. A small but growing number of tapestry tunics that have a credible Tiwanaku provenience or that are identified as Tiwanaku style by various authors (Agüero 2007:Figures 8, 9; Berenguer 2000:86–90; Conklin

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

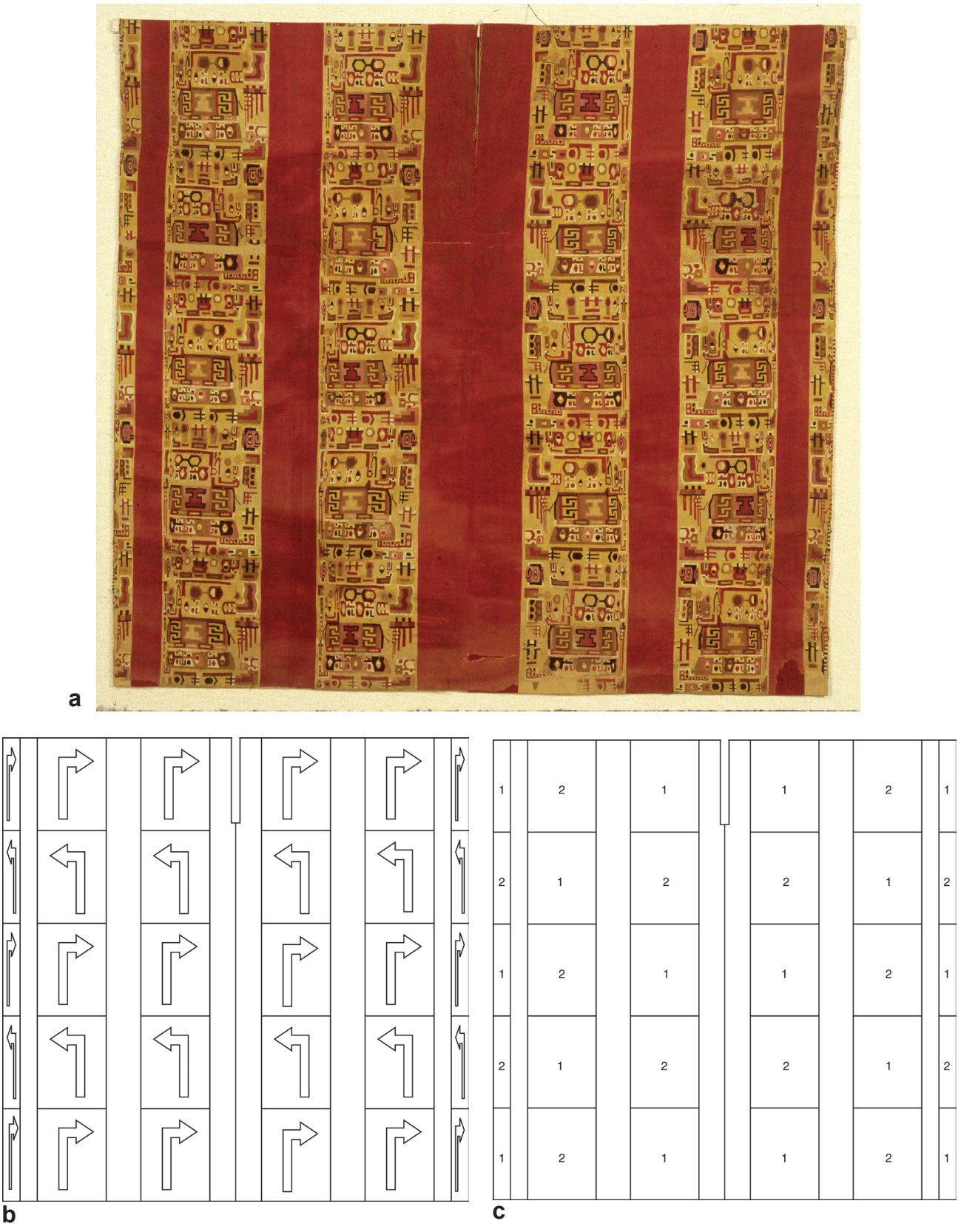


Figure 24.1. Charting patterns in a figurative tunic from the Middle Horizon. (a) A bipedal figure with a panpipe is repeated on the tunic. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 1966.5.2 (b) Symmetry chart showing the alternating orientation of figures in vertical bands. (c) Color chart showing the checkerboard alternation of two color units in the tunic.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

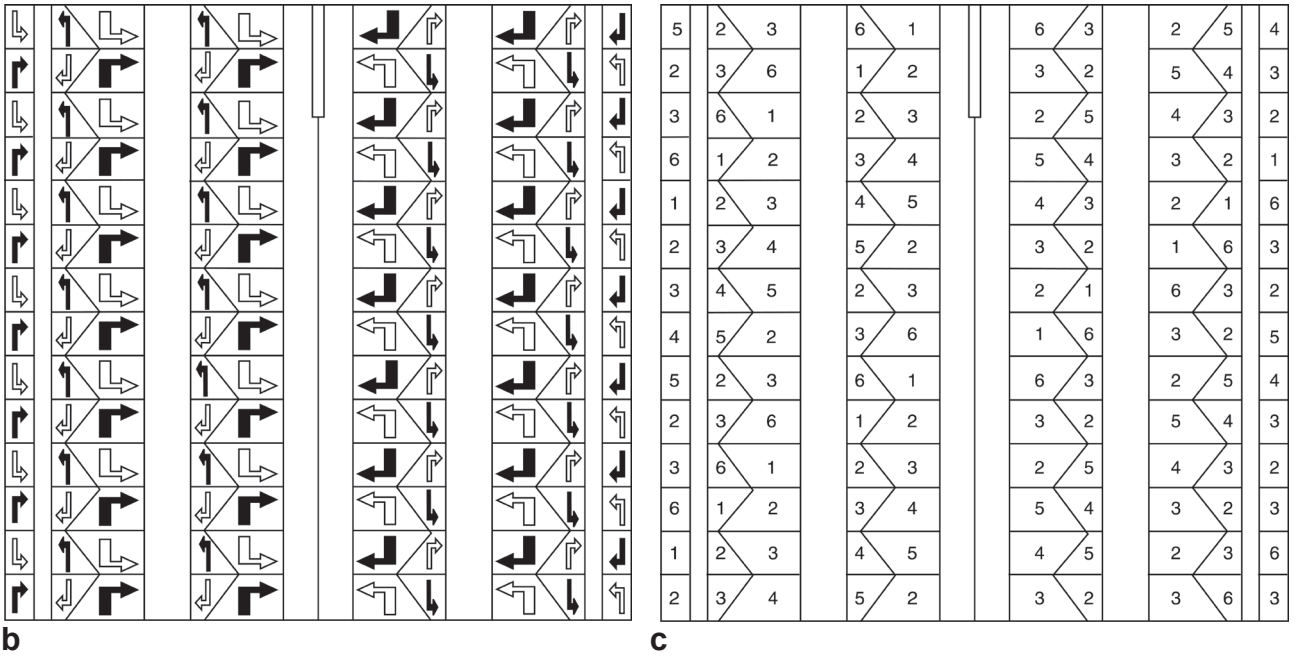


Figure 24.2. Charting patterns in a geometric tunic from the Middle Horizon. (a) A profile face and a stepped fret alternate on the tunic. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 91.343. (b) Symmetry chart showing the four orientations of the two icons. Profile faces are shown with black arrows. (c) Color chart showing a pattern based on six color units that repeat in an 8-part cycle (with some deviation in the lower right).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1983:Figures 26, 28, 30, and 1999:Figures 5, 6; Oakland 1986; Oakland Rodman 1986; Rojas and Hoces de la Guardia 2000:Figure 1; Uribe and Agüero 2004:Figure 3; Young-Sanchez 2004a, 2004b) are made of one panel of cloth. However, it should be kept in mind that the distinction between Wari and Tiwanaku tunics may be considerably more complex, as Bergh (1999:77–82) cautions.

The scarcity of one-panel tunics precludes a description of the scope of the symmetry and color systems in these tunics. However, from the comparisons that will be made between the technologically distinct types of tunics, it is clear that one-panel tunics also display color and symmetry patterns of types that are encountered among two-panel tunics. Not only do tunics that are generally considered Wari and Tiwanaku exhibit similar imagery, but they also share at least some of the same color and symmetry patterns. One aspect in which they do differ is in the degree of distortion. The expansion and compression of figures is less marked and/or regular in one-panel tunics (see Young-Sánchez 2004b:51) than it is in two-panel tunics, although it is present (Oakland Rodman and Cassman 1995:Note 10).

From Loom to Patterned Tunic

The complexity of color and symmetry patterns on Middle Horizon tunics indicates that they had to be planned prior to weaving, and this plan had to be communicated to the weavers. The two-panel tunics in the current sample were woven in interlocked tapestry on a wide loom with constant tension. The fixed frame of the loom may have been oriented obliquely (Bird and Skinner 1974) or vertically. The warps (the initial vertical elements placed on the loom) are horizontal in the finished tunics and are completely hidden by the colorful wefts. The tapestry figures, which were oriented horizontally on the loom, are rotated 90 degrees in the finished tunics, in tandem with the warps and wefts.

Technical features, such as "lazy lines" (weft joins within the same color area), indicate that several weavers worked on the long panels that spanned the front and the back of one side of the tunic (Bird and Skinner 1974). Selvedge treatments (warp loops versus cut and interlaced warps) indicate that the weavers began at the edge of the panel closest to the center seam, weaving the expanded figures in the widest bands first and proceeding to the narrower bands with compressed figures at the side seams. Two panels were woven in the same manner, from center seam to side seam, but they were not necessarily identical panels. One of the tunic panels had to be rotated 180 degrees for seaming, and some patterns on finished tunics are the result of weaving nonidentical panels. To produce the color and symmetry patterns that span both panels of a finished tunic, the patterns on each panel had to be carefully planned before weaving began. Even halves of panels, the front and back of the garment as it would hang over the wearer's shoulder, had to be considered during the design stage. The heads of bipedal figures must point toward the center axis of a panel on the loom, to produce the upright stance of figures on both the front and the back of the finished tunic. Geometric motifs, on the other hand, are not reversed in orientation at the shoulder line.

Like weavers in Candelaria, Bolivia, today, who easily weave figures of horsemen right side up or upside-down on their textiles, Middle Horizon tunic makers exhibit the facility for weaving figures in a different orientation from the one in which they would be viewed. Bipedal figures were woven sideways on tunics, rather than from the bottom up, and they were woven in two or four different orientations, depending on the pattern in the panel. This spatial agility of Andean weavers for conceptualizing their motifs in terms of symmetrical reversals and rotations speaks of a visual education significantly different from ours (Franquemont 2004:91), which may have been learned, at least in part, from the repetitive, haptic acts involved in spinning, weaving, and braiding (Franquemont and Franquemont 2004:208–210). Conklin's (1986) contention that bipedal figures in tunics are "flying" because they were oriented horizontally on the loom does not take into account the sophistication and spatial agility of a weaver's mind. As I will illustrate, the bipedal figures are more convincingly seen as walkers that are oriented vertically in the tunic as worn.

The spatial acuity of weavers, ancient and modern, is evident not only in the production of motifs but also in the production of repetitive patterns. The patterns in tunics lead the eye along pathways in space. We may see them as verticals, horizontals, diagonals, and zigzags on a flat surface, but the weavers and wearers of tunics probably saw pathways in three-dimensional space, as some of the patterns correspond with the helical pathways of elements in fiber structures (Frame 2007b), while others correspond more closely with the motions of animated beings that traverse pathways on the ground. Like Western painters who use the convention of perspective to depict three-dimensional space on a flat canvas, the ancient weavers had their own artistic conventions for creating visual space on textiles. Spatial coordinates in the visual plane of tunics appear not to be fixed but

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

rather to shift according to the pattern and its underlying model, sometimes implying the grounded space of walkers and at other times implying the multidirectional space of fiber structures. Although the patterns on tunics are planar patterns, I argue that they correspond with pathways in three-dimensional space that are projected, through artistic conventions developed by the makers/designers, onto the tapestry plane.

Complexity in the design of tunics is built up through levels, or layers, of pattern. The multiple levels of patterning include but may not be restricted to color, symmetry, and distortion. The patterns discussed here are located within vertical bands that are arrayed symmetrically on either side of the center seam, although in some tunics, the patterns span the entire field in the upper half of tunics. The continuous field patterns are extensions of the band patterns, filling in the spaces between bands with the same, patterned repetition of motifs.

Alan Sawyer's explanation of distortion allows us to see figures more clearly and to grasp the logic of the artistic convention. This pattern system is embedded in the vertically figured bands of two-panel tunics. The widest patterned bands with the largest figures are adjacent to the center seam, and the bands diminish in width toward the side seams. Distortion is evident within bands, as well as between bands. The half of the figure closest to the central seam is expanded, while the half closest to the side seam is compressed. In a tunic that repeats profile figures with a panpipe (Figure 24.1a), the panpipe is clearly visible in figures that face toward the center seam but almost invisible in figures that face away from it because it is so compressed. Figures in many tunics alternate in facing left and right within a vertical patterned band, and vertically adjacent figures in a band can look different from each other because opposite sides of the figures are compressed and expanded. Figures in the narrowest bands near the side seams are almost indecipherable because they are so compressed. The expanded figures near the center of the tunic visually advance in space and the compressed figures near the sides recede, producing an illusion of cylindrical volume in the tapestry plane. We can see the effect of perspective in operation, but interpretations of the convention vary widely (see Bergh 1999:49–50 for a summary). What is important in this discussion is the separateness of this pattern system from the symmetry and color systems, which will now be discussed in greater detail. Using insights from Sawyer's work, we can mentally correct for the distortion and track symmetry and color patterns across the entire tunic, including the narrowest of bands at the side seams (Figure 24.1a–c and Figure 24.2a–c).

Symmetry Patterns in Two-Panel Tunics

The symmetry systems in two-panel tunics have not yet been described adequately, although some scholars have made limited forays into charting the orientation of figures. Stone (1987:Figures 3.12–3.18) charts motif orientation for 21 tunics, using a crooked arrow to show up-down and left-right distinctions, a technique that I will also use. Consistency is the prime requirement for showing patterns using arrow icons. All figures that are oriented in the same direction must be charted with the same arrow icon, and figures that are oriented differently must be charted using a different arrow icon that is determined by the same directional feature used to assign the first arrow. When the patterns are composed of two alternating figures, there is an additional problem. The arrows that are assigned to the two different figures must relate correctly to each other. In tunics where profile faces and stepped frets alternate within bands, the directional relationship between the figures can be determined by the modules of the grid. The modules in the grid are truncated right-angle triangles, and right/left and up/down are clearly distinguished for the modules, which provide the directional distinctions for the figures inside them (Figure 24.2b).

Stone's (1987:Figures 3.12b,c, 3.13a–3.16a,b, 3.17c) presentation of the symmetry patterns is marred in the case of eight tunics that alternate faces and frets because the arrows she assign to the faces and frets do not relate correctly to each other. She assigns an arrow for the faces (half of the motifs) that points in the wrong lateral direction. The symmetry patterns that she shows in these eight diagrams are not actually present in the tunic sample because of the error. We can be certain that she has made an error because an occasional tunic (Schindler 2001:120–121) includes just one profile face in a pattern that otherwise consists of stepped frets. Examples such as this one make it clear that the orientation of an asymmetric module corresponds with the orientation of the figure inside of it.

Conklin (1996:Figures 134–140) also charts the motif orientation on tunics that display stepped frets and profile faces and makes an error of a different type in his attempt to show the pattern. Instead of arrow icons, he uses a U-shaped hook and a square and circle for icons, which makes it a little more difficult to see the error. The square and circle icon, when it fills the module of the truncated triangle correctly, looks something like the woven figure of a profile face: the circle becomes an eye and the square becomes a tapering fez on the head. This icon should always look the same in his symmetry chart,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

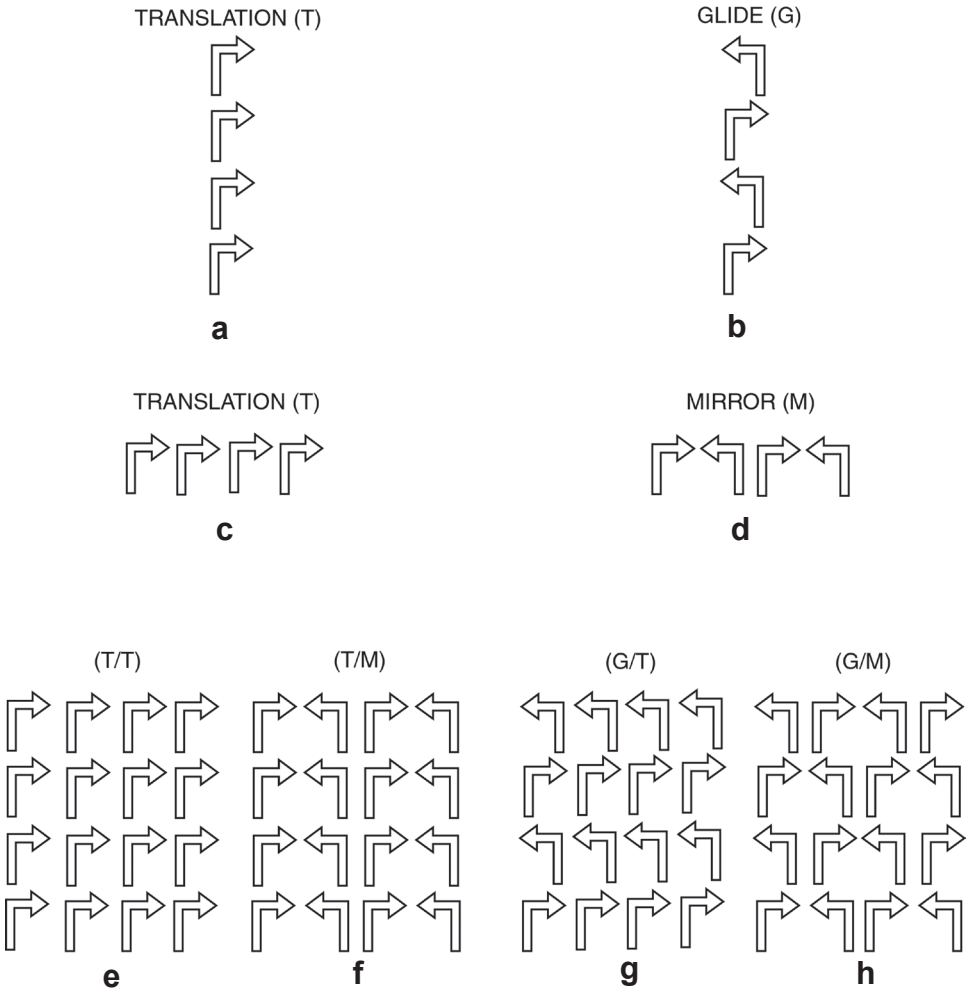


Figure 24.3. Deriving the symmetry patterns in figurative tunic panels from vertical and horizontal repetitions. a, b. vertical columns: translation (T) and glide (G); c, d. horizontal rows: translation (T) and mirror (M); e – h. possible field patterns in tunic panels (vertical repetition is noted first): translation/translation (T/T), translation/mirror (T/M), glide/translation (G/T), and glide/mirror (G/M).

if it is correctly oriented in the module and pattern. However, it does not always look the same. Half of the icons have a flaring hat rather than a tapering fez, which indicates that he has reversed the direction of the icon in the module (Conklin 1996:Figure 140). His chart shows a pattern that does not exist anywhere because he is not consistent in preserving the directionality he initially assigns to his icons.

Bergh summarizes the five symmetry patterns present in tunics with bipedal, profile figures (Bergh 1999:Figures 40–41) and formal variants of selected tunics in this group (Bergh 1999:Figures 30–36). She does not describe the larger groups of symmetry patterns in tunics that repeat geometric motifs, such as the stepped fret and profile face. As she states (Bergh 1999:Note 57), "The symmetry of the tunics is complex and is not dealt with in further detail here."

The symmetry patterns on Middle Horizon tunics are challenging, but they can be described in a consistent manner. I will use Andean models to describe the patterns, rather than applying the crystallographic approach used by Washburn and Crowe (1988), which has drawbacks that will be discussed.

For the purpose of describing symmetry patterns, I divide the sample of tunics into two groups by the type of motif that repeats within the bands: "geometric" and "figurative." The figurative group includes images of bipedal beings with a regular set of body parts (Figure 24.1a), while the geometric group, which includes two subgroups of images, has more abstract motifs that are often smaller (Figure 24.2a). The types of symmetrical patterns differ markedly between the two groups and suggest that the space in the tunic band is conceptualized in different ways. I will argue that this difference derives

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

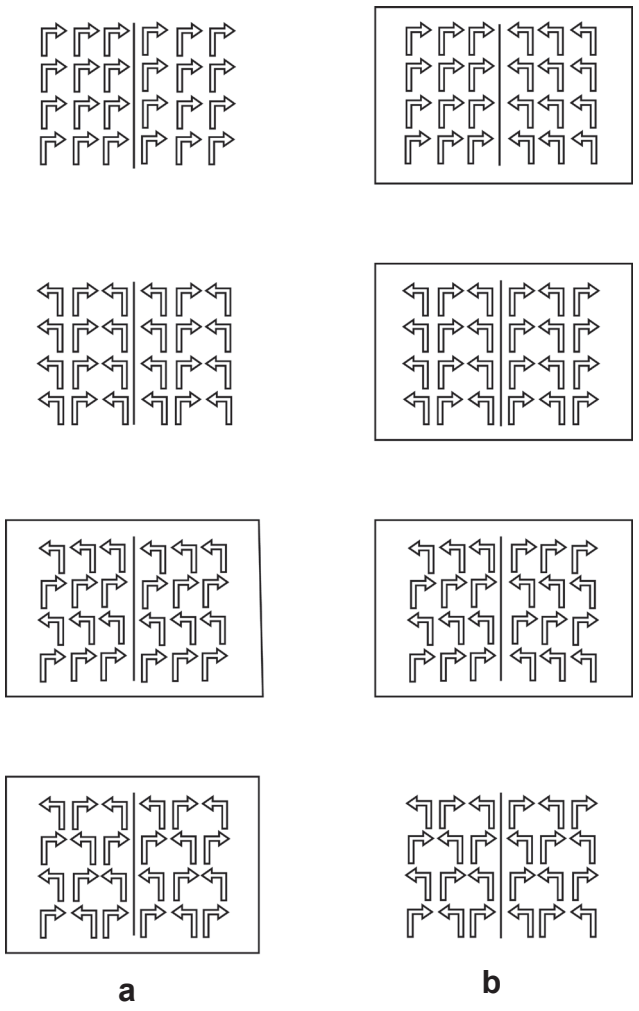


Figure 24.4. Eight possibilities exist for symmetry patterns on tunic fronts that display figurative imagery. At the center seam, the pattern is continued by translation symmetry (column A), or by mirror symmetry (column B). The patterns that are documented in the sample of known tunics are outlined with boxes.

from models with separate logics. As the patterns on figurative tunics are less varied, they will be discussed first.

Symmetry Patterns in Figurative Tunics

In tunics that display bipedal figures, the figures are generally oriented in an upright posture within bands that run from hem to shoulder on both the front and the back of the garment.[5] Their heads point toward the shoulder line and their feet point toward the ground. Figures are oriented like the person who wore the tunic, in an erect posture. The acute angle between the feet and legs indicates that the body weight of figures rests on an imaginary ground line. The depictive details (the erect backbone, bent knees, and the angle of feet to legs) suggest that figures are moving or at rest on an imaginary ground line, like the figures on the famous Gateway of the Sun at Tiwanaku. Although the heads of figures, particularly those with animal attributes, are often tilted upward,[6] the bodies of the bipedal figures are erect, like bodies of humans who stand on the ground.

Within vertical bands on tunics (as worn), the only orientation difference among figures is lateral, that is, whether they are right- or left-facing. There are only two possibilities for symmetry patterns: all figures face in one direction, which is called "translation" symmetry by geometers (Figure 24.3a), or they alternate in facing left and right (Figure 24.3b). This symmetry is called "glide reflection" (hereafter called "glide"). An example of glide symmetry is human footprints in the sand: one print mirrors the other, but it "glides" forward in a line.

To describe the field pattern of a tunic panel, the horizontal repetition of figures across bands must be considered, in addition to the vertical repetitions of figures within bands. Upright figures in horizontal rows either face in one direction, called "translation" symmetry (Figure 24.3c), or, less frequently, they alternate in being face-to-face and back-to-back (Figure 24.3d). When they alternate in this way, it is called "reflection" or "mirror" symmetry. This type is present in the sample, but it is rare. The two variables in vertical bands (Figure 24.3a,b) and the two variables in horizontal rows (Figure 24.3c,d) produce four possibilities for patterns in tunic panels (Figure 24.3e–h). I notate the patterns with acronyms that stand for the motion of symmetry (translation [T], glide [G], or mirror [M]) and give the acronym for vertical bands first. The whole tunic, which consists of two panels, introduces two more variables, which I will discuss later.

The erect posture of figures, their bent legs, and their orderly arrangement in vertical columns and horizontal rows suggest that figures are depicted as moving along or across pathways in grounded space, as humans do. Artistic conventions, including symmetrical repetition, mediate between motion in three-dimensional space and its depiction on a planar tapestry. The most recurrent pattern in tunic panels of the figurative group (Figure 24.1a,b) is glide symmetry in vertical bands, shown in Figure 24.3b. The figures appear to be in motion, striding forward with alternate legs along the pathway and leaving "footprints" of their whole body in the band. Motion is also implied in the horizontal rows. When all profile figures face the same direction, the line that they form seems to move in one direction, in part because their legs often imply forward motion through a

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 24.5. Geometric tunic with a symmetry pattern based on the repetition of one motif, the stepped fret, in four orientations. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 91.301. The color pattern is based on eight color units that repeat in parallel diagonals (with some deviation in the lower left).

bend at the knees. The lines of figures on the Gateway at Tiwanaku produce the same effect—they appear to converge on the central figure from both sides. The symmetrical repetition (translation or glide) endows figures with motion. Although figures are flattened on the pathways that they move along, I suggest that this is an artistic convention that is employed in a planar depiction of a three-dimensional motion. Imagining the tapestry figures as "pop-up" figures that are perpendicular to the columns and rows that form the pathways is a possible way of envisioning the motion behind the artistic convention.

The approach to space in the graphic field of the tunic is very different from a photographic approach to pictorial space, which has fixed coordinates and a single point of view. Spatial coordinates in the tunics are signaled by the kinds of details noted above: banding, figure orientation, implied ground line, and implied motion. The way that motion in space is portrayed in the tunics can be likened to the way in which choreography sequences are inscribed in our culture. In choreographic notations, footprints and arrows can show successive motions of a single dancer. Or, the notations can show positions and sequences of many dancers in reels or round dances.[7] In the tunics, the whole figure might be seen as equivalent to a footprint in a choreographic notation. Seen in this way, the patterns on figurative tunics become diagrammatic charts that correspond with the motions of bipedal figures along pathways in grounded space. The orientation of bipedal figures and the restricted number of symmetry patterns in tunics suggest that the patterns follow the logic of motion in grounded space, or what I call a "locomotory" model.[8]

Complete tunic fronts, which consist of two panels sewn together, introduce another symmetrical possibility at the center seam. The diagrammed symmetry

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

a

b

Figure 24.6. The technique of helical wrapping in four directions over a core. (a) three stages in wrapping that produce a diamond design. (b) specimens with varied wrapping patterns employing multiple colors.

patterns in tunic panels can be repeated exactly on the second panel, which is called translation (Figure 24.4, left column), or the pattern can be mirrored on the second panel (Figure 24.4, right column). The four pattern possibilities in a panel become eight possibilities, when the tunic front with a center seam is considered. Five of the eight possible patterns, shown in boxes (Figure 24.4), have been documented in the tunic sample (Bergh 1999:Figures 40, 41). I suspect that the pattern in the lower right corner of Figure 24.4 might yet be encountered. The other two patterns that are absent may never be encountered, no matter how large the sample becomes. They seem to violate an inferred artistic canon that requires the balancing of directional opposites, a quality that these two patterns do not have. Whole tunics of the figurative type have another orientation change at the shoulder fold, visible only when the tunic is opened out flat. Invariably, figures in bands are inverted at the shoulder fold, which puts them in an upright posture on both the front and the back of tunics. Because this inversion is so regular, it is not diagrammed here.

Both Bergh (1999) and Stone (1987) have diagrammed some or all of the symmetry patterns for the figurative tunic group in their theses. What I am adding to their work is a more systematic approach to the symmetry possibilities and the suggestion that the logic of grounded locomotion accounts for the limited range of symmetry patterns among the figurative tunics. I suggest that some classes of symmetrical patterns are absent from the figurative group because they do not conform to the logic of grounded locomotion.

Symmetry Patterns in Geometric Tunics

The second group of two-panel tunics, which I am loosely calling the "geometric" type, includes motifs such as stepped frets, profile faces (Figures 24.2a and 24.5), stepped diamonds, double-headed U-shaped animals, and four-part creatures. I divide the geometric group into two subgroups of patterns. In the face and fret subgroup of patterns, which will be discussed first, the motifs are smaller and the vertical bands within which they repeat have internal compartments that are outlined (Figure 24.2a,b). The second subgroup of patterns in the geometric group consists of four-part creatures that are splayed across vertical and horizontal axes that mirror each other in quadrants. The geometric group exhibits a different range of symmetrical patterns than the figurative group. These patterns appear to follow the logic of a different spatial model—a model that I argue resides in fiber technology. The orientation of motifs within patterns that adhere to the logic of this model is

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

not constrained by an imaginary ground line. In accordance with the logic of a multidirectional model, motifs can be upside-down, as well as right- or left-facing in tunics. In other words, motifs can be oriented in four directions, rather than in two directions, in tunics as worn. The doubling of orientation possibilities in geometric tunics results in a different and more comprehensive set of symmetrical patterns.

I have proposed that fiber technology provides a semimathematical model for codifying information in graphic patterns and images in a number of styles (Frame 1986, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1999, 2001a, 2007b). The images of fiber structures and repeating patterns that are modeled on fiber structures have distinctive properties of color, number, direction, symmetry, and spatial divisions, just as actual fiber structures have. Andean people were very aware of the properties of fiber structures and even developed information technologies that are based on them. The *khipu*, a device constructed of colored and knotted cords, is the best known of these information technologies, and it was widely used for recording information in the Inka and earlier periods. Information was made tangible in the properties of the cords and knots, where distinctions in direction, number, color, and spatial position signified distinctions in meaning. The images and patterns that are modeled on fiber structure have a similar potential to that of the *khipu* for encoding information systematically in graphic properties.

The Face/Fret Subgroup

The most common type of geometric pattern on two-panel tunics has a peculiar symmetry (Figures 24.2b and 24.5) that, to my knowledge, is not encountered in styles outside of the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS). This pattern has a correspondence with the highly specific fiber structure of wrapping threads around a core. Thread wrapping is a fiber technique where individual threads are laid down in helical pathways around a solid core (Figure 24.6a,b). The helical pathways can trend in four different directions that could be termed up-right, up-left, down-right, and down-left. Many wrapped patterns are built up centrifugally from the crossing of threads in the first two wrapping helices. By laying successive wrapping threads on four pathways that outline the crossing point, patterns such as the four-part diamond emerge, as illustrated in the three stages of wrapping the same pattern (Figure 24.6a). Changing the number and sequence of colors, the location of the initial crossing point, or the above-below position of parallel wrapping threads produces a wide variety of geometric patterns, from bands and checkerboard squares to triangles and spirals (Figure 24.6b).[9]

The wrapping technique and related techniques, such as lashing, have a long history in Peru (Shady Solís 2006:25, 27, 37; Splitstoser 2014, Splitstoser et al. 2003). Colorful thread wrapping is exhibited on wigs, needle cases, spinning distaffs, cords, throwing sticks, staffs, and tool handles. While a tubular object can be totally sheathed in the wrapping threads, the threads do not make a stable fabric structure. If the support or core is removed, the threads collapse into a tangle because there are no interlacements of elements. In the related technique of lashing, used for joining several solid supports together, threads wrap in continuous pathways around the intersection of the supports. Lashing is used for hafting weapons and tools and for constructing wooden frameworks for diverse purposes, from hair combs to house roofs. The solid supports in lashed objects are also crucial to the stability of the structure, and their removal results in a tangle of loose threads.

During the Middle Horizon, wrapping and lashing were used in a number of colorful ways that suggest a particular importance for the technique. The framework of a weaver's workbaskets is lashed together at the corners, and the splints of the basket walls are wrapped with threads to produce images (Reiss and Stübel 1880–1887:1:Plate 16 and 3:Plate 85). Wigs that are attached to looped caps sometimes have wrapped sections on the ends of braids that form a panel with a striking geometric pattern.

Khipus from the Middle Horizon (Conklin 1982:Figures 9–12) also exhibit wrapping, which seems particularly significant in relation to the patterned bands in tunics. Near the top of pendent cords, just below the attachment point to the main cord, is a section that is wrapped with colored threads. Wrapped patterns include sections of alternating colors as well as diamond patterns. Furthermore, these *khipu* cords are visibly grouped by the color or pattern of the wrapping. The grouped wrapping patterns appear to have a categorization function in a medium that is well known for registering information in ordered categories (Murra 1975). The use of the wrapping technique in Middle Horizon *khipu*, and in those *khipu* called "*canuto*" by Radicati di Primeglio (1990), strongly suggests that wrapped structures also registered information, like the plied and knotted structures that are present in Inka *khipu* (Locke 1923, among others). The visual analogy between vertical bands on tunics and the pendent cords of Middle Horizon *khipu* is heightened when one considers that *khipu* cords often have sections of wrapping at the top of cords.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The helical pathways that are present in wrapping are also present in the plied cords of *khipu* and in the long knots that denote the units from two to nine in Inka examples (Locke 1923). Knots and cords in Inka *khipu* display oppositions in helical direction that are presumably signifying attributes (Urton 1994). An important difference between these *khipu* techniques and the wrapping technique is that the wrapping technique has the potential for a greater number of directionally distinct helical pathways. Andean people have a thorough understanding of helices, grounded in the haptic practices of spinning, plying, and wrapping, and they attribute significance to directional differences. A fundamental distinction is made in the central and southern Andes between ordinary, Z-spun yarns (*paña*), which are produced by twirling a drop spindle in the clockwise direction, and *lloq'e* yarns, which are made by twirling the spindle backwards. *Lloq'e* yarns are believed to have special powers and are used for magical and curative purposes (Goodell 1969). Pilgrims, traversing the paths to the mountain shrine of Qoyllur Rit'i, stop along the way to leave their sins behind in clumps of twisted grass (Allen 2002:167). The grass is twisted with the left hand, while the hand is held behind the back, a potent doubling of the difference from the ordinary practice of twisting fiber in front of the body with the right hand.

These few examples of the significance attached to distinctions in helical direction by contemporary Andean people provide a context in which to consider directional pathways in one subgroup of two-panel tunics in the geometric group. Patterns that repeat profile faces and stepped frets (Figure 24.2a–c) and those that repeat only stepped frets (Figure 24.5), as well as others, correspond with thread wrapping on several levels. To illustrate the correspondence with wrapping, I will use the simplest pattern of this type (Figure 24.5), which repeats a single motif in a single-width pattern band. I consider this type to be the "root" of more elaborate patterns in this subgroup, which will be summarized later.

One of the correspondences between the tunic pattern and thread wrapping pertains to the unusual division of space within a band. The tunic band is vertical, but it contains other outlined modules within it. There are rectangular modules separated by horizontal lines. Within the rectangular modules are two truncated triangles that are separated by a diagonal line. The roughly triangular modules in the vertical bands of face and fret tunics can be produced by thread wrapping in four directions (Figure 24.7, left), as can modules of different shapes that are present in groups of tunics (Figure 24.7, center and right).

Figure 24.7. Patterns produced in helical wrapping correspond with the shapes of modules in tunic bands, including the horizontal and diagonal divisions of space in face and fret tunics (left example).

If division of space within a band is the first, symmetry is the second correspondence between the band pattern and thread wrapping. The symmetry pattern is produced by the regular alternation of stepped frets in different orientations. The stepped fret is an asymmetrical motif that is replete with directional distinctions, a feature that may explain its ubiquity in Andean art. It has a broad, flat base and a narrower top, giving it an up-down distinction. The hook or fret on one side gives it a left-right distinction in the plane. The stepped diagonal of its back can be distinguished as either S-slant or Z-slant, using the middle strokes of the letters S and Z as a reference. The shape of the curling fret suggests a spiral or helical motion, which combines with the slanted diagonal to define the direction of the motion. The patterned orientations of stepped frets do not correspond with more common symmetry patterns that mimic the twisting or braiding of elements (Frame 1986, 1994, 2001a), but they do correspond with helical wrapping in four directions, as diagrammed in Figure 24.8.

In Figure 24.8, stepped frets that have identical orientations are shown in black in each copy of the band. The helical direction of the pathway, shown beside each copy of the tunic band as a yarn wrapping around a pole, corresponds with the directional attributes of the black frets. The yarn trends upward when the stepped frets are oriented with the hook at the top (Figure 24.8a). The diagonal lay of the yarn around the pole corresponds with the Z-slant of the stepped diagonal on the back of the fret. The helical pathway of the wrapping yarn can be succinctly described as "Z-up." The diametrically

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

opposite pathway is illustrated in Figure 24.8c. The yarn trends downward, matching the upside-down orientation of the black stepped frets. The diagonal lay of the yarn corresponds with the S-slant of the stepped diagonal on the back of the frets. The helical pathway can be termed "S-down." Reading across the four copies of the band and their corresponding helical pathways, the pathways indicated by the directional attributes of the black stepped frets are Z-up, S-up, S-down, and Z-down.

The correlation between the symmetry pattern and the pathways of wrapping is based on the orderly repetition of a motif that has multiple directional attributes. The stepped fret is both ubiquitous and inadequately understood in Andean art. The use of it in this complex pattern suggests that the significance of the stepped fret may lie in its directional attributes and conventionalized properties. Although it is a flat motif, the curling fret suggests that it conventionally represents motions and directions in three dimensions, which are projected onto a plane. As art styles worldwide have conventions for representing three dimensions on planar surfaces, it should not be surprising that the tapestry tunics discussed here appear to employ several: distortion and the patterned repetition of geometric motifs such as the stepped fret.

This reading of the symmetry pattern on geometric tunics diverges from standard symmetry analysis as practiced by scholars such as Washburn and Crowe (1988), and for good reason. Crystallography (the study of structures of crystals), on which such approaches are based, relies on a mathematical proof that limits symmetrical motions to motions in the Euclidean plane (Washburn and Crowe 1988:271–277). The approach does not allow helical motions because they are not motions in the plane. As I have argued elsewhere (Frame 2004b, 2007b), this artificial limitation to motions in the Euclidean plane does not reflect Andean mathematical realities. The Andean plane was more likely conceptualized as a piece of fabric, rather than the abstract Euclidean plane, which has absolutely no thickness. Conceptualizing spatial dimensions as cords and cloth, which are "thick" dimensions in comparison to Euclidean dimensions, might well have produced an entirely different approach to representing space in their artistic productions. Both cords and cloth are composed wholly or in part of twisted elements, which might suggest that "thick" Andean dimensions encompassed helical motions. The correspondence between Andean patterns/motifs and fiber structures that I have demonstrated in many styles (Frame 1986, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1999, 2001a, 2007b) and the importance of helical pathways in fiber technology suggest that it is necessary to develop alternative approaches to symmetry analysis for Andean art that are not constrained by mathematical constructs developed by the Greeks and their predecessors. The correspondence between the patterned repetition of stepped frets and the helical pathways of wrapping that is illustrated in Figure 24.8 draws on the logic of an Andean technology to describe the symmetrical motions of the patterned plane.

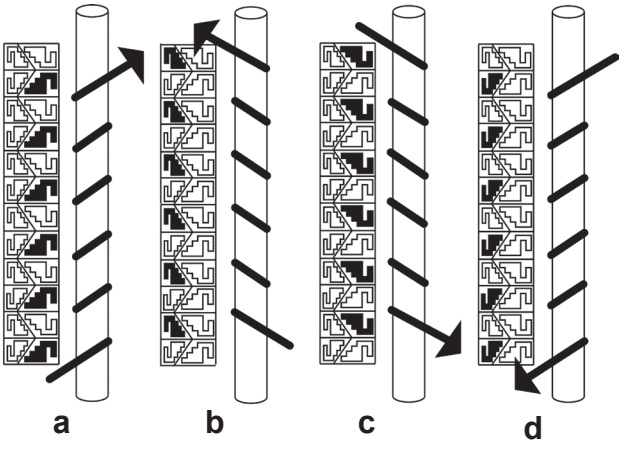


Figure 24.8. The correspondence between the directional pathways of wrapping and the orientation of stepped frets in a tunic band pattern: (a) Z-Up, (b) S-Up, (c) S-Down, and (d) Z-Down.

The simplest pattern repetition of the stepped fret on geometric tunics (Figure 24.5) can be seen as the root of a number of pattern variations. The root pattern is often doubled or in rare cases even trebled to produce a patterned band. The root pattern (Figure 24.9a,b) can be copied exactly, which produces a visual zigzag in the center of the doubled band (Figure 24.9c,d). Or, the copy can be reflected, which produces a visual string of diamonds in a doubled band (Figure 24.9e,f). The doubling (Figure 24.9c,e) or trebling of the root then becomes the patterned band that repeats between plain bands on tunics (Figure 24.9d,f). The final example, Figure 24.9f, is the most recurrent band pattern in the tunics with stepped frets, although this example has a break in the pattern. A single profile face substitutes for a stepped fret toward the bottom of one panel, next to the center seam.

A common pattern in this subgroup of geometric tunics is produced when profile faces are substituted for half of the stepped frets (Figure 24.2a). The profile faces (shown by black arrows in Figures 24.2b and 24.10b) substitute in modules that correspond with exactly half of the wrapping pathways. The stepped frets remain in the modules that correspond with the other two wrapping pathways, as described in the Figure 24.8 diagram. The segregation of the two motifs in modules that

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

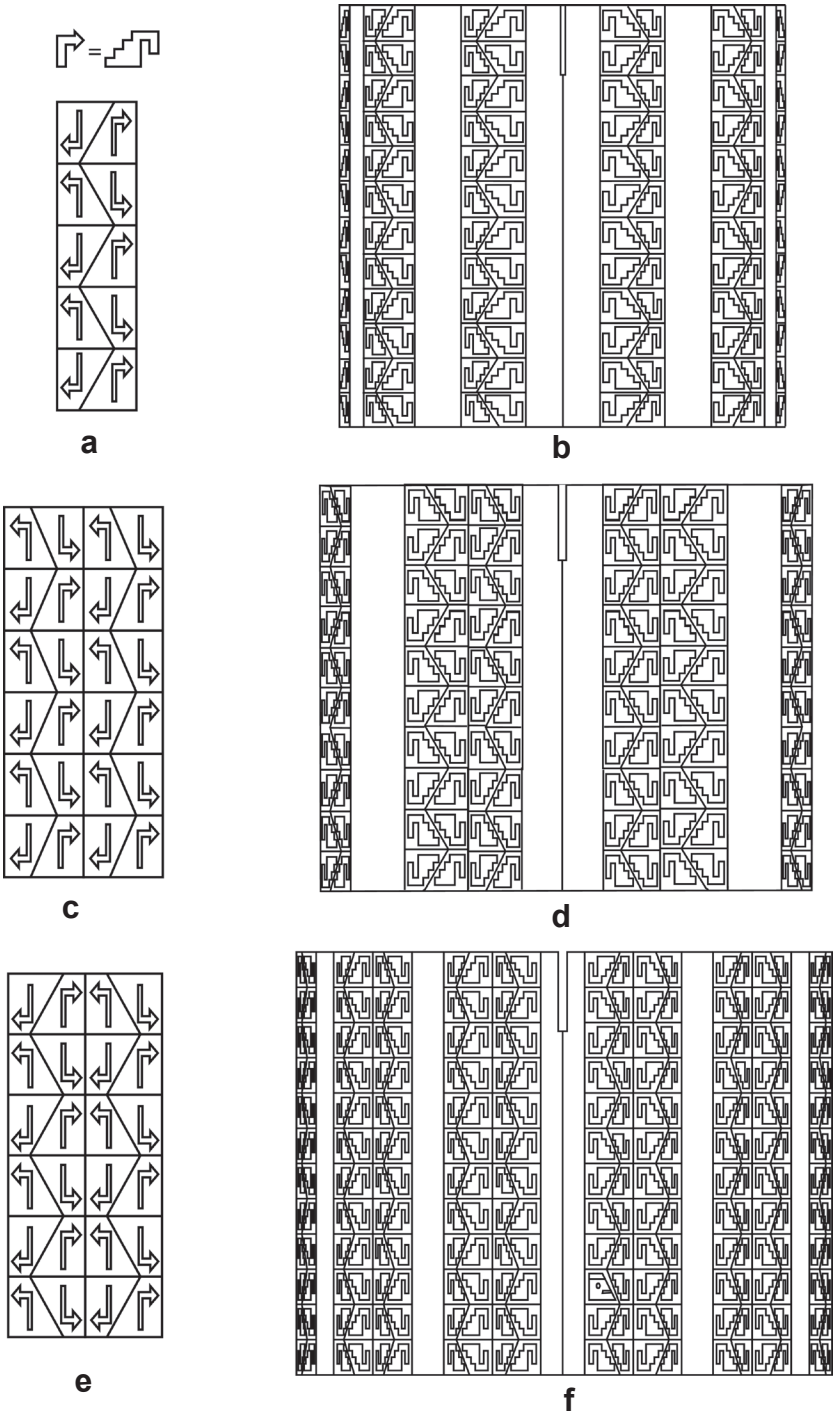


Figure 24.9. Format variations in tunics that repeat stepped frets. (a, b) Single band pattern and tunic TM 91.301. (c, d) Patterned band, doubled by translation symmetry, and tunic TM 1960.12.4. (e, f) Patterned band, doubled by mirror symmetry, and tunic MfVM, Mayrock 245.

correspond with separate pathways is another indication that the model for the patterns is drawn from the fiber technique of wrapping. The makers were apparently adhering to the same model when introducing another motif into the pattern. The diagram of a face and fret tunic (Figure 24.10b) illustrates the new level of pattern complexity that is introduced by the second motif. The triangular modules in doubled bands are generated by mirror symmetry, but the face motif (black arrows) and fret motif (white arrows) do not mirror each other,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

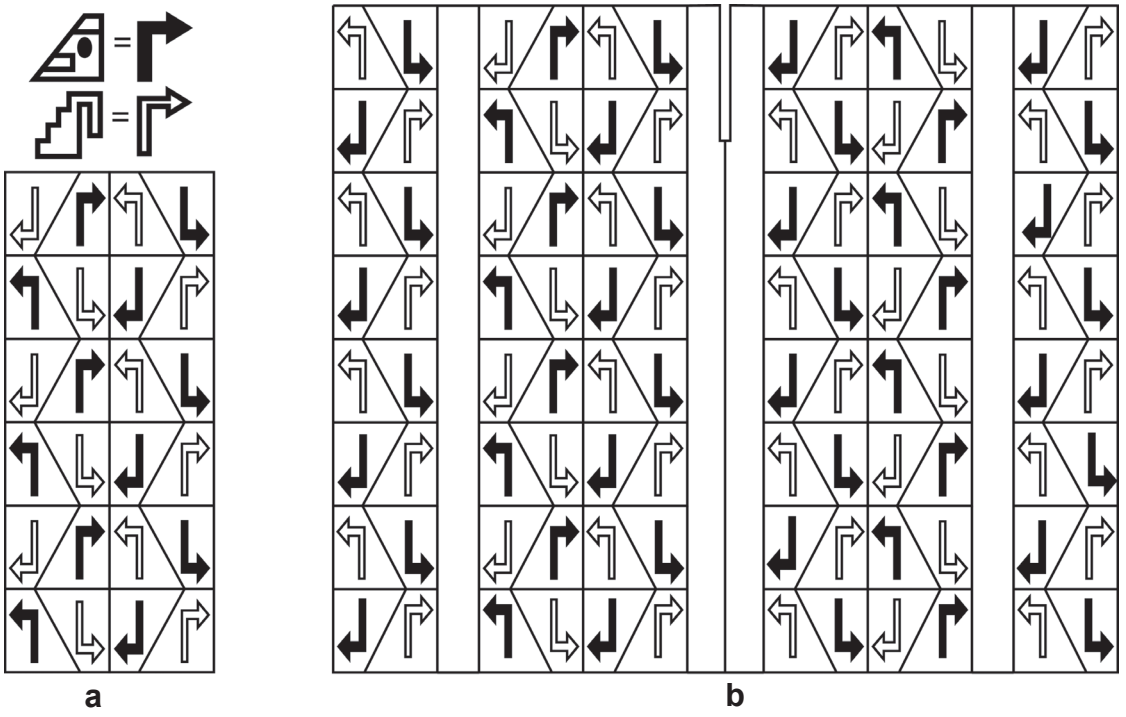


Figure 24.10. The most recurrent pattern on geometric tunics alternates stepped frets and profile faces: (a) doubled band and (b) tunic (BMA 86.224.144).

except in orientation. Only at the center seam in this example do the modules *and* motifs mirror each other. A rare, possibly unique, variant in this subgroup displays no stepped frets but alternates two types of profile faces in modules instead (CMA 1949.12, Bergh 1999:Figure 131, top left). The two types of faces, which are segregated in modules that correspond with separate pathways, repeat in a pattern that accords with the same logic.

A more elaborate variant in the face and fret subgroup of geometric tunics alternates three motifs in a pattern. The profile face and stepped fret remain in modules that correspond with two separate wrapping pathways. The third motif, often interlocked U-shaped animals (Figure 24.11a), occupies a rectangular module that corresponds with the other two wrapping pathways. Diamonds with stepped outlines can also occupy a rectangular module in patterns of this type, and in some examples, they alternate with a profile face and a stepped block with three animal heads[10] (Figure 24.11b). The placement of the introduced motifs among the stepped frets and/or profile faces conforms to the same geometry and logic as the patterns that are based on stepped frets alone. The location of the motif in the rectangular module within the pattern repetition corresponds with a pair of wrapping pathways, while the paired motifs in triangular modules correspond with separate pathways. The layout of alternating rectangular modules and paired triangular modules is illustrated in a specimen of wrapping (Figure 24.7, second from left).

Several examples in this subgroup include neither stepped frets nor profile faces (for example, MFAB 1978.124, Bergh 1999:Figure 130). Instead, they alternate two motifs in rectangular modules. As the two motifs (the stepped diamond and the interlocked U-shaped animals) occur in other tunic patterns that include the stepped fret and profile face, it is reasonable to include these examples in the subgroup of face and fret patterns. They also conform to the geometry and logic of wrapping pathways, as separate motifs are located in rectangles that conform to pairs of wrapping pathways.

The symmetry patterns in the face and fret subgroup are varied in several ways: the specific motifs, the shape of their modules, the number of motifs, and the width of pattern bands. What is common to all of the patterns is that the motifs (whatever number are present) repeat in modules that are segregated from each other on pathways that correspond to one or two complete pathways in the wrapping model illustrated in Figure 24.8.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

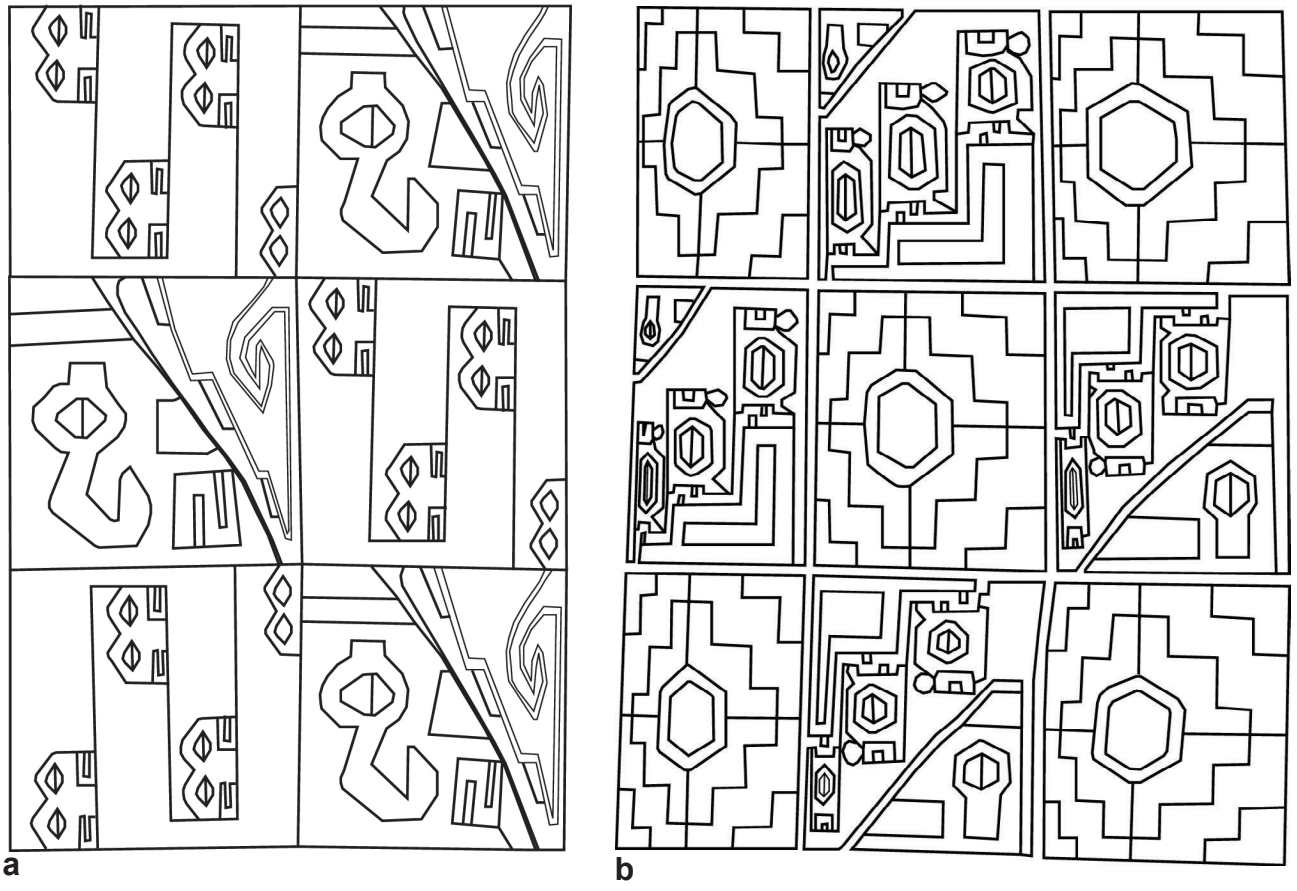


Figure 24.11. Patterns in the face and fret subgroup based on three motifs. (a) Drawing of a tunic detail with face, fret, and interlocked U-shaped animal DO PC.B 500. (b) Drawing of a tunic fragment with diamond, face, and stepped block with three animal heads MNAAH RT 3301.

Subgroup of Four-Part Creatures

A doubly mirrored motif that I describe as a four-part creature makes up the second subgroup of geometric tunics. Some of these motifs have a few recognizable elements, such as eyes, hands, and tails (Figure 24.12a,b), but they are such abstract creatures that I include them in the geometric group of tunics for the analysis of pattern systems. The creatures do not stand or move on an imaginary ground line but are most often splayed vertically and horizontally into four quadrants that mirror each other. The modules are square or rectangular, and patterned bands are almost always doubled by reflection to contain quadripartite creatures. Rare examples[11] have only half of a quadripartite figure in a band. This variant, which is mirrored on the horizontal axis only, is charted in Figure 24.13a.[12] In the vast majority, the root pattern is doubled by mirror symmetry on the vertical axis as well (Figure 24.13b), to make a pattern band with quadripartite figures. Many, but not all, tunics in this family have only one patterned band of four-part creatures on each panel, plus a very reduced half-band at the side seam (Figure 24.13c). Additional axes of mirror symmetry at the center seam (Figure 24.13d) and the shoulder line of tunics do not disrupt the pattern or introduce variables.

The symmetry patterns in this family also conform in some respects to the logic inherent in the wrapping technique. Rectilinear modules arise in the wrapping technique, as seen in the checkerboard specimen of a wrapped stick (Figure 24.7, second from right). The slant of the wrapping threads is mirrored in adjacent quadrants of the checkerboard, which corresponds symmetrically with the mirroring of quadripartite creatures across vertical and horizontal axes in the band pattern. The inclusion of hooked or fret motifs, oriented in four directions (Figure 24.12a), may signal helical direction that corresponds with four pathways of wrapping.

The symmetry patterns of this subgroup of geometric tunics are consistent with mirror symmetry,[13] and this type of symmetry pattern is absent from other groups and subgroups of tunics. The imagery can be visually complex (Bergh 1999:Figures 111–117, 126–128, 134 top left), with many small motifs combining to make up the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 24.12. Tunics in the four-part creature subgroup have symmetry patterns generated by mirror symmetry and color patterns based on four color units. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 91.533 (left) and 1962.5.1 (right). See Figures 24.16b and 24.16d for color charts of these tunics.

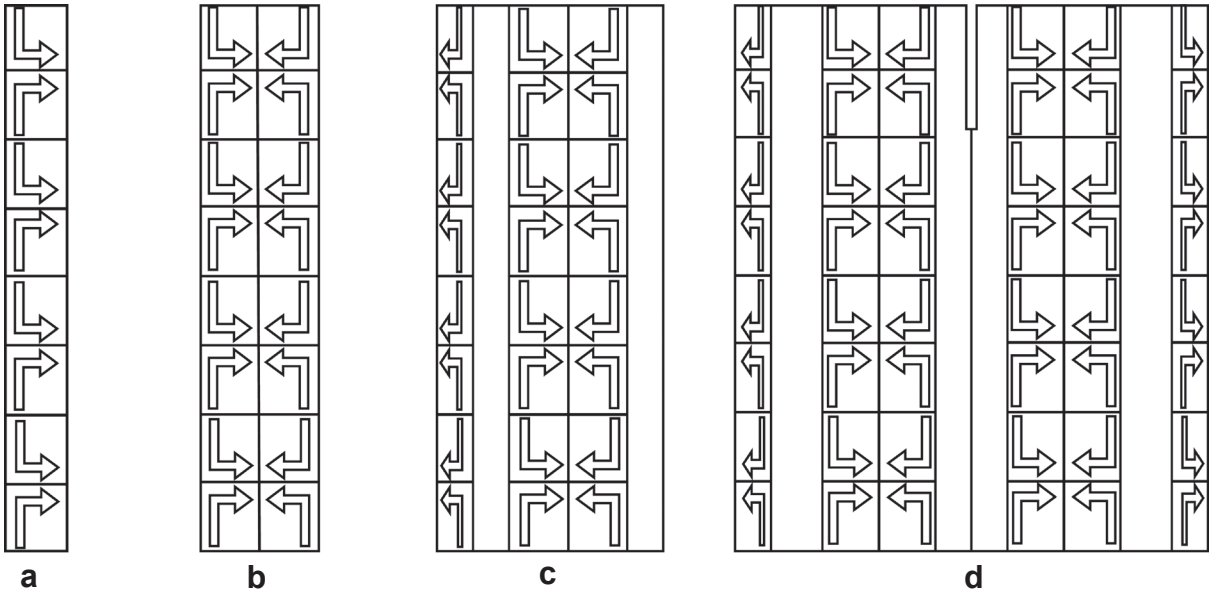


Figure 24.13. Mirror symmetry in four-part creature tunics: (a) root pattern (rare), (b) standard band pattern, (c) panel pattern, and (d) pattern on tunic front.

quadrants of the four-part creatures. The uniformity in the symmetry patterns and the broader range of motifs suggest that the family of four-part creatures may have a distinct origin. Oakland (1986:218) suggests that tunics with doubly mirrored patterns may draw on a common artistic heritage that included Pukara stone reliefs exhibiting the same symmetry, such as the Thunderbolt stela (Chávez 1975:Plate V). Bergh (1999:81, 561–583) discusses the many technical peculiarities of this subgroup of tunics and suggests that these tunics have to be considered hybrids of the northern and southern technological traditions, if Oakland's dichotomy between Wari (two-panel) and Tiwanaku (one-panel) tunics is basically correct.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The doubly mirrored four-part creatures are present in the one-panel tunics, as well as in the two-panel tunics, that are described in this chapter. A one-panel tunic (Conklin 1999:Figures 5, 6) and two Tiwanaku mantles (Oakland 1986:Figures 9–15), all from San Pedro de Atacama, display band patterns with four-part creatures.[14] This family of motifs and patterns occurs on tunics that are assumed to be Wari and Tiwanaku, using the two-panel/one-panel distinction proposed by Oakland (1986).

As a whole, the symmetry patterns on two-panel tunics reinforce differences in the type of imagery that tunics display. A specific range of symmetry patterns is associated with the figurative group (Figure 24.4). Different ranges of patterns are associated with the geometric tunics. The face and fret subgroup (Figures 24.9–24.11) and the four-part creature subgroup (Figure 24.13) each display a range of symmetry patterns that are different from each other and from the figurative group of tunics. By emphasizing the root patterns in each group or subgroup, the logical derivation of a range of patterns is brought to the fore. The correlation between imagery (the basis for classifying the tunics into groups and subgroups) and a specific range of symmetry patterns indicates there are even stronger style differences between groupings of tunics than imagery alone. The differences may not be strong enough to argue forcefully that the imagery groupings in tunics correspond with independent substyles, but that possibility exists. The four-part creature tunics have many distinctive features, including imagery, technical features (Bergh 1999:81, 561–582), and symmetry patterns that do suggest an origin in a separate tradition. Symmetry patterning is a property that can usefully contribute to the definition, or the separation, of styles when it is described fully.

The major groups of imagery on tunics, the figurative and the geometric, conform to the logic of different models that I identify as the locomotory model and the fiber technology model, respectively. The geometric group of tunics is here divided into the face and fret and the four-part creature subgroups. Although the symmetry patterns in the geometric subgroups are different from each other, both correlate with the multidirectional model, such as the fiber technique of wrapping, where figure orientation is not constrained by an imaginary ground line. In the figurative group of tunics, features such as the angled feet and erect posture of vertically oriented figures suggest that the more restricted set of symmetry patterns follows the logic of a model based in the motions of grounded beings, that is, the locomotory model.

Color Patterns and the Model of Wrapping

The color patterns on tunics are perhaps even more notable than the symmetry patterns. The eye is engaged by color first, before details of figures emerge. The color patterning spans the whole tunic, connecting like-colored modules along diagonal or horizontal pathways. Although multiple colors are used in a module, the sum of the colors produces a recognizable unit of colors. The unit can be traced along visual pathways in the tunic through connections to contiguous modules. The visual pathways are most frequently on diagonals, although horizontal and horizontal zigzag pathways are also present. Four is the most common number of color units used in tunic patterning, although a greater or lesser number are present in some groups (Figures 24.1c and 24.2c).

Color patterns have been described thoroughly through diagrams and text in several theses (Bergh 1999; Stone 1987). Bergh provides a detailed analysis of the overall color system using a larger sample than Stone, and she cross-references each piece to a catalogue description of numerous aspects of tunic design. Her analysis of types of color patterns among tunics is largely followed here, and some of her descriptive terms for patterns are adopted. However, I do not use the letters that she uses to designate types. I group the pattern classes in a way that emphasizes the derivation of variants from a basic repetition of colors, or root pattern, in a vertical patterned band. My purpose is to illustrate the logic of a model at work in the generation of a set of variants. As I will illustrate, the logic of the wrapping model corresponds with the color patterns in both the figurative and geometric groups of tunics. An ancillary result of this approach is that the relationship between sets of color patterns and imagery-based groups of tunics is highlighted.

I will look at the number and organization of colors within a single band first, then at the pattern that extends across the patterned bands of a single woven panel. Finally, the pattern displayed on the complete tunic, which may (or may not) have axes of reversal at the center seam and at the shoulder line, is considered. The same groups used for the description of symmetry types (figurative and geometric) will be used for the discussion of color patterns. What is common to virtually all tunics is that the color patterns run in contrapuntal directions to the pathways implied in the symmetry patterns. The color patterns appear to reside in a plane that is conceptually separate—one that I metaphorically compare to a semitransparent overlay. To isolate the color system from the other pattern systems, it is expedient to show

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

color schematically within the modules of the patterned areas of tunics, an approach used by both Stone (1987) and Bergh (1999).

Geometric Tunics with Four-Part Creatures

The color patterning in this subgroup of tunics is based on four colors, and the four colors are organized as two pairs (Figure 24.12a,b). Vertical pattern bands in this subgroup are almost always composed of two columns of square or rectangular modules (Figure 24.13b), which accommodate the horizontally and vertically splayed sections of four-part creatures. In the most common pattern woven into a vertical band, colors 1 and 2 alternate in a minimal checkerboard of four squares. Colors 3 and 4 alternate in the following four squares, and so on. The modules and color pattern in a band can be represented in a four-color wrapping specimen where pairs of colors are organized in two separate blocks of four squares that alternate with each other (Figure 24.14, left). The color chart for the band pattern (Figure 24.15b) is equivalent to the wrapped specimen. While the wrapped specimen on the left is labor-intensive to make, a shorthand version of this four-color wrapped pattern can be produced with pairs of two-color Xs (Figure 24.14, right). The arms of each X show

Figure 24.14. The root color pattern for tunics displaying four-part creatures is reproduced in the checkerboard wrapped specimen (left) and in a shorthand version made with fewer threads (right).

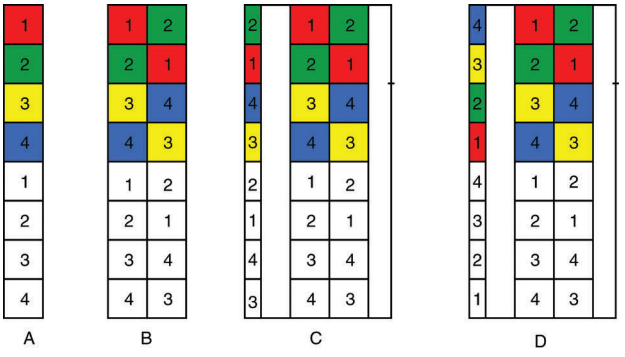


Figure 24.15. Deriving color patterns in the four-part creature tunics. (a) Linear sequence in a single band (rare). (b) Linear sequence and its inversion in a doubled band (standard). (c) Panel pattern extended by exact repetition. (d) Panel pattern extended by offsetting.

the four colors as diagonals that span the appropriate modules. In other words, the basic color pattern in a vertical band of this type could have been registered in a semipermanent form and transmitted by something as simple as four-colored elements that follow different wrapping pathways. While there is no proof that this means was used to communicate color patterns to weavers, its simplicity is suggestive.

The color patterns in tunics that display four-part creatures can be summarized in diagrams that show only module shape and color sequence (Figures 24.15 and 24.16). The root pattern (Figure 24.15a), which is very rare but present, shows the four colors in a linear sequence, and it is one-half of the pattern in a standard band (Figure 24.15b). In the standard band, it should be noted that the linear sequence runs in opposite directions in the two registers. This opposition in direction produces the characteristic pattern of two minimal checkerboards, each consisting of two alternating colors within the standard band. The pattern on a tunic panel usually consists of a standard band and a narrow half-band at the side seam, which continues the color alternation horizontally across the panel in one of two ways. The color pathways in the first example follow horizontal zigzags (Figure 24.15c). Each color unit (green, for example) zigzags across the wider band and the narrow half-band at the side seam. Its partner, red in this case, zigzags oppositely, filling in the remaining squares in the two horizontal rows occupied by red and green units. The yellow and blue units follow the same horizontal zigzag pathways in their two rows.

The second way that color can be organized on a tunic panel is shown in Figure 24.15d. Color pathways are split on opposite diagonals. The green units in Figure

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

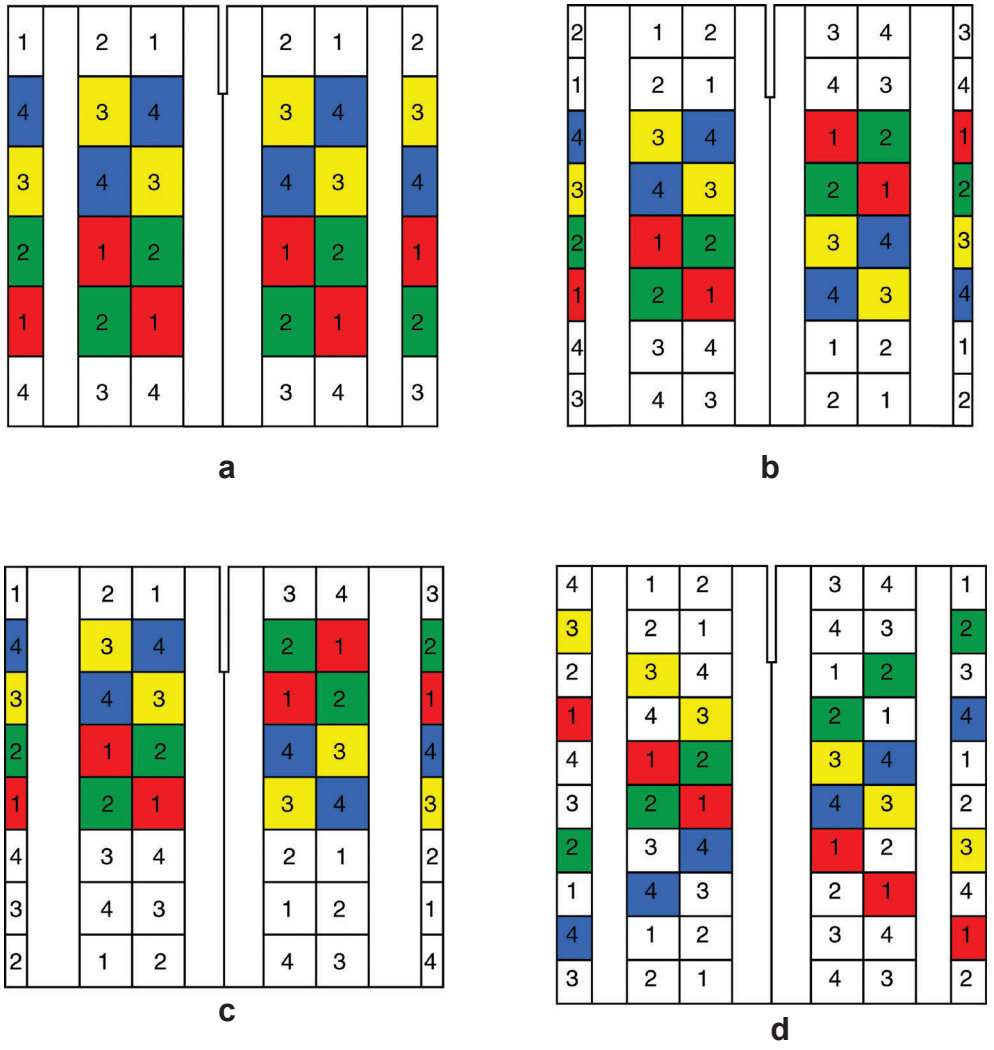


Figure 24.16. Variations introduced at the center seam in the color patterns on four-part creature tunics. (a) Private collection (Benavides 1999:385); (b) TM 91.533 (tunic in Figure 24.12, left); (c) MNAAH RT 3565; (d) TM 1962.5.1 (tunic in Figure 24.12).

24.15d follow a diagonal from the upper right to the lower left, and the yellow units follow a diagonal from the upper left to the lower right. Blue units parallel green units, and red units parallel yellow units. Bergh (1999) aptly calls this pattern "opposed diagonals," because two color units follow one diagonal pathway and the other two colors follow the opposed diagonal pathway. The eye is led along horizontal zigzags or opposed diagonals by modules of the same color that connect into pathways at their corners.

Bergh (1999:821–23) encountered one pattern on a panel fragment of a four-part creature tunic that is not derived from the "standard" band pattern diagrammed in Figure 24.15b. This nonconforming panel (TM 1967.14.1) has a pattern of parallel diagonals, a type of color patterning that is common on other tunics but is exceedingly rare in this subgroup.

Most variables in tunics with four-part creatures arise at the center seam, and they are summarized diagrammatically in Figure 24.16. Of the four patterns present in the sample, the simplest one is the rarest, noted only in one tunic (Benavides 1999:385). This pattern (Figure 24.16a) continues the horizontal zigzagging of color units in a tunic panel on one side of the center seam to the second panel on the other. Another variant offsets the pattern at the center seam by a block of four that corresponds to a four-part creature (Figure 24.16b). In other words, the red and the green units change places with the yellow and blue units at the center seam by shifting their position. The third variant reflects the color pattern in one panel, as well as offsetting it, at the center seam (Figure 24.16c). The result of reflecting the colors can be seen most easily in the wide bands, where each color lines up on opposite diagonals on the two sides of the center seam.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The motions of offsetting and/or reflecting that correspond with the patterns on two-panel tunics could have been conveyed to weavers using several sticks with wrapping. Offsetting would consist of shifting sticks with the same wrapped pattern (Figure 24.16b). Reflecting and offsetting the pattern at the center seam (Figure 24.16c) would require two wrapped sticks with color pairs in reversed positions, as well as shifting to offset the color pairs. The simplest variant (Figure 24.16a) continues across the center seam in a straight repetition and corresponds with aligning two identically wrapped specimens. The pattern of opposed diagonals (Figure 24.16d) could be conveyed by offsetting one of two identically wrapped specimens, a manipulation of models that would continue the color diagonals on the other panel. As the wrapped specimens can be manipulated separately, they can closely mimic the manipulation of panels in tunic construction, where one panel had to be rotated 180 degrees before seaming.

Both the color patterns, which are based on four color units, and the symmetry patterns, which are generated by reflection symmetry on two axes, exhibit a high degree of consistency in the subgroup of tunics with four-part creatures. The circumscribed and consistent color patterns are another reason to consider that the tunics with four-part creatures may originate in a particular cultural area, as suggested earlier.

Geometric Tunics with Faces and Frets

The tunics of the face and fret subgroup often have more vertical patterned bands than the subgroup of four-part creatures, or the patterned strips are doubled, trebled, or quadrupled to make wide patterned bands. In one way or another, the face and fret tunics have more modules with motifs, and the outlined modules are generally smaller. The most common layout for patterned bands on a tunic panel for this subgroup is two doubled bands plus a narrow single band at the side seam (Figure 24.9f). Some tunics are solidly patterned in the upper half. The outlined modules within patterned bands consist predominantly of pairs of truncated triangles set within a rectangle. Some tunics combine motifs in rectangular modules with motifs in triangular modules (Figure 24.11a,b), and rarer types consist of motifs in rectangular modules only.

Four colors is the most common number of different units used in patterns on face and fret tunics and, indeed, in all tunics. However, repetitions of three, five, six, and eight color units also occur in this family. Also, the length of a repetition cycle can differ from the number of color units. For example, six color units can repeat in an eight-part cycle, that is, a pattern of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 2, 3, 6, in a vertical band (Figure 24.2c). Both aspects of number—the length of the repetition cycle and the quantity of color units—are likely significant, a point that I will illustrate with a hypothetical example in the concluding section. The clear preference for patterns based on four colors repeating in a four-part cycle suggests that "fourness" had a fundamental place in organizational schemes in the Middle Horizon. A similar preference for "fourness" has been noted in different aspects of *tukapu* patterning on Inka textiles, and I have argued that it corresponds with sociopolitical organization and Inka practices of various types (Frame 2004a, 2007a, 2010, 2014). Although other numbers of color units are present, patterns based on four and five colors will be used to illustrate the major pattern variables in the face and fret tunics.

Colors are generally organized on diagonals within bands and on tunic panels of the face and fret subgroup (Figure 24.2a,c). The first pattern variable is in the direction of the diagonal—upper left to lower right or vice versa. The next variables, already discussed, are the number of color units and the length of the repetition cycle. These variables correspond closely with wrapping, where the helical pathways of wrapping elements slope on diagonals on the visible surface (Figure 24.17). The wrapping can slope on either diagonal (Figure 24.17, left and center) or on both diagonals in alternation (Figure 24.17, right). Four (or more) colors can be sequentially arranged in parallel pathways in helical wrapping, and the sequence, once established, is preserved in subsequent repetitions. Even the more unusual color patterns in face and fret tunics can be schematically registered in a wrapping specimen. Tunic patterns such as six color units repeating in an eight-part cycle (Figure 24.2c) can be produced in a wrapping specimen by using two of the six colors of wrapping threads twice.

The simplest pattern in this family alternates four colors in parallel diagonals in tunic bands (Figure 24.18a) and on tunic panels. At the center seam, the pattern can continue on the same slant or reverse. When the color pattern continues on the same diagonal, only two of the four colors pass the center seam in a smooth, uninterrupted diagonal. The other two colors jog out of position by two color diagonals (Figure 24.18b). The reason for this is that the sequence of colors is inverted: the linear repetition of colors, 1234 in one panel, is 4321 in the other panel. Although the panels were woven with identical color placements on the loom, one panel is rotated 180 degrees for seaming. This rotation results in the inversion of the linear color sequence. While this

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 24.17. The root color patterns in face and fret tunics correspond with diagonal pathways produced in thread wrapping. Parallel diagonal pathways can be Z or S slant (left and center) and opposed diagonal pathways alternate in being S and Z slant (right).

motion may be difficult to imagine in the abstract, it can be made concrete through the manipulation of identically wrapped sticks. Rotating one of them by 180 degrees will produce the color pattern on tunics with parallel color diagonals (Figure 24.18b): inverted color order on the two panels and two continuous color diagonals and two diagonals that jog out of position at the center seam. Detailed correspondences such as this one suggest that a physical model could have been employed to plan and develop patterns prior to weaving. Although there are no archaeological examples to prove it, they could have used wrapped sticks. Models of this type would have constituted semipermanent registrations, or inscriptions, of patterns that could be retained and reused for other tunics.

The second way that the pattern of parallel diagonals can be treated at the center seam of tunics is by mirror reflection. The parallel color diagonals reverse slant at the center seam, making chevron-shaped color pathways (Figure 24.18c). To produce this pattern on the loom, two dissimilar panels were woven: the color diagonals were reversed in slant, and the linear order of colors was inverted. Rotating one panel by 180 degrees before seaming, which is necessary to preserve the distortion pattern and the location of selvedges in constructed tunics, aligns the colors in the chevron-shaped, parallel pathways. A pair of wrapped sticks with reversed direction of wrapping and inverted order of colors could have been a physical model for the pattern on the tunic.

"Opposed" patterns are different from "parallel" patterns in that half the color units on one panel repeat on diagonals of one slant, while the other color units repeat on the opposite diagonal. The pattern is established by the color placement in a band (Figure 24.19a), where the green and blue units are on one diagonal, and the red and yellow units are on the opposed diagonal. The pattern is offset in each subsequent band within a panel to make continuous diagonal pathways. The pattern in the band corresponds with the wrapping pattern illustrated on the right in Figure 24.17. At the center seam, opposed patterns can continue on straight diagonals that span the entire tunic (Figure 24.19b), or they can be reversed at the center seam into V-shaped pathways (Figure 24.19c). The latter pattern is both "opposed" (the color pathways are split between opposite diagonals) and "reversed" (the slant direction reverses at the center seam). The pattern also incorporates five colors in an alternation that is broken into groups of two (green and blue) and three (red, yellow, and brown) on opposed pathways.

The patterns of some face and fret tunics exhibit yet another variation at the shoulder line. The shoulder line, which falls in the exact center of the opened-out tunic, can be another axis of reversal where color diagonals change direction. The illustrated patterns of this type are variations that grow out of the patterns of parallel color diagonals that reverse at the center seam (Figure 24.18c). What is added is another diagonal reversal at the shoulder line, making a pattern that resembles an "X" (Figure 24.20a,b) or a diamond. In the X-shaped patterns, one of the variants reflects the color diagonals exactly at the center seam (Figure 24.20a) but not at the shoulder line. Two colors, working as a pair, switch position as they reverse onto the other diagonal at the shoulder line. The other variant, although it gives the impression of mirroring color diagonals in an X-shaped pattern, actually has no mirror symmetry in the color pattern (Figure 24.20b). Colors work as pairs throughout and switch positions at both of the axes at the shoulder line and the center seam. The correlative wrapping procedure treats two different colors as a pair, one following the other on opposed helical pathways, which intersect at the axes of reversal. Both of the patterns in Figure 24.20a,b can be rendered precisely in thread-wrapped specimens.

The color patterns on face and fret tunics, as outlined by Bergh (1999:511–560), are strongly diagonal

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

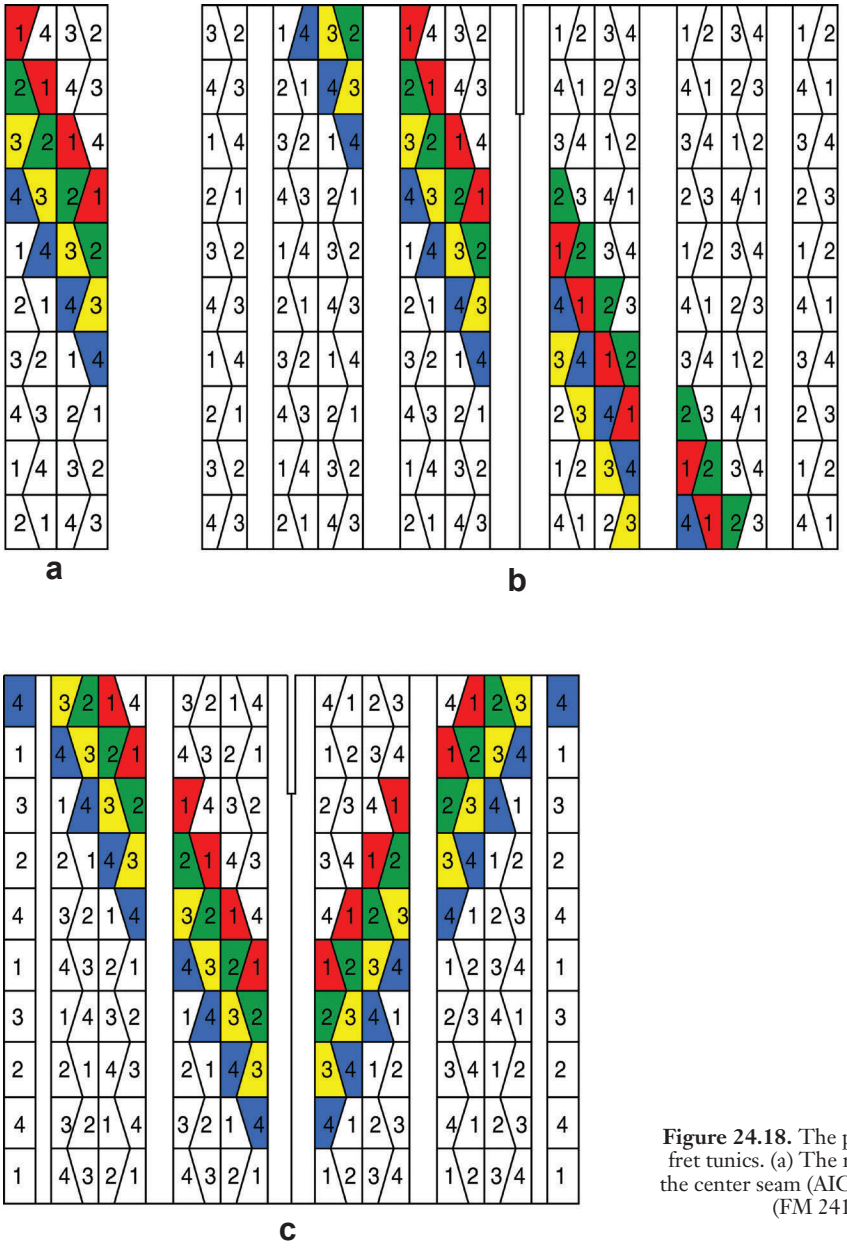


Figure 24.18. The pattern of parallel color diagonals on face and fret tunics. (a) The root pattern in a band. (b) Continuous across the center seam (AIC 1985.1784). (c) Reversing at the center seam (FM 241835, after Bergh 1999: fig. 12.1.)

in character.[15] The patterns span the whole tunic, leaping across the intervening plain bands as if they do not exist, to form visual color diagonals that are continuous or that reverse. Pattern classes based on parallel color diagonals (Figure 24.18a) can be mono-directional (Figure 24.18b), reverse at the center seam (Figure 24.18c), or reverse at both the center seam and shoulder line (Figure 24.20a,b). Patterns based on opposed color diagonals (Figure 24.19a) can be continuous (Figure 24.19b), or they can reverse at the center seam (Figure 24.19c). All of the patterns, as discussed and illustrated here, have correlatives in thread-wrapping structures. The diagonal direction and the sequence of colors can be registered in wrapping (Figure 24.17), and the patterns for complete tunics can be duplicated by manipulating (rotating, offsetting) one or more wrapped specimens that repeat colors in appropriate sequences and directions. Even the seeming peculiarities that arise at the center seam and shoulder line in some variants have correlatives in the wrapping model. The detailed correlation suggests that the designers were adhering to the logic of a physical model and projecting the color patterns from a three-dimensional model onto the planar expanse of a tunic panel.

Producing these patterns in tunics required detailed planning as the tunic halves were woven separately, and

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

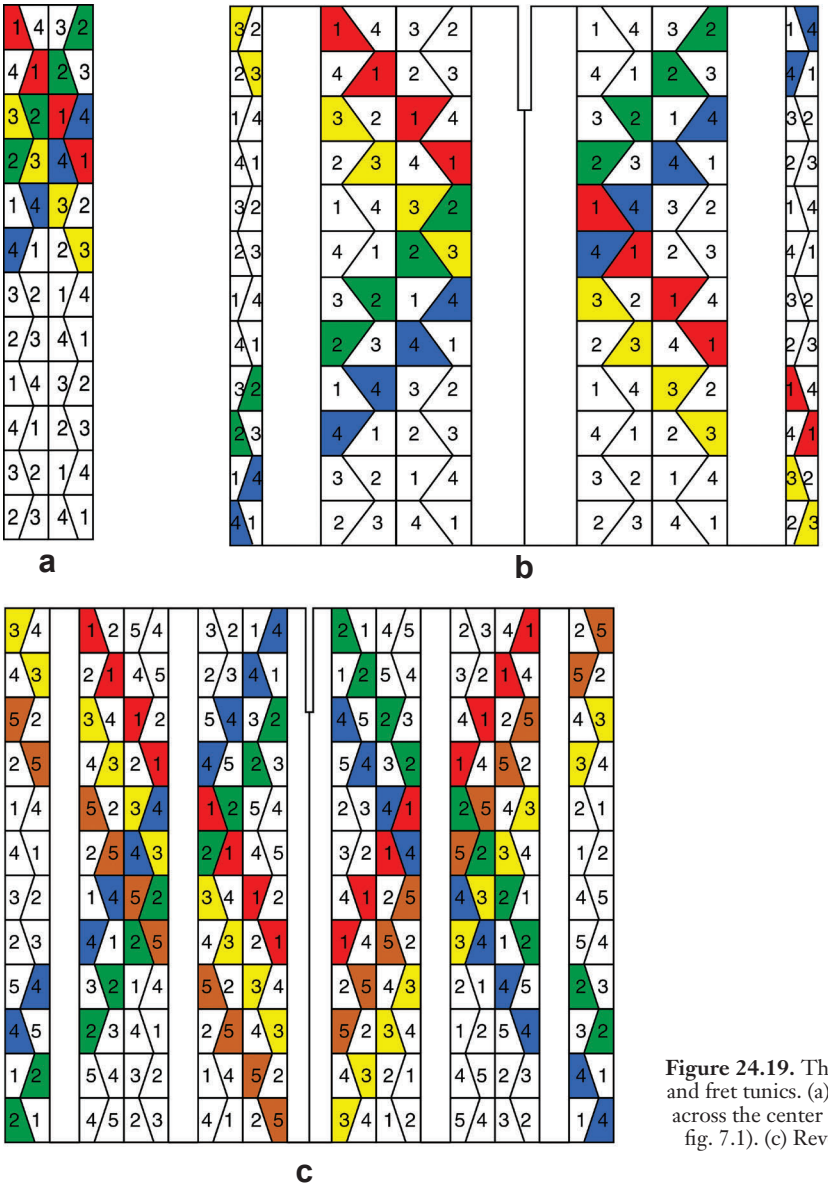
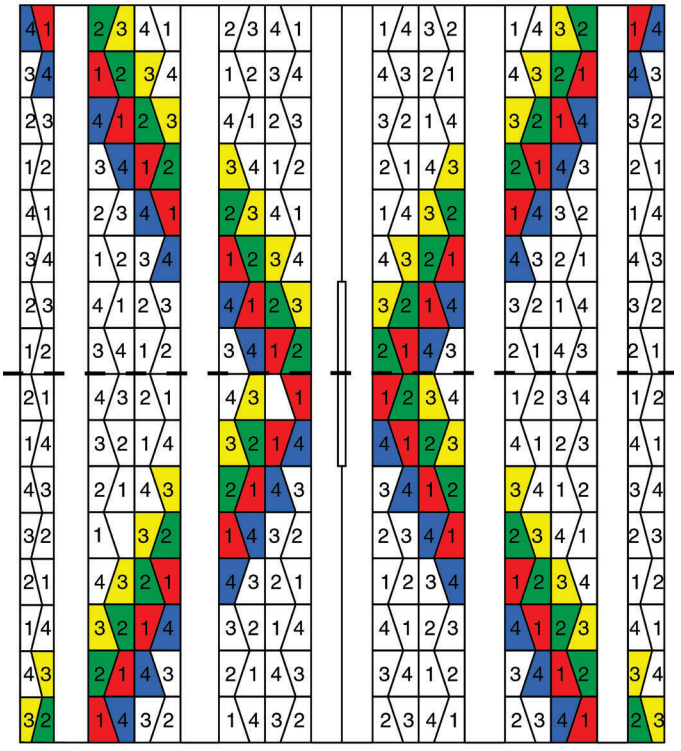


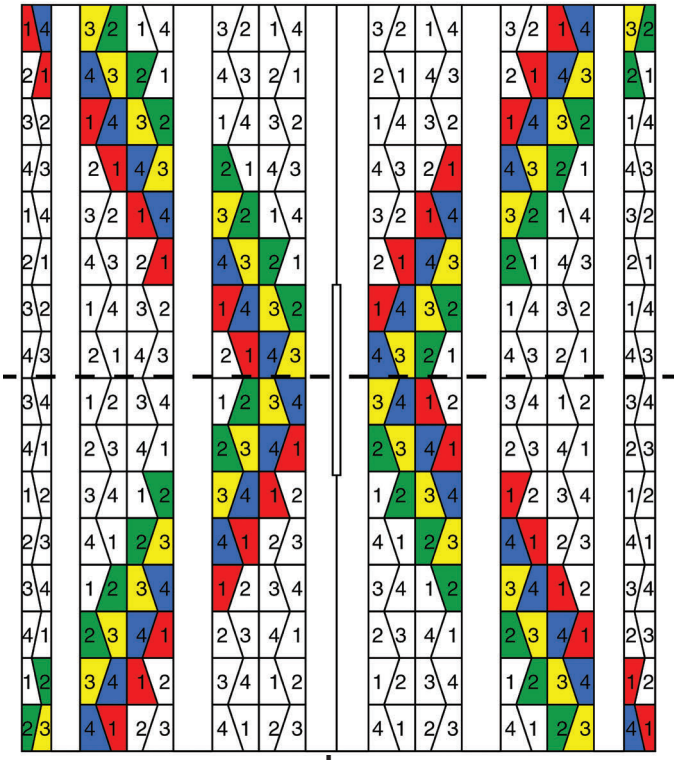
Figure 24.19. The pattern of opposed color diagonals on face and fret tunics. (a) The root pattern in a band. (b) Continuous across the center seam LACMA M77.70.3, after Bergh 1999: fig. 7.1). (c) Reversing at the center seam (TM 1962.28.1).

one panel was rotated 180 degrees before sewing the center seam of the tunic. Making wrapped specimens with appropriate color sequences, then manipulating the models by offsetting and rotating, would have allowed those who designed the tunic patterns to explore the range of possibilities and to develop new variations. The model of thread wrapping offers a mathematically consistent, expedient, and semipermanent method of recording patterns that corresponds with the extant patterns. Some calculation would have been necessary to arrive at the layout of a specific number of bands and modules and the number of warps necessary for weaving the tunic. One can speculate that physical jigs were employed to lay out the number and size of modules. Perhaps cords with knots at appropriate intervals were used for establishing the length and width of bands and modules. Counting, adding, or multiplying and perhaps using physical markers such as threads or pebbles seem to have been necessary for calculating the number of warps in each section of the tunic. Although many modern Andean weavers copy from already woven examples, a prototype of each tunic design still has to be designed and woven. The tunic design was communicated in such detail that several weavers, working side-by-side on the same panel, could produce parts of the same patterns that meshed perfectly at the junctures of their weaving areas. The multiple layers of patterning suggest that physical models and jigs, as well as forms of calculation, were employed to arrive at and transmit tunic designs to the weavers.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD



a



b

Figure 24.20. The pattern of parallel diagonals on face and fret tunics with reversals at the center seam and shoulder line (a) MfVM 18/1363 (after Stone 1987: fig. 3-33); (b) BMA 41.229 (after Bergh 1999: fig. 10.1).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figurative Tunics

The color patterns in the figurative group of tunics have several variables that are not present among the geometric tunics. Figurative motifs are set in rectangular modules and generally repeat in single-width patterned bands (Figure 24.1).[16] The number of bands on a tunic panel varies from one to four, plus a compressed band at the side seam. Examples with higher numbers of patterned bands, smaller motifs, and finer weaving usually belong to a category of sleeved tunics that Bergh (1999:585–605) isolates in her thesis.

Figurative tunics display a wide variety of color patterns. In addition to the diagonal and horizontal zigzag patterns encountered among the subgroups of geometric tunics, this group also has color pathways on straight horizontals. Figurative tunics also have color patterns that are based on as few as two colors (Figure 24.1c), although four-color patterns are more common. The full range of patterns present in the patterned bands of figurative tunics corresponds best with thread-wrapped specimens that have a single linear series of colors, wound in tight helices (Figure 24.21). The linear arrangement of wrapping threads can include any number of colors in a regular or irregular repetition of rectangular modules.

Although there is only a small number of figurative tunics with patterns based on two colors, their occurrence is significant in terms of describing the overall color system. The summary of the two-color patterns shows the root pattern in a single band (Figure 24.22a). In tunic panels, the same colors can line up in straight horizontals (Figure 24.22b), or the two colors can alternate in a checkerboard pattern (Figure 24.22e). The illustrated patterns in tunic panels have correlates in identical wrapping specimens that are aligned or that are offset (Figure 24.21, left) by one module.

In whole tunics, an uninterrupted pattern of colors in straight horizontals seems so simple that little planning was necessary. However, because tunic panels must be rotated 180 degrees before seaming, two panels with colors in opposite modules had to be woven to produce the pattern of straight color horizontals across the whole tunic (Figure 24.22c). Tunics made from identical panels, when rotated for seaming, display a jog in the color horizontals at the center seam (Figure 24.22d), if they have an even number of modules in a patterned band, as virtually all tunics have. Using a physical model that could be rotated like the tunic panels would concretize the spatial motions that had to be considered in designing color patterns for constructed tunics. The two-color checkerboard pattern in panels also has two possibilities at the center seam: continuation of the checkerboard pattern across the center seam (Figure 24.22f) or a break in the checkerboard pattern at the center seam by mirroring color positions (Figure 24.22g).

Four-color patterns (Figure 24.23a–e) are more common than two-color patterns among the figurative tunics. The root color pattern in a single band (Figure 24.23a) gives rise to a number of patterns in tunic panels (Figure 24.23b–e). When conceptualized in accordance with the model of wrapping, the pattern variants in tunic panels adhere to a clear logic. Identically wrapped sticks can be aligned to produce a pattern of color horizontals in tunic panels (Figure 24.23b), or they can be offset by one module to produce a pattern of parallel color diagonals (Figure 24.23c). Identically wrapped sticks that are rotated 180 degrees produce a color pattern of horizontal zigzags (Figure 24.23d). Identically wrapped sticks that are both rotated and offset produce a pattern of opposed diagonals (Figure 24.23e), where half of the color pathways are on one diagonal and half are on the other diagonal. A wrapped specimen (Figure 24.21, right) illustrates this pattern.

The range of possible color patterns in figurative tunics is larger than for either subgroup of the geometric tunics. The sample of figurative tunics includes the root patterns encountered in face and fret tunics and four-part creature tunics, as well as additional patterns that are organized with colors in horizontals or that are based on two colors. Many of the figurative examples are fragments from one panel only, so it is not always possible to definitively describe the pattern in the whole tunic. A pattern of parallel diagonals in one panel (Figure 24.23c) could have reversed color diagonals at the center seam and/or the shoulder line, which would change the parallel color diagonals into chevron-shaped pathways or X-shaped pathways. A pattern of opposed diagonals in

Figure 24.21. Examples of color patterns in figurative tunics, reproduced in wrapping; two-color checkerboard (left); opposed diagonals with four colors (right).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

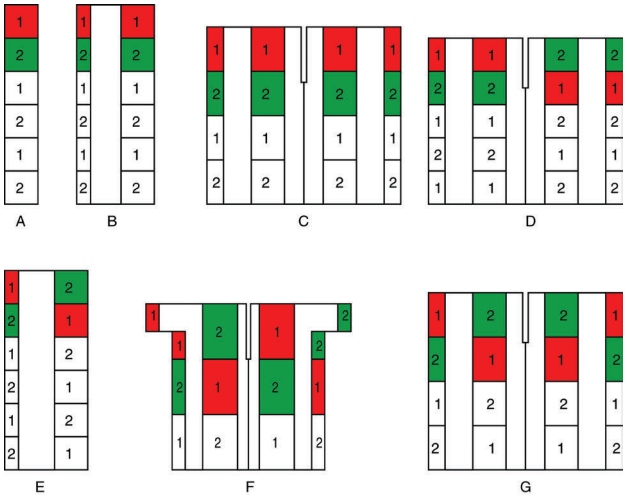


Figure 24.22. Two-color patterns in figurative tunics. (a) Root pattern in a single band. (b) Straight horizontals in a tunic panel. (c) Straight horizontals, aligned at the center seam (DO PC.B.498). (d) Straight horizontals, offset at the center seam (MMA 30.16.3). (e) Checkerboard in a tunic panel (BMA 71.180). (f) Checkerboard, aligned at the center seam. (g) Checkerboard, offset at the center seam "(PC, Bergh 1999:678, catalogue entry 47).

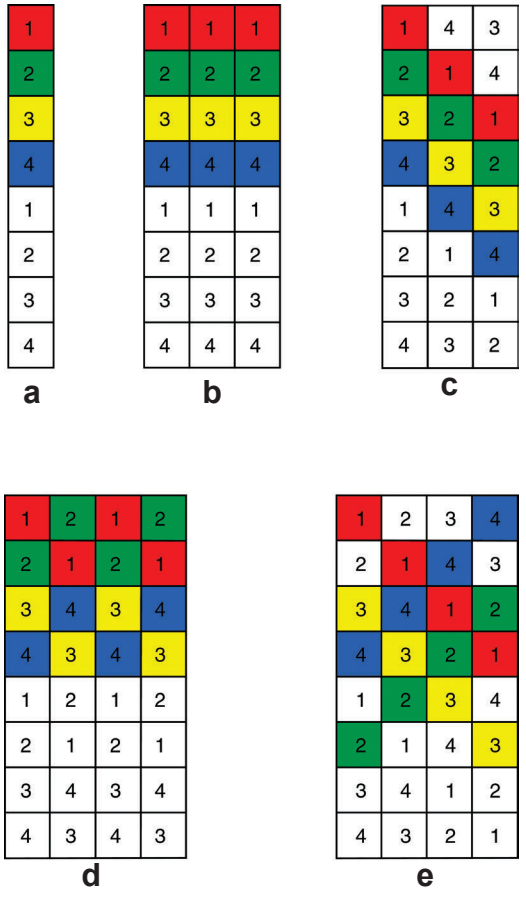


Figure 24.23. Four-color patterns in figurative tunic panels. (a) Root pattern in a single band. (b) Straight horizontals. (c) Parallel diagonals. (d) Horizontal zigzags. (e) Opposed diagonals. At the center seam, patterns can be continuous, reversed, and/or offset.

one panel (Figure 24.23e) could also have additional axes of reversal in the full tunic. These possibilities are illustrated with the color patterns of the face and fret tunics (Figures 24.18–24.20). The pattern of horizontal zigzags in figurative tunic panels (Figure 24.23d) has several possibilities for variation at the center seam, and these have been illustrated with the color patterns of the four-part creature tunics (Figures 24.15 and 24.16), where this pattern also occurs.

The four-color horizontal patterns (Figure 24.23b), which are restricted to figurative tunics, have not been illustrated with the other tunics and so will be illustrated here. A small number of complete tunics with this pattern are known, and all are of the type constructed from two identical panels (Figure 24.24a). When one panel is rotated for seaming, the color order is inverted so that color horizontals are not continuous at the center seam. It is, of course, possible to design a four-color pattern with color horizontals that are continuous across the center seam (Figure 24.24b), but nonidentical panels with colors in inverted order would have to be woven. This variant has not been reported so far for four-color patterns, although it is present among two-color patterns (Figure 24.22c).

The construction of two-panel tunics, which is well understood through technical analysis of selvedges (Bird and Skinner 1974), affects the planning of color patterns. As one panel must be rotated 180 degrees for seaming, certain patterns in complete tunics arise from joining two panels with colors in identical modules, while others are the result of joining panels that are not identical in color placement. The nonidentical panels used to produce some tunic patterns employ standard types of reversal (in diagonal slant, S or Z) or inversion (of color order in vertical bands, 1234 or 4321) that can be registered in a physical model such as thread wrapping. The properties of the color system in tunics (visual pathways, directions, numbers, sequences, etc.) and the operations (reversals, inversions, reflections, offsets, variations in number, etc.) correspond with exactitude to the technical possibilities inherent in the technique of thread wrapping: both are governed by the same logic.

Conclusion

The symmetry and color patterning on a large sample of two-panel tunics with vertical banding display such regularity that the patterning is surely systematic. Although deviations do occur and may indeed be significant (Stone 1987), the overall regularity suggests that the ancient

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

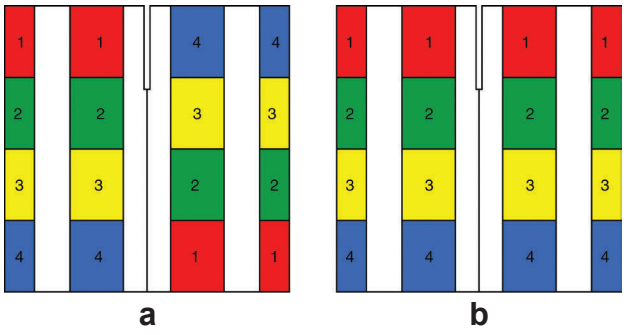


Figure 24.24. Two possibilities for four-color, horizontal patterns in figurative tunics. (a) Color order inverted at the center seam (MfVM 34-50-6). (b) Continuous horizontals at the center seam (hypothetical pattern, not encountered in the known tunic sample).

makers were inscribing systematic information in patterns. The large sample of tunics offers the opportunity for investigating how the patterns may have been conceptualized, designed, and transmitted and for speculating about the type of information inscribed in the patterns. The analysis of the pattern systems presented here suggests that the makers conceptualized space in terms of directional pathways, in accordance with two different models: the locomotory model and the fiber technology model. The range of directional pathways implied by repetitions of motifs or colors indicates that the makers had a well-developed geometry and a sophisticated method for representing a multivalent concept of space in the tapestry plane.

A systematized code of the scope that is evident in Middle Horizon tunics presumably reflects a form of cultural knowledge. I propose that the patterning systems embody schemes and relationships that had the potential to bring order to a whole range of institutions and lived experience.

Andean practices in the present day are imbued with ordering schemes, and some of these schemes have been traced back to preconquest origins, through ethnohistory, archaeology, mythohistory, and hybrid approaches. Abercrombie (1998), for instance, documents a particular form of social memory—libation sequences—by which Andean people in *ayllu K'ulta*, Bolivia, enact and temporarily inscribe their place in the cosmos. The libation sequences traverse space and time along "pathways of memory and power" that reveal hierarchies and ordering schemes. Pathways are and have been fundamental trajectories for enactments of social memory in the Andes: the ritual maintenance of *huacas* along *ceque* lines (Zuidema 1964), pilgrimage routes (Rasnake 1988; Sallnow 1987), Inka mountaintop sacrifices (McEwan and Van de Guchte 1992), and dances or processions (Poole 1991; Van Kessel 1982). Motion along pathways conjoins space and time, revealing spatial schemes of sociopolitical or cosmological order as well as temporal sequences. A pathway, to use Salomon's words, "is a prototypical general idea of which trailways, geneologies, pilgrimages, and khipus are all specific instantiations" (Salomon 2004:225). The color and symmetry patterns in Middle Horizon tunics accord with several models that are essentially directional motions along pathways. The pathways in the patterns, preserved in tunics that have endured for more than a millennium, afford an opportunity for retrieving ordering schemes that ethnography does not allow.

Ethnography can, however, help generate hypotheses about how the pathways in color and symmetry patterns in Middle Horizon tunics may have been understood. Hierarchy, dualism (Palomino Flores 1984), partitioned space (Urton 1981), and cyclical rotation are ordering schemes that are embedded in rituals and ritualized daily practices. Numerous Andean practices follow the pattern of dividing the whole into parts and assigning the parts on a rotational basis (Albó 1974), from the agricultural practice of sectoral fallowing (Orlove and Godoy 1986:185) to the rotating responsibilities for fiestas and ritual maintenance of sacred places. I propose that it is these types of ordering schemes that are expressed graphically in the pattern systems of Middle Horizon tunics.

Bergh (1999:173–233) has explored the binary basis of tunic design, as well as the relationship of dualism to enduring Andean modes of organization such as *ayni*, *yanantin*, and *tinkuy*. I agree with Bergh that pairs and number sequences derived from doubling are fundamental to most types of patterning in the tunics and also that they may mirror Andean modes of organization. However, I would like to suggest that the graphic code opens out in other ways as well. Color patterns occasionally alternate odd numbers of color units. The number and the sequence of colors apparently correspond with concepts that are not binary based in these cases. Also, color patterns have two numerical aspects—the number of color units and the number of intervals in a cycle of repetition (Figure 24.2c). As I suggested earlier, the number of color units could correspond with the partitioning of a whole into parts, while the sequence of colors could correspond with the rotation among the parts through cyclic time. Many *ayllu* practices follow such a pattern (Albo 1974). The emphasis on four color units in patterns might suggest

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

that division into four was the ideal or norm in this period. The differences among the four-color patterns illustrated here could correspond with the multiple ways that four social units could be organized in different regions or for different purposes: as a linear sequence (parallel diagonals), as alternating pairs of opposed diads (opposed diagonals), or as doubled pairs alternated with doubled pairs (minimal checkerboards). Different dual and quadripartite systems, such as those summarized by Pärssinen (1992:351–362) for the Collasuyo region in later periods, exhibit some general, but suggestive, correspondences with the color patterns.

To give an example of a nonbinary pattern and how it may have functioned as a formula for organizing people, I refer to Figure 24.19c. In the pattern based on five color blocks, the colors are separated into two blocks and three blocks that are located on opposed diagonals in a V-shaped pattern. The number of color blocks (five) and the number of intervals in the complete pattern cycle (12) are different. The intercalation of the two-unit repetition on one diagonal (blue and green) and the three-unit repetition on the other diagonal (red, yellow, and brown) requires a cycle of 12 intervals for completion, a conclusion that is verifiable in the complete tunic front. The tunic front graphically illustrates the mathematics involved in meshing two- and three-part cycles in its 12 horizontal rows (Figure 24.19c). The 12-part sequence can be read in numbers or colors from a vertical strip in a pattern band. Using the strip to the left of the center seam and reading downward from the top, the sequence of the complete cycle is **4**, 1, **2**, 3, **4**, 5, **2**, 1, **4**, 3, **2**, 5 or **blue**, red, **green**, yellow, **blue**, brown, **green**, red, **blue**, yellow, **green**, brown. The two-unit repetition is shown in boldface, while the three-unit repetition is not. This sequence is present in every strip of all pattern bands, but it starts in different rows. After 12 stages, a new cycle that follows the exact order of alternation of the first cycle would begin.

As we have just seen, the pattern can be read in colors or numbers—it could also be read in names if we chose to assign them. The color pattern is essentially a formula that governs relationships. A hypothetical instance for applying the formula embedded in this color pattern might be the daily water distribution to fields in a community where different numbers of *ayllus* were nested within two *suyus*. If the two *suyus*, located on opposite sides of a main canal, were supposed to receive equal water, but one *suyu* consisted of two larger *ayllus* (blue and green) and the other consisted of three smaller *ayllus* (red, yellow, and brown), the formula illustrated in the 12 rows of the tunic (Figure 24.19c) shows the specific alternation necessary for the proper distribution of water to the *suyus* and *ayllus*. Day by day, the water would be sent to alternating sides of the main canal to meet the requirement of equal water to the two *suyus*. The two larger *ayllus* on one side of the canal (blue and green) would each get water every four days, while the three smaller *ayllus* on the other side (red, yellow, and brown) would each get water every six days. It would take 12 days to run through the cycle once and, thereafter, the same cycle would repeat endlessly. Any rotating practice in an entity with this asymmetric structure, not just water distribution in a community, could be organized with the formula expressed in this pattern. While most color patterns are based on four, this pattern was chosen because it shows that color patterning can correlate with more complex entities than those consisting of four equal parts, where cycles of repetition would have four intervals. As this hypothetical illustration suggests, the patterns in Middle Horizon tunics might be viewed as a social geometry[17] that had an application in the affairs of men and women.

Andean people enact social memory and traditional knowledge in many practices, which coincide in provocative ways with pattern configurations in Middle Horizon tunics. Frake (1994:119) argues that configurations are physical representations of cognitive systems. He maintains that artifacts that bear configurations "not only thus *reflect* cognition but also intentionally *represent* mental content." In his words, "They have meaning; they are intended to be read." In the light of Frake's assertions, the diagrams presented here ought to be read as a compendium of meaningful configurations in the Middle Horizon. The identification of models for the patterns contributes to an understanding of how systematized information was generated, inscribed, and communicated, as well as to the project of reading the graphic code in Middle Horizon tunics, not in words but as the diagrammatic configurations of a social geometry.

Acknowledgments

This chapter is dedicated to the late Alan R. Sawyer, my esteemed professor, mentor, and friend, whose fascination with Wari textiles is a continuing inspiration. His archive of Middle Horizon textile photographs, generously bestowed upon me in the latter years of his life, has been immensely useful. I thank Sue Bergh for the many interchanges and for her comments on an earlier version of this chapter. The assistance I received from museum staff while studying Middle Horizon

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

textiles is gratefully acknowledged: American Museum of Natural History, Dumbarton Oaks, Huaca Malena Museo, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia del Perú, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard, and the Textile Museum, Washington. Last, I thank the Selz Foundation for travel assistance to study Middle Horizon textiles in South America.

Notes

1 Locomotion refers to a mode (i.e., walking) of moving along directional pathways.

2 Bergh discusses pattern systems separately but also examines figures as "formal variants" that result when pattern systems are combined (Bergh 1999:Figures 30–36, for example). I am not convinced that the additional complexity that she describes for combined systems signifies.

3 Frame (1986, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1999, 2001a, 2004a, 2004b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2014).

4 Rarer types, such as checkerboard tunics or the so-called festival and tuning fork tunics, are not discussed because of space considerations. However, many of them exhibit some attributes of the color and symmetry patterns that appear on the vertically banded tunics discussed here.

5 Bergh (1999:656–657) describes a fragment published in an auction catalogue (Sotheby's 1996:Lot 15) that does not conform to this generalization. The figures alternate in bifold rotational symmetry within vertical bands. Another tunic fragment, diagrammed by Posnansky (1957:3:Plate XCVIII), may also exhibit this pattern, but researchers have not been able to locate the fragment to verify the orientation of figures. Conklin (1986:Figure 10) diagrams an apparently nonconforming tunic panel, but it should be discounted. His diagram is an extrapolation based on a fragment with five horizontal rows of figures, which I have examined (PMH 38-10-30/1711). He misidentifies the shoulder line in the fragment, and his diagram of a complete panel with 12 rows of figures shows a pattern that is not present in the tunic sample.

6 The backward tilting of the head may be an artistic convention for indicating that the predominantly human figure is in the process of transforming into an animal. As the heads and legs of quadrupeds and birds are oriented to the backbone at angles that differ from humans, this convention could succinctly indicate the conflation of human and animal attributes in a figure. A similar convention (Frame 2001b:Figures 4.14, 4.16, 4.20) appears to be applied to the transforming figures on embroidered textiles from the Paracas Necropolis.

7 See Boone (2004:Figures 11.4–11.6) for examples of more elaborate dance notations.

8 The nonconforming symmetry pattern described in Note 4 might be seen as corresponding with a locomotory motion such as "*a la main* left" in square dancing. Dancers are divided into two sets that travel in opposite directions, interweaving along a pathway by the left hand and then the right hand. Figures that are upside-down in this rare pattern would correspond with the second set of dancers that travel in the opposite direction. Dancers also interweave from two directions in pole dances, such as one pictured in Charazani, Bolivia (Oblitas Poblete 1978:131). The pole in the center of the dance is wrapped by ribbons, which are held by men and women as they traverse the circular pathway in opposite directions.

9 The wrapping technique can be elaborated in complex ways. For instance, a second, discrete crossing point can be established with the second pair of wrapping pathways. These separate crossing points can then be centrifugally developed by four wrapping pathways, for a total of eight pathways.

10 A one-panel tunic, presumed to be Tiwanaku style (Young-Sanchez 2004b:Figure 2.29), repeats a similar motif of three animal heads in triangular modules. The motif and the triangular shape of the modules in this tunic indicate that the subgroup of face and fret patterns is present among Tiwanaku tunics, although the more common motifs have not been reported.

11 Newark 49.179, for example (Bergh 1999:Figure 114, bottom left).

12 Another rare type of band pattern in this family is mirrored on the vertical axis only (DAM 1986.15). The splayed halves of figures repeat in translation symmetry along the length of the band. See Bergh (1999:Figure 134, bottom left) for one half of the vertically mirrored figure.

13 Each quadripartite creature has bifold rotation symmetry as well, which is an inevitable result of the vertical and horizontal mirroring.

14 A feature in Conklin's (1999:Plate 5) reconstruction of the San Pedro tunic, which is absent from two-panel tunics, is the asymmetrical location of the major patterned band on one side of center.

15 A minority of tunics in the face and fret subgroup do not display diagonal color pathways that span at least a quadrant of a tunic before reversing. For example, DO, PC.B.500 (detail, Figure 24.11a) has a pattern of horizontal zigzags in each panel. This color pattern is derived from a root pattern of parallel diagonals, but subsequent bands in a panel are not offset. Bergh (1999:621–627) summarizes the wider pattern variability that is present among tunics that are included in the subgroup of face and fret tunics but do not alternate the face and fret.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

16 Some tunics, such as the famous Ancon tunic (EMB VA 7468; Reiss and Stübel 1880–1887:1:Plate 16), and MNAAH 2317, which are both sleeved tunics, have doubled patterned bands and alternate two types of figures.

17 Urton (1997) notes the correspondence between some geometric patterns (particularly those based on partition) and social organization in his exploration of "the social life of numbers." The wide range of geometric patterns exhibited in Middle Horizon tunics suggests that geometry and its correspondence with social organization is a broad field that requires further study.

Abbreviations Used

AIC	Art Institute of Chicago
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York
BMA	Brooklyn Museum of Art
CMA	Cleveland Museum of Art
DAM	Denver Art Museum
DO	Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
FM	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
LACMA	Los Angeles County Museum of Art, California
EMB	Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin
MFAB	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MNAAH	Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima
MfVM	Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Münich, Germany
Newark	The Newark Museum, New Jersey
PMH	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
PC	Private Collection
TM	Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

References

Abercrombie, Thomas

1998 *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Agüero, Carolina

2007 Los Textiles de Pulacayo y las relaciones entre Tiwanaku y San Pedro de Atacama. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 12(1):85–98.

Albó, Xavier

1974 La paradoja aymara: solidaridad y faccionalismo. *Estudios Andinos* 4(2):67–109.

Allen, Catherine

2002 *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*. 2nd ed. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Benavides, Mario

1999 Tejidos Wari/Textiles Wari. In *Tejidos Milenarios del Peru/Ancient Peruvian Textiles*, edited by José Antonio de Lavalle and Rosario de Lavalle de Cárdenas, pp. 353–411. Integra AFP, Lima.

Berenguer, José

2000 *Tiwanaku: Lords of the Sacred Lake*. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago de Chile.

Bergh, Susan

1999 Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Graduate School of Arts and Science, Columbia University.

2012 Tapestry Woven Tunics. In *Wari, Lords of the Ancient Andes*, edited by Susan E. Bergh, pp. 158-191. Thames and Hudson, Inc., New York.

Bird, Junius B., and Milica Dimitrijevic Skinner

1974 The Technical Features of a Middle Horizon Tapestry Shirt from Peru. *Textile Museum Journal* 4(1):5–13.

Boas, Franz

1955 [1927] *Primitive Art*. Dover Publications, New York.

Boone, Elizabeth Hill

1994 Introduction: Writing and Recording Knowledge. In *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo, pp. 3–26. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.

2004 Beyond Writing. In *The First Writing: Script Invention as History and Process*, edited by Stephen Houston, pp. 313–348. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Chávez, Sergio

1975 The Arapa and Thunderbolt Stelae: A Case of Stylistic Identity with Implications for Pucara Influences in the Area of Tiahuanaco. *Ñawpa Pacha* 13:3–26.

Conklin, William J.

1982 The Information System of Middle Horizon Quipus. In *Ethnoastronomy and Archaeoastronomy in the American Tropics*, edited by Anthony F. Aveni and Gary Urton, pp. 261–281. New York Academy of Sciences, New York.

1983 Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition. *Ñawpa Pacha* 21:1–45.

1986 The Mythic Geometry of the Ancient Southern Sierra. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by Ann P. Rowe, pp.123–137. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

1996 Huari Tunics. In *Andean Art at Dumbarton Oaks*, edited by Elizabeth H. Boone, Vol. 2, pp. 375–398. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

1999 The Individual in Pre-Columbian Archaeology. *Textile Museum Journal* 1997–1998:87–120.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Frake, Charles
1994 Dials: A Study in the Physical Representation of Cognitive Systems. In *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology (New Directions in Archaeology)*, edited by Colin Renfrew and Ezra B. W. Zubrow, pp. 119–132. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Frame, Mary
1986 The Visual Images of Fabric Structures in Ancient Peruvian Art. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by Ann P. Rowe, pp. 47–80. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.
1988 Research-in-Progress, Orientation and Symmetry: The Structuring of Pattern Repeats in the Paracas Necropolis Embroideries. In *Textile Society of America 1988 Proceedings*, pp. 136–138. Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis.
1991 Structure, Image, and Abstraction: The Paracas Necropolis Headbands as System Templates. In *Paracas Art and Architecture: Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*, edited by Anne Paul, pp. 110–171. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
1992 *Ancient Cloth . . . Ancient Code*. Exhibition curated by Mary Frame at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver. Text and models in possession of the author.
1994 Las Imagenes Visuales de Estructuras Textiles en el Arte del Antiguo Perú. *Revista Andina* 12(2):295–344; author's addition, debate, and response: 345–372.
1999 Chuquibamba: A Highland Textile Style. *Textile Museum Journal* 1997–1998:2–47.
2001a Beyond the Image: The Dimensions of Pattern in Ancient Andean Textiles. In *Abstraction: The Amerindian Paradigm*, edited by César Paternosto, pp. 113–136. Palais des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles, Brussels.
2001b Blood, Fertility, and Transformation: Interwoven Themes in the Paracas Necropolis Embroideries. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook, pp. 55–92. University of Texas Press, Austin.
2004a Tukapu, a Graphic Code of the Inkas. In *Tejiendo Sueños en el Cono Sur*; *Textiles Andinos: Pasado*, *Presente y Futuro*, Actas del simposio ARQ–21, 51st Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Santiago, Chile, 14–18 julio de 2003, edited by Victòria Solanilla Demestre, pp. 236–260. Grup d'Estudis Precolombins, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, España.
2004b Motion Pictures: Symmetry as Animator, Classifier, and Syntax in the Nasca Embroideries of Peru. In *Symmetry Comes of Age: The Role of Pattern in Culture*, edited by Dorothy K. Washburn and Donald W. Crowe, pp. 133–176. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
2007a Lo que Guaman Poma nos muestra, pero no nos dice sobre Tukapu. *Revista Andina* 44:9–48; author's response: 64–69.
2007b Elemental Pathways in Fiber Structures: Approaching Andean Symmetry Patterns through an Ancient Technology. In *Textile Narratives and Conversations*, *10th Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America*, October 11–14, Toronto, pp. 406–414. CD-ROM.
2008 Representaciones de género, jerarquía, y otras relaciones en los bordados Paracas Necrópolis. *Arqueología y Sociedad* 19:241–264.
2010 What Guaman Poma shows us, but doesn't tell us, about *tukapu*. *Ñawpa Pacha* 30(1):25-53. Institute of Andean Studies, Berkeley.
2014 *Tukapu*, un código gráfico de los Inkas. Segunda parte: las configuraciones y familias de los elementos. In *Sistemas de Notación Inca: Quipu y Tocapu*, *Actas del simposio internacional*, *Lima*, *15-17 de enero de 2009*, edited by Carmen Arellano Hoffman, pp. 247-282. Ministerio de Cultura and Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima.

Franquemont, Edward
2004 Jazz: An Andean Sense of Symmetry. In *Embedded Symmetries: Natural and Cultural*, edited by Dorothy K. Washburn, pp. 81–94. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Franquemont, Edward, and Christine Franquemont
2004 Tanka, Chongo, Kutij: Structure of the World through Cloth. In *Symmetry Comes of Age: The Role of Pattern in Culture*, edited by Dorothy K. Washburn and Donald W. Crowe, pp. 177–214. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Goodell, Grace
1968 A Study of Andean Spinning in the Cuzco Region. *Textile Museum Journal* II(3):2–8.

Locke, Leland L.
1923 *The Ancient Quipu*, *or Peruvian Knot Record*. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

McEwan, Colin, and Maarten Van de Guchte
1992 Ancestral Time and Sacred Space in Inca State Ritual. In *The Ancient Americas: Art from Sacred Landscapes*, edited by Richard F. Townsend, pp. 359–371. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.

Murra, John V.
1975 Las etno-categorías de un *khipu* estatal [1973]. In *Formaciones económicas y politicas del mundo andino*, pp. 237–262. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

Oakland, Amy
1986 *Tiwanaku Textile Style from the South Central Andes*, *Bolivia and North Chile*. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Oakland Rodman, Amy
1986 Tiahuanaco Tapestry Tunics and Mantles from San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by Ann P. Rowe, pp. 101–122. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Oakland Rodman, Amy, and Vicki Cassman
1995 Andean Tapestry: Structure Informs the Surface. *Art Journal* 54(2):33–39.

Oblitas Poblete, Enrique
1978 *Cultura Callawaya*. Ediciones Populares Camarlinghi, La Paz.

Orlove, Benjamin, and Ricardo Godoy
1986 Sectoral Fallowing Systems in the Central Andes. *Journal of Ethnobiology* 6(1):169–204.

Pärssinen, Martti
1992 *Tawantinsuyu: The Inca State and Its Political Organization*. Studia Historica 43. Societas Historica Finlandiae, Helsinki.

Palomino Flores, Salvador
1984 *El Sistema de Oposiciones en la Comunidad de Sarhua*. Editorial "Pueblo Indio," Lima.

Poole, Deborah
1991 Rituals of Movement, Rites of Transformation: Pilgrimage and Dance in the Highlands of Cuzco, Peru. In *Pilgrimage in Latin America*, edited by N. Ross Crumrine and Alan Morinis, pp. 307–338. Greenwood, New York.

Posnansky, Arthur
1957 *Tihuanaco: The Cradle of American Man*. Vols. III and IV. Ministerio de Educación, La Paz.

Radicati di Primeglio, Carlos
1990 El cromatismo en los quipus: significado del quipu de canutos. In *Quipu y Yupana: Colección de escritos*, edited by Carol Mackey, Hugo Pereyra, Carlos Radicati, Humberto Rodriguez, and Oscar Valverde, pp. 39–50b. CONCYTEC, Lima.

Rasnake, Roger Neil
1988 *Domination and Cultural Resistance: Authority and Power among an Andean People*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.

Reiss, Wilhelm, and Alfonse Stübel
1880–1887 *The Necropolis of Ancón in Peru*. 3 vols. Translated by A. H. Keane. A. Asher & Co., Berlin.

Renfrew, Colin, and Ezra B. W. Zubrow (editors)
1984 *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*. New Directions in Archaeology. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rojas Z., Ana María, and Soledad Hoces de la Guardia
2000 Coexistencia y diversidad técnica, textural y formal en los textiles de un fardo perteneciente al sitio Coyo de San Pedro de Atacama. *Chungará (Arica)* 32(2):227–233.

Sallnow, Michael J.
1987 *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cusco*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Salomon, Frank
2004 *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.

Sampson, Geoffrey
1985 *Writing Systems: A Linguistic Introduction*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

Sawyer, Alan R.
1963 *Tiahuanaco Tapestry Design*. Museum of Primitive Art Studies No. 3. Museum of Primitive Art, New York.

Schindler, Helmut
2001 *The Norbert Mayrock Art Collection from Ancient Peru*. Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München.

Shady Solís, Ruth
2006 *La Ciudad Sagrada de Caral-Supe: Símbolo Cultural del Perú*. Proyecto Especial Arqueológica Caral-Supe/ Instituto Nacional del Cultura, Lima.

Sotheby's
1996 Auction catalogue, November 25, 1996. Sotheby's, New York.

Splitstoser, Jeffrey C.
2014 Practice and meaning in spiral-wrapped batons and cords from Cerrillos, a Late Paracas site in the Ica Valley, Peru. In *Textiles, Technical Practice and Power in the Andes*, edited by Denise Y. Arnold with Penelope Dransart, pp. 46-82. Archetype Publications, Ltd., London, England.

Splitstoser, Jeffrey C., Dwight T. Wallace, and Mercedes Delgado Agurto
2003 "Bound" to Be Important: Wrapped Sticks and Cords in a Late Paracas Burial at Cerillos, Ica Valley, Peru. Talk presented at the Northeast Conference on Andean Archaeology and Ethnology. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Stone, Rebecca Rollins
1987 Technique and Form in Huari-style Tapestry Tunics: The Andean Artist, A.D. 500–800. PhD dissertation, Department of Art History, Yale University.

Stone-Miller, Rebecca
1986 Color Patterning and the Huari Artist: The "Lima Tapestry" Revisited. In *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by Ann P. Rowe, pp. 137–149. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.
1992 Camelids and Chaos in Huari and Tiwanaku Textiles. In *The Ancient Americas: Art from Sacred Landscapes*, edited by Richard F. Townsend, pp. 335–345. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Uribe Rodríguez, Mauricio, and Carolina Agüero Piwonka
2004 Iconografía, alfarería y textilería Tiwanaku: elementos para una revisión del Período Medio en el Norte Grande de Chile. *Chungara* 36:1055–1068.

Urton, Gary
1981 *At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky: An Andean Cosmology*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
1994 A New Twist in an Old Yarn: Variation in Knot Directionality in the Inka Khipus. *Baessler-Archiv* 42:271–305.
1997 *The Social Life of Numbers: A Quechua Ontology of Numbers and Philosophy of Arithmetic*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Van Kessel, Juan
1982 *Danzas y estructuras sociales de los Andes*. Centro de Estudios Bartolomé de Las Casas, Cuzco.

Washburn, Dorothy K., and Donald W. Crowe
1988 *Symmetries of Culture: Theory and Practice of Plane Pattern Analysis*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Young-Sanchez, Margaret (editor)
2004a *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*. Denver Art Museum and the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Young-Sanchez, Margaret
2004b The Art of Tiwanaku. In *Tiwanaku: Ancestors of the Inca*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez, pp. 24–69. Denver Art Museum and the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Zuidema, Reiner Tom
1964 *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca*. E. J. Brill, Leiden.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 25: Introduction

Circum-Puna Style in the Art of Pre-Hispanic Hallucinogenic Paraphernalia (Atacama and Northwestern Argentina)

William H. Isbell

In Chapter 25, Helena Horta describes and analyzes the iconography of a recently defined style of small three-dimensional sculptures represented on hallucinogenic snuffing paraphernalia that appears to have narrated rituals of human sacrifice conducted in the ancient southern Andes. Horta's scale is multiregional, employing details of iconography to confirm interaction. Focus is on archaeological objects from Chile's San Pedro de Atacama and Rio Loa areas. However, the distribution and the discussion of the imagery embrace trans-Andean expanses to the Puna de Jujuy and Quebrada de Huamahuaca, in northwestern Argentina. As Tarragó also emphasizes (Chapter 14, this volume; see also González 2004), in the pre-Columbian past, this was an interaction region of long-distance exchange. Diagnostic artifacts for drinking and snuffing inebriating substances were widely disseminated, apparently involving rituals associated with shamanism, religious ideology, and the production of international identities and inequalities that distinguished elites of distant and diverse communities.

Since the pioneering research of Max Uhle (1913, 1915) more than a century ago, it has become increasingly clear that equipment used to inhale hallucinogenic powder—probably ground from seeds of the *Anadenanthera colubrina* tree, as well as other sources, and long called "rapé"—was a major medium for representing supernatural imagery, including what we have recently denominated the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS). Among the principal themes of SAIS art is human sacrifice by decapitation, perhaps most impressively depicted in Pucara's monumental stone sculpture (Valcárcel 1935; see also Chapter 2, this volume) but more variably represented in the portable, carved wooden paraphernalia for snuffing. Furthermore, snuff tablets, tubes, carrying pouches, and other wonderfully decorated objects are frequent furnishings in graves, where, despite their perishable nature, they are exquisitely preserved in dry oasis cemeteries throughout northern Chile.

Human sacrifice represented in the SAIS involved decapitation by an anthropomorphic Sacrificer, with feline attributes, armed with an axe or knife, who displays the severed head(s). Many questions surround the interpretation of such iconography, with its related imagery throughout the Andes. Recently, many Andeanists have emphasized unintended implications of the term "trophy head" as a memento of victory in warfare, which may prejudice interpretations of the art. Consequently, some scholars prefer a less biased name, "severed head." Other discussions concern questions about whether "supernatural beings or masked and costumed humans" were the actors represented, whether sacrificial victims were selected through "intercommunity warfare vs. ritual combat," and other critical issues. In this chapter, Horta defines and describes a style of hallucinogenic paraphernalia with narrative-quality imagery depicting human sacrifice from across the southern Andean expanses. This

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

is not SAIS in style but offers an untapped and extremely informative new source of information about a widespread cultural theme, ritualized decapitation among pre-Columbian, Andean peoples, that was shared with the SAIS. Horta proposes the name "Circumpuneño style" to emphasize the location of its interaction sphere, linking Chile's Atacama settlements with communities of Argentina's Quebrada de Huamahuaca and Puna de Jujuy, and to distinguish it from other styles, such as the SAIS (long known as Tiwanaku, of Tiwanakoid), that employed distinct images and conventions, as well as experienced great distributions in time and space. However, Horta argues that the roots of Circumpuneño art lie in SAIS imagery, and of course, both belong to a general southern Andean cultural tradition. Significantly, this is much the same distribution discussed by Tarragó (Chapter 14, this volume) for impressive kero and aquilla drinking vessels with head effigies, as well as other luxury goods found in special cache or mortuary contexts.

Horta's intention is to describe the Circumpuneño style both formally and thematically, exploring especially the human sacrifice theme shared with SAIS. Some of the elements that emerge as significant include features discussed for SAIS images, such as a decorated belt over the man's tunic, a human face on the chest of iconic figures, and feline attributes/mask worn by anthropomorphic images. Also significant but not discussed for SAIS are gestures such as hands grasping the shins or resting on the knees of figures who are squatting as opposed to kneeling.

In terms of time, Circumpuneño snuff paraphernalia seems to overlap late SAIS in the tenth century or so but is most characteristic of the Late Intermediate Period (in central Andean terminology), declining sharply in popularity with the arrival of Inca cultural influences. Its figures are characteristically depicted in three-dimensional sculpture attached to one end of wooden snuff tablets, like a handle—as well as some other paraphernalia. Images emphasize a Simple Anthropomorph identified as a sacrificial subject, a Complex Anthropomorph who is the Sacrificer or officiator of sacrificial acts, and a Felinized Anthropomorph (wearing a feline mask) who is custodian of the sacrificial victim and an avatar of the Sacrificer. Panpipes appear, along with axes and severed heads, as well as double anchor and other motifs, meaningfully distributed among these primary figures, according to Horta's analysis. A special hat with distinctive loops, found in several burial contexts, appears to have inspired images with what looked like feline ears on the top of anthropomorphic heads.

Circumpuneño imagery is simpler, more narrative, and easier to interpret than SAIS and probably many other central Andean imagery systems. It appears to hold important insights about shamanism, human sacrifice, and other topics that have provoked symbolic representations among Andean peoples far beyond the Circumpuneño area. One impressive point is how obviously masked the Felinized Anthropomorphs are. We may anticipate that Horta's definition, description, and analysis of Circumpuneño iconography will stimulate future, broader, and more comparative discussions of decapitation iconography in the Andes, within the SAIS as well as other traditions. A key question to be explored is whether diverse representations of human sacrifice by decapitation document a common Andean cult. If so, what were its features, and how it should its spatial and temporal distribution be understood?

To access additional information about the figures in this chapter, please visit www.dig.ucla.edu/sais.

References

González, Alberto Rex

2004 La Arqueología del Noroeste Argentino y Las Culturas Formativas de la Cuenca del Titicaca. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropologia* 29:7–38.

Uhle, Max

1913 *Tabletas de Chiu Chiu*. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, Tomo VIII, Santiago.

1915 *Los tubos y tabletas para rapé de Chile*. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, Tomo XVI, Santiago.

Valcárcel, Luis E

1935 Litoesculturas y Cerámica de Pukará (Puno). *Revista del Museo Nacional* 4(1):25–28.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 25

Circum-Puna Style in the Art of Pre-Hispanic Hallucinogenic Paraphernalia (Atacama and Northwestern Argentina)

Helena Horta Tricallotis

Since initiating study of the beautifully carved wooden trays and inhalation tubes originating from various points in the Atacama area (Antofagasta region, northern Chile), there has been interest in defining styles within this set of objects. Work done subsequently by various researchers has concentrated on analyzing, describing, and defining the style that was most striking or evident in trays from the hallucinogenic complex, namely, the Tiwanaku style (Barón 1984; Llagostera 1995, 2001, 2006a; Llagostera et al. 1988; Looser 1926; Mostny 1968–1969; Núñez 1963; Oyarzún 1971 [1931]; Thomas and Benavente 1984; Torres 1983, 1984, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1998, 2001a, 2001b; Torres and Conklin 1995; Uhle 1913, 1915; Wassén 1965, 1972). However, several of the researchers cited noticed at the time that not all the trays presented Tiwanaku features and that a large number corresponded to other styles. Some researchers, who pointed out the existence of styles that lacked typical altiplano configurations, classified the items with different iconography, format, and technique in a separate group that they called "non-Tiwanaku trays" (Llagostera 1995; Torres 1984, 1986; Uhle 1913). However, they went no further than affirming that they were different, without going into their particular nature. As research has progressed, it has become apparent that the number of trays, tubes, or spatulas with technical and iconographic characteristics that can clearly be assigned to Tiwanaku art is quite a small proportion of the whole set, not exceeding 17 percent in the case of the hallucinogenic implements registered in the R. P. Gustavo Le Paige Museum in San Pedro de Atacama (MSPA) (Llagostera 2006a; Torres 1984, 1986).

The Argentinean researcher P. Krapovickas remarked of material from east of the Andes, "All the snuff-related instruments which appear in the Puna (in Argentina) and neighbouring areas are united by a clear, well-defined stylistic unity which excludes trays with Tiahuanaco or Amazonian motifs" (Krapovickas 1958–1959:75). Torres, in research into modes of ingestion of psychoactive plants, made an important contribution by establishing for the first time some different themes and special icons used on trays that cannot be ascribed to the canons of Tiwanaku art (Torres 1998).

It is precisely the stylistic unity mentioned by Krapovickas that I seek to define in this chapter, in both formal and iconographic terms. To this end, I will include in my analysis various elements of the hallucinogenic paraphernalia originating in the region of San Pedro de Atacama, the coast of Antofagasta, and the Rio Loa area, which were unknown in his time. Simultaneously, following the proposals of Torres—which I have found especially enlightening—I hope to define the themes that appear in this style of trays and clearly demonstrate how the two styles differ. In 1963, L. Núñez applied the classification

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

previously proposed by Krapovickas to material from San Pedro de Atacama and the neighboring Rio Loa area. In his Type II, he recognized clear Tiwanaku influences, while in his Type VI, he identified "localist creations." At the same time, he established two manufacturing centers (Zone I: San Pedro de Atacama, Zone II: Calama-Caspana-Chiuchiu), each producing different trays in a different format. Zone I is the source of "trays with fan-shaped handles of planiform section" (his Type II, in which he recognizes Tiwanaku influence), while in Zone II, there would be more "three-dimensional carvings" with recurrent forms of anthropomorphic figure (his Type VI). Although Núñez does not define the Zone II carvings stylistically, he establishes a basic spatial-geographic difference for these two types, which will be useful for the stylistic definition that I propose in this chapter.

Torres also stressed the technical differences observed in the manufacture of these recipients for powdered cebil seeds (*Anadenanthera colubrina* var. cebil), establishing the following groups: (a) undecorated rectangular pieces, (b) pieces with incised or bas-relief carvings, and (c) pieces with volumetric carvings. To group (c), he assigns—like Núñez—a different geographical distribution (Torres 1986). In parallel, the study by Thomas and Benavente (1984)—based on an analysis of correspondences between morphological features—also indicates that there were no Tiwanaku-style trays in Caspana.

In subsequent decades, research was carried out that aimed at establishing what characterized the trays and other elements of the hallucinogenic complex as "Atacameño." The works of Llagostera (1995, 2001), Llagostera et al. (1988), and Hermosilla (2001) are of particular importance. They make interesting remarks on the style and chronological sequences of hallucinogenic paraphernalia. Hermosilla discusses the iconography of the trays from Los Abuelos cemetery in Caspana, reaching conclusions on the iconography that are very close to mine. She also analyzes the correspondence between these trays and styles in ceramics, dating the archaeological material from the Los Abuelos cemetery to 900 to 1200 AD and showing that artifacts from the Middle Period are completely absent from the record there (Hermosilla 2001:128).[1] She also attempts a reconstruction of "the rituals suggested by the pictorial evidence" of the hallucinogenic paraphernalia (Hermosilla 2001:123).

Basing my work on the prior information accumulated by research into this topic, my objective is to demonstrate that there are sufficient data for the stylistic definition of a fairly numerous group of trays, presenting a homogeneous set of technical and thematic characteristics. These characteristics separate them definitively from the configurations of Tiwanaku art and therefore define a style proper to them that appears to be subsequent to Tiwanaku influence from the altiplano in the Atacama region.[2] To define this new style, I shall refer not only to trays for inhaling cebil powder but also to inhalation tubes and spatulas or spoons, since I agree completely with Krapovickas (1958–1959:74) that there is an evident stylistic unity between them, in addition to the fact that in many cases, they come from the same funerary contexts.[3]

This study is informed by two disciplines: archaeology with its contextual information and history of art with its methodology for stylistic and iconographic analysis. The latter enabled me to observe a large number of elements of the hallucinogenic complex deposited in various museums, both in Chile and abroad (Museo de Historia Natural de Santiago, Museo de Artes Visuales de Santiago, Museo Francisco Fonck de Viña del Mar, Museo R. P. Gustavo Le Paige S. J. de San Pedro de Atacama, Museo Regional de Iquique, Museo de América de Madrid, Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa, Museo Etnográfico J. B. Ambrosetti de Buenos Aires, Museo Dr. Eduardo Casanova de Tilcara, Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Jujuy, Museo de Antropología de Salta, and Musée du Quai Branly in Paris). Based on this analysis, I propose the existence of a style in wood carving that I call Circum-Puna because of its wide dispersion. Its axis is the Tropic of Capricorn, and it covers the subarea around the Atacama Puna zone; in Chile, this subarea includes the Atacama Coast, the Rio Loa Basin, and the Salar de Atacama; and in Argentina, it includes the Jujuy Puna zone and the Quebrada de Humahuaca (see Figure 25.1 and Appendix 1 with an analysis of the sample).[4]

My intention was to revisit Krapovickas's original idea that we have a style that differs from Tiwanaku, to define as clearly as possible how the two styles differ, and to specify the variables that enable us to show them to be distinct. To do this, I applied the concept of integral iconographic analysis proposed by González and Baldini (1991), including as many images as possible from the iconographic universe of hallucinogenic carvings currently known for the subarea in question. The sample comprises 151 objects—trays, tubes, and spatulas—that were carefully examined to detect recurrences of certain combinations of elements in their iconography or, on the contrary, the repeated omission of certain elements in particular combinations (*sensu* Torres 1983, 2001a). I also paid special attention to observation of the gestures and postures of the figures, both anthropomorphs and zoomorphs.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

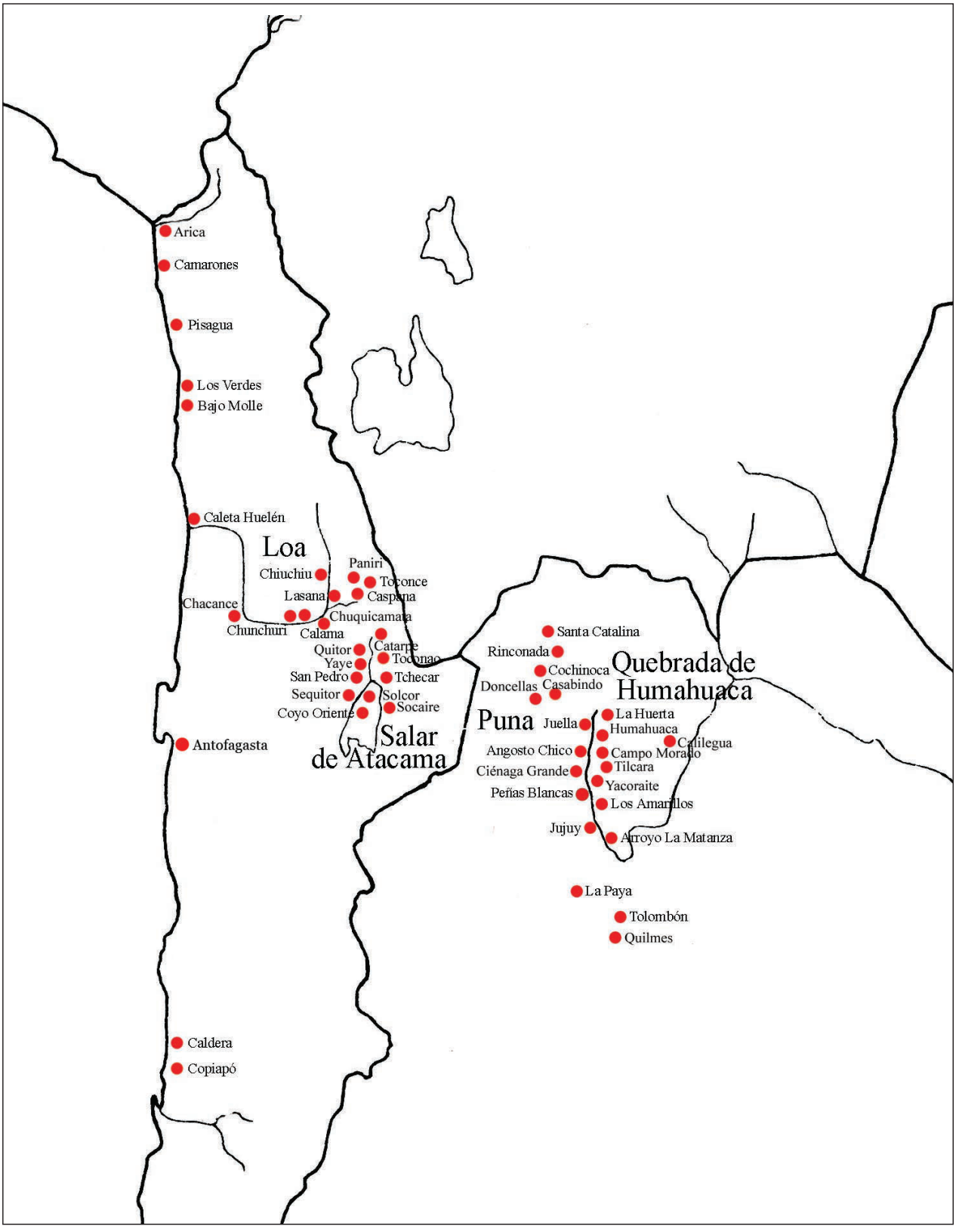


Figure 25.1. Map showing the sites mentioned in the text and the location of areas with the presence of hallucinogenic paraphernalia in the Circum-Puna style. Drawing by Tania Basterrica.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Formal and Technical Features of the Circum-Puna Style

As mentioned by the three authors cited in the last paragraph, the technique used in the manufacture of this group of trays is volumetric or three-dimensional carving of the panel.[5] The plasticity of form achieved by three-dimensional carving makes the small-scale format of these works especially interesting for the archaeologist or art historian, since it allows us to recognize highly iconic objects in great detail, with clear references to nature or the social environment (instruments used, clothing, headdresses, etc.). At the same time, this "art in miniature" presents a sort of narration or storytelling that is very uncommon in pre-Hispanic Andean art in general and offers unprecedented possibilities for analysis and interpretation. Another special feature of this style is the inclusion of small rectangular or circular pieces of malachite and other stones incrusted in the frame of the tray and/or in details within the figures carved in the panels.

As will be seen below, there are two basic types of being most commonly featured in the iconographic universe of this style: anthropomorphs and felines. Their characteristics are combined to create Simple Anthropomorphs, Complex Anthropomorphs, and Felinized Anthropomorphs. The fusion of human and feline features is widely known in pre-Hispanic Andean art. But in this case, a number of striking variants are probably related to Circum-Puna beliefs and ideologies that we will analyze in detail below. From the combination of human and feline elements, three categories arise that are not apparent at first sight and have only been established as a result of careful observation of the configurations in which they are found. The main difficulty was to define the true nature of the figures portrayed, since this is a highly symbolic language in which the limits between different corporal essences become blurred.

Formal Features of Anthropomorphs

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the carvings of the human face is a continuous line that joins the eyebrows to the nose; at the same time, this line produces depressions indicating the eye sockets and broadens lower down to form a triangular nose. This stylistic feature was noticed early on by Krapovickas (1958–1959).[6] The mouth—when it is indicated—is a subrectangular or circular mark carved in the wood. The arms do not present much modulation in the carving; the trunk is rectangular and the face is oval. The hair is shown hanging down the back in the form of parallel diagonal incisions. When the anthropomorphic figure is kneeling, the soles of the feet can be seen carved in the back of the piece (this is true of both trays and inhalation tubes); in the other frequent posture, squatting, the personage is portrayed grasping his shins. This is probably the most characteristic attitude of the anthropomorphs in this style (observed early on by Uhle in 1915). According to the possibilities of combining the human with the feline, the following forms of representation exist in this style:

1. Simple Anthropomorphs: the figure represented is a human being, not combined with any feline features.
1.1 One, two, or three anthropomorphic figures facing forward, grasping their knees or shins with their hands (Figure 25.2a)
1.2 Two anthropomorphs facing forward with their inner arms crossed behind one another's backs and the free hand grasping their shins (Figure 25.2b)
1.3 Series of one, two, or more human heads
2. Complex Anthropomorphs: here we find anthropomorphs who are sometimes wearing feline masks over their faces:
2.1 Anthropomorph(s) with no feline mask acting in the role of Sacrificer
2.2 Anthropomorph(s) with a feline mask covering their faces, acting in the role of Sacrificer (Figure 25.3a)
2.3 Anthropomorph in the role of Sacrificer-Antarist, with a severed head in one hand and an *antara* (panpipes) in the other, held to his mouth (Figure 25.3b). There is a variant of this Complex Anthropomorph in which the Sacrificer-Antarist holds an axe and *antara*; the latter appears to replace the severed head.
2.4 Two anthropomorphs with or without feline mask acting in the role of Sacrificer (Figure 25.3c)

By the "role of Sacrificer," I mean the human person in a scene consisting of two or more kneeling anthropomorphs, with or without a feline mask over his face, who also bears the classic attributes of his function (axe in one hand and severed head in the other). He wears special clothing, consisting of a sash with geometric design and in some cases a special headdress in the form of a round cap, or a cap decorated with geometrical designs, or simply has long hair hanging down his back. So the attributes of the Sacrificer include dress, instruments, and a special posture, each of which invest him with his special power.[7] In the Circum-Puna style, the feline mask confers on the anthropomorph his character

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

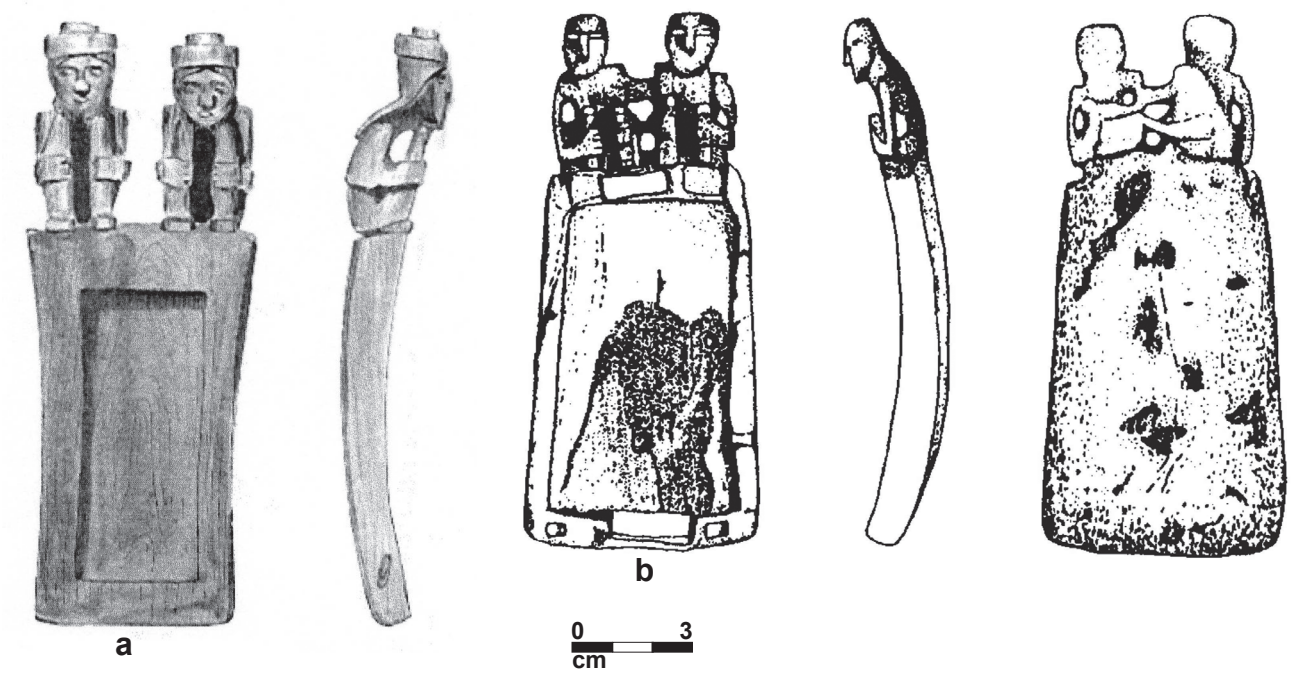


Figure 25.2. (a) Two Simple Anthropomorphs. (b) Two Simple Anthropomorphs embraced.

as Sacrificer, just as occurs in Tiwanaku art (and by extension in Pucara and Wari art), where—although the mask as such does not always appear—the mouth of the anthropomorph is feline with crossed fangs.

3. Felinized Anthropomorphs: this category includes all human figures with a feline head carved in profile and body in a squatting position, which do not usually present the attributes of the Sacrificer (tunic and sash; axe and severed head).
3.1 Two felinized Anthropomorphs face to face (Figure 25.4a)
3.2 Felinized Anthropomorph beside a Simple Anthropomorph (Figure 25.4b)

This category of representation never appears associated with recognizable clothing, nor does it include an axe or severed head. The only posture observed is squatting, grasping its knees with its hands (like the Simple Anthropomorphs).

The representations detailed in the above paragraphs may appear numerous and varied, but in fact they turn—one way or another—around only two figures, the Simple Anthropomorph and the Complex Anthropomorph, and a central theme that seems to be sacrifice or the severing of human heads. As Núñez (1962:48–51) pointed out, this would have occurred as part of a specific rite in which the two protagonists would have been, on one hand, the priest/shaman under the hallucinatory effects produced by inhaling cebil powder, wearing a mask that symbolized his alter ego, the feline,[8] and, on the other hand, the human victim. The images observed on some pieces—trays, inhalation tubes, spatulas, spoons, and bone and wood boxes—from different cemeteries and sites excavated in the Circum-Puna subarea afford us a slightly more precise—although certainly still incomplete—idea of this rite.

The feline is not the main protagonist of this iconography—as we shall see—but its representation is closely linked to the two types of anthropomorphic figures that appear fulfilling specific roles: the Sacrificer and the "Guard" of the victims. We can therefore say that the representation of the feline is concentrated in the head (or mask) of the animal: its form is rectilinear, presenting a well-developed muzzle; round, protruding eyes; and dilated nostrils (see Figures 25.3a,c, etc.).

Characterization of the Simple Anthropomorph

These unquestionably human figures are generally carved full-face, in a characteristic squatting position, even when they form part of triad compositions, and may exceptionally appear standing, as we shall see below. The face is sometimes resting on the knees, and they wear headdresses or hair arrangements like those of the Complex Anthropomorphs but not tunics or sashes to

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

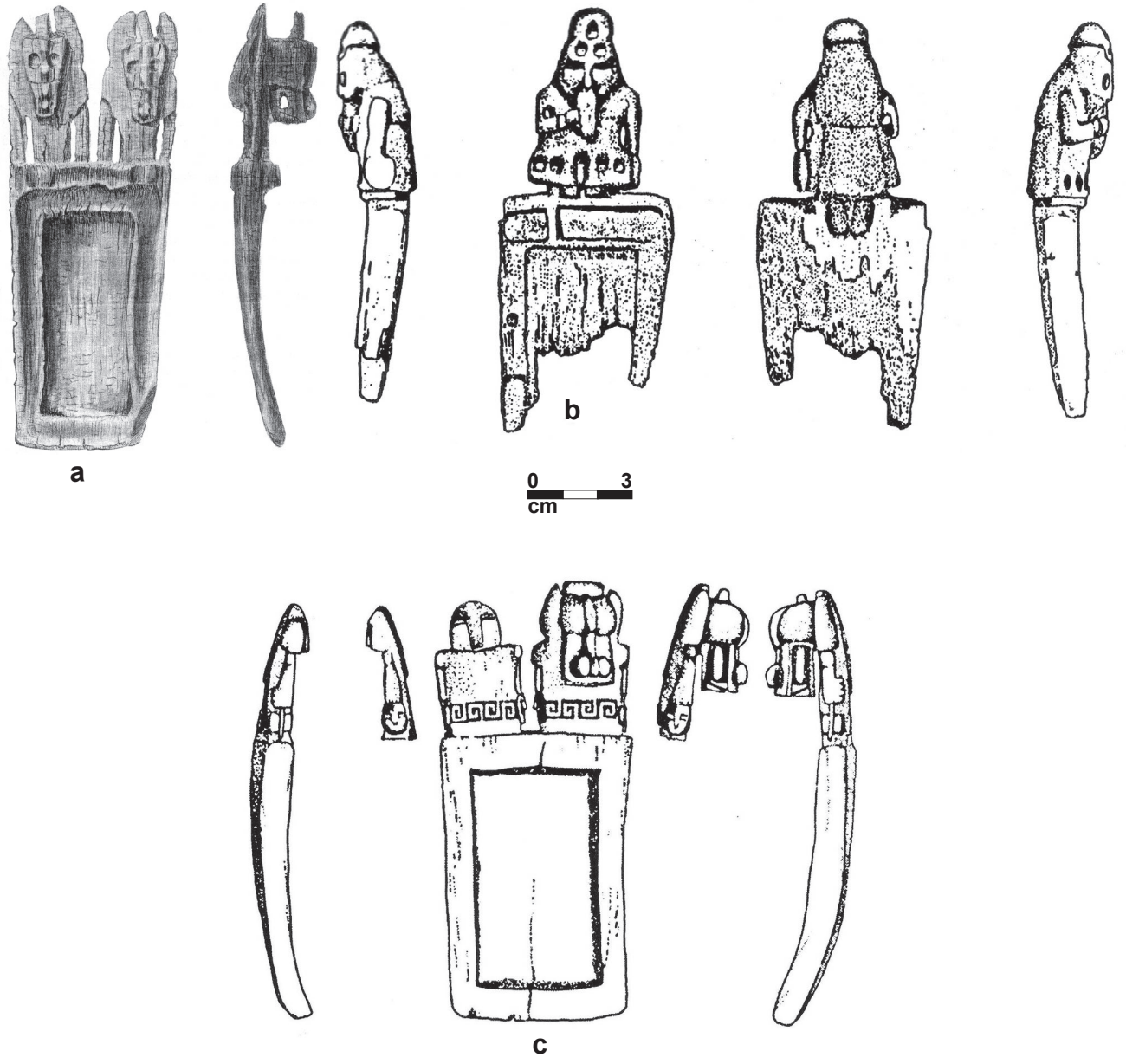


Figure 25.3. (a) Two Complex Anthropomorphs with masks. (b) Sacrificer-Antarist. (c) Two Complex Anthropomorphs with and without masks.

denote their special status. Indeed, in a large number of cases, it has been possible to determine that the squatting figures are naked, judging by the line of the buttocks indicated at the base of their backs, which is never found in Complex Anthropomorphs (see Figure 25.4b, rear view). Even when these human figures are naked, they may be observed to hold symbols associated with the actual sacrifice (*antara* and double-anchor symbol), as will be shown in detail below. The passivity expressed in the posture makes these figures recognizable both in trays with individual figures and in those with anthropomorphs flanking the central figure in certain scenes with triads. We may note here the still more subtle link already observed in a tray from Chunchurí (see Figure 25.2b), which shows two of these anthropomorphs in the habitual squatting posture, although with only one hand grasping the shin, because the other is around the shoulders of the other figure. This position will later enable us to link these anthropomorphic figures with the Complex Anthropomorphs of the triads.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Characterization of the Complex Anthropomorph

As mentioned above, Complex Anthropomorphs are all those persons portrayed kneeling or standing and who present complex attributes such as a tunic with a decorated sash, different types of headdresses, or caps and special symbols (see Figure 25.3a,b). They frequently occupy the central position in triad-type compositions and together must be considered in this iconography as persons of high rank or who play a very important role.

Characterization of the Felinized Anthropomorph

This is a human being represented in profile, with a feline head, squatting and grasping his shins with his hands; his human nature is confirmed by the fact that he has neither tail nor clawed paws (see Figures 25.4a,b, etc.). He appears squatting and in profile together with human figures, also squatting, in triad-type compositions.

Triad Compositions

This is a very particular feature of the Circum-Puna style, with three figures carrying out particular actions, for which we will seek an explanation in iconographic analysis. In compositional terms, we may note the following scenes:

(a) Triad consisting of a Complex Anthropomorph in a central position, standing, with a feline mask and flanked by two Simple Anthropomorphs either standing or squatting (Figure 25.5a)
(b) Triad consisting of a Simple Anthropomorph in a central position (or else a human head) flanked by two Felinized Anthropomorphs (Figure 25.5b)
(c) Triad consisting of a Simple Anthropomorph playing an *antara*, flanked by two Felinized Anthropomorphs (Figure 25.5c)

Figure 25.4. (a) Two Felinized Anthropomorphs in profile, facing each other, squatting position. Drawn by Tania Basterrica from photos taken by the author. (b) Simple Anthropomorph flanked by Felinized Anthropomorph. Photos by the author.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

(d) Triad consisting of a Complex Anthropomorph (with or without feline mask), flanked by two Simple Anthropomorphs, with its arms stretched around their shoulders (Figure 25.5d)[9]
(e) Triad consisting of a Complex Anthropomorph in a central position (whole body or isolated head) flanked by two Felinized Anthropomorphs whose hind paws support the head of the anthropomorph
(f) Triad consisting of three Simple Anthropomorphs playing *antaras* (Figure 25.5e)
(g) Triad consisting of three Simple Anthropomorphs, squatting and not engaged in any action (Figure 25.5f)

Characterization of Triads

During this research, it was found that quite often in representations of triads, the center of the tray bears a Complex Anthropomorph with the characteristics of the Sacrificer, usually wearing a feline mask or with his arms around the shoulders of the two flanking human figures. The latter are sometimes at a lower level than the Sacrificer and are usually ordinary human beings, suggesting that they may be the victims of the sacrifice (see Figure 25.5a,d).

On other occasions, the Simple Anthropomorph in the center of the triad holds an *antara* level with his mouth or chin, and the accompanying figures are felinized anthropomorphs, suggesting the symbolic link between the Victim-Antarist and the Felinized Anthropomorph, each being a distinct element of a single ritual script (see Figure 25.5c). Earlier, we mentioned a Complex Anthropomorph who plays an *antara* and in some cases holds a human head or an axe in his free hand (see Figure 25.3b). In my view, this allows us to incorporate the severed head into a chain of symbolic links between Victim-Antarist and Sacrificer-Antarist, an idea originally proposed by Pérez de Arce (2004).

If we observe the different compositional conventions noticeable in the triad scenes, it will be seen that there is always a full-face anthropomorphic figure in the center (Complex or Simple, standing or squatting, respectively) but never a Felinized Anthropomorph in profile; on the contrary, the Simple and Felinized Anthropomorphs are interchangeable, meaning that they can replace one another when they appear flanking the full-face anthropomorph. Nevertheless, the type of representation varies depending on whether the central anthropomorph is accompanied by Simple or Felinized Anthropomorphs. In the former case, the representation is full-face for each of the elements in the triad (see Figure 25.5a); in the second, the anthropomorph is still full-face but the Felinized Anthropomorphs are portrayed in profile (see Figure 25.5b). There is another convention that is worth noting: representation in profile is found exclusively in the case of Felinized Anthropomorphs, and a large percentage of triad compositions adopts the configuration "Felinized Anthropomorph–Victim–Felinized Anthropomorph" (see Appendix 1.III).

Still on the subject of triads, it is also interesting that—in all the trays that I have observed to date—I have never found a single example where the anthropomorph invested as Sacrificer is accompanied by a Felinized Anthropomorph. Apparently, these two concepts cannot coexist in the same image. Anthropomorphic beings with open jaws simply do not appear simultaneously with the Sacrificer, which perhaps should be interpreted as meaning that they are essentially the same, as we will argue later. In general terms, the Victim is related indistinctly with the Sacrificer or with the Felinized Anthropomorph; the Sacrificer is portrayed only full-face and the Felinized Anthropomorph only in profile. The Victim is always represented full-face.

Compositions with Duos

As we have already seen, the Circum-Puna style also includes dual compositions; in many cases, the volumetric carving represents two figures with identical or very similar features:

- Two Simple Anthropomorphs squatting with their arms around each other's shoulders (see Figure 25.2b and Appendix 1.I)
- Two Simple Anthropomorphs squatting side by side (trays from Chunchurí, 1999.1.174 and 1999.1.177 [Durán et al. 2000]; Tray U/N from Antigal de Ciénaga Grande; Tray 23.072 from Caspana; oval Tray 2135 from La Paya; Tray 22.079 from La Paya; see Appendix 1.I)

As might be expected, duos are also found composed of Complex Anthropomorphs with special clothing, including tunic, cap, and sash with Greek frieze design; these are portrayed kneeling in the great majority of cases, with their arms by their sides and nothing in their hands. There are other trays and tubes with compositions involving kneeling duos or individuals; there are also Complex Anthropomorphs wearing special dress and holding objects such as axes, severed heads, or *antaras*.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 25.5. (a) Triad on tray from Chiu-Chiu, Chile. Photo by and used with the permission of Axel Nielsen. (b) Triad on tray from Tolombón, Argentina. Photo by and used with the permission of Axel Nielsen. (c) Triad on tray 9160 from Caspana. (d) Triad on tray 30275 from Quilmes, Yocavil. (e) Triad on tray 1223 from La Paya. (f) Triad on tray 26640 from Los Amarillos.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

In summary, analysis of compositions containing duos, like those containing triads, allows us to identify certain frequent or recurrent features. For example, it is striking that two different postures are used: squatting and kneeling, each associated with a different type of dress. This means that the persons in duos—or represented individually—who appear kneeling wear exclusive clothing, including a sash and different types of headdresses decorated with geometric designs. The squatting figures, on the other hand, whether one, two, or three in number, do not wear a particularly distinctive tunic or sash, but they do wear headdresses with associated symbols (cap with two ear-loops and double-anchor symbol, as will be seen below).

The idea proposed here is that the Sacrificer is only a Complex Anthropomorph with a feline mask over his face, in a word "disguised" as the animal. This is supported by the fact that in some carvings, the mask covers the front of the head, while at the back, the anthropomorph's long, loose hair is visible (which sometimes appears to be woven into thin parallel plaits; see Figures 25.6a,b). Likewise, close examination of Figure 25.3c reveals an exceptional scene: it represents two Sacrificers dressed identically and holding the same attributes of decapitation in their hands, but only one of them wears a feline mask over his face. The simultaneous nature of this representation is very suggestive, as it corroborates the idea that the Sacrificer—in some part of the rite—covers his face with a mask.[10]

At this point, therefore, we can propose the hypothesis—to be developed on the basis of other features that I will present below—of a possible difference in the roles assigned to the "squatting" versus "kneeling" figures: the squatting figures would be mere mortals, possibly victims in a rite that would culminate in human sacrifice, while the kneeling figures appear to perform the role of their sacrificers. Below we shall see that various arguments support this idea.

Tiwanaku Iconography versus Circum-Puna Iconography

Characterization of the Circum-Puna Sacrificer

Based on observation of images from Tiwanaku art that appear on such diverse media as textiles, ceramics, wood carvings, stone sculpture, and other types of rock art, I believe that differences can be identified between the representation of the Tiwanaku Sacrificer and the Circum-Puna Sacrificer. Before going into the details of these differences, I must repeat that in both cases, the protagonist is an anthropomorphic being with feline characteristics, either because he wears a feline mask or because he is portrayed in the process of transformation from human to feline being.

In the carvings on wooden trays, tubes, or spatulas, the differences are found in specific details of gesture and posture, as well as in the use of certain attributes. The Tiwanaku Sacrificer is generally portrayed as a semi-kneeling figure—that is, while he performs the rite of presenting the human head, he has one knee on the ground, while in one hand he holds a staff (sometimes terminating in a severed head at one end), and in the other he holds both the axe and the severed head behind his back (Figure 25.7a). This is the pattern of the Tiwanaku trays with iconography carved in bas-relief; however, in three exceptional cases, the carving is volumetric, and the pattern is modified in that the Sacrificer is standing holding the head in front of his body with his left hand, while the axe with which he decapitated the victim hangs from his right (Tray U/N from Patillos 1, Iquique [Núñez 1967]; Tray 9164 from Quitor 5 [Llagostera 2006a:Figure 5]). The third case is Tray 9163, also from Quitor 5, in which we see the Tiwanaku Sacrificer carved in three dimensions kneeling on one knee, while he presents the severed head in front of his body, looking in the same direction; he holds the axe behind his back at ground level (Llagostera 2006a:Figure 12). Turning to representations carved on inhalation tubes, we see the Sacrificer standing, not kneeling, with his arms by his sides and holding the axe and the severed head, one in each hand (Figure 25.7b).

The Circum-Puna Sacrificer, in contrast, is presented kneeling on both knees, in most cases with his arms hanging by his sides and likewise presenting the symbols of the rite: the axe in the right hand and the head in the left (Figure 25.7c). To date, I have not found a single example in which the head is presented and held by the Sacrificer at chest height, in the posture diagnostic of Tiwanaku tubes.[11] Another palpable difference is the total absence in the Tiwanaku style of anything like a musical wind instrument such as the *antara*, and even more alien is the idea that this instrument could occupy the place of the severed human head as a counterpart to the axe used in the rite. I have also found another difference in the number of Sacrificers who take part in the rite: in the Tiwanaku images, it is invariably a single person, invested with all his attributes, who performs the act individually. In Circum-Puna trays, tubes, and spatulas by contrast, we often find two Sacrificers, who are apparently performing the rite simultaneously.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 25.6. (a) Tray 1974 of unknown origin. (b) Tray 22082 from Tilcara. Photos by the author and drawings by Tania Basterrica.

Differences from Tiwanaku in attributes are restricted to the different use of designs on the sash. The evidence indicates that the sash worn over the tunic is an essential part of the distinctive dress of the person performing the sacrifice. It is found in Pucara, Tiwanaku, and Wari art (Cook 1994), as well as in the art of Circum-Puna carvings, as one of the constant attributes of this figure. The difference is that in the images of the other arts mentioned above, the design on the sash is most frequently a horizontal zigzag[12] and less frequently a concentric rectangle or a meandering line. In Circum-Puna carvings of Sacrificers, on the other hand, the design recurrently observed is a horizontal Greek frieze or "Z" design (see detail of Figures 25.3c, 25.6a, and 25.7c).

Another aspect of dress is the use of a different headdress: images of Tiwanaku Sacrificers on trays have a complex headdress, consisting of a half-moon-shaped base out of which rise various elements following typical altiplano iconography. It is not unusual to find parts of the human body (legs, heads, or whole trunks) among these elements (Llagostera 2006a:Figure 26.11a–c; Llagostera et al. 1988:79), reinforcing the identity of the person as the Sacrificer. In the Circum-Puna style, by contrast, images of Sacrificers do not wear headdresses, alluding to their role in the sacrifice, but only a cap and a complex hair arrangement covering their backs, which—together with the sash decorated with the Greek frieze design—serves to distinguish them. In general, their paraphernalia is much simpler than that of Tiwanaku images, but both their gestures and postures present a richer variety.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

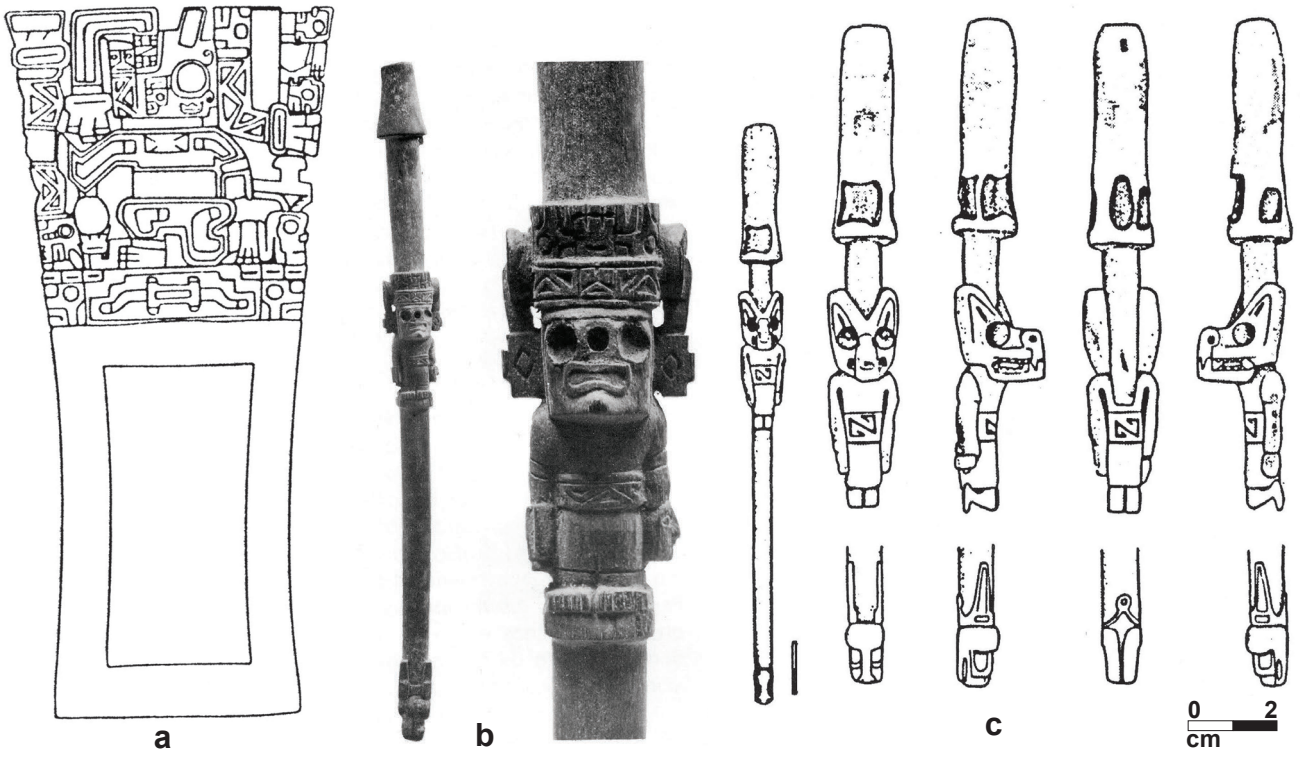


Figure 25.7. (a) Tiawanaku-style tray 8432 from Solcor-3, San Pedro de Atacama, Tomb 107. (b) Inhalation tube 2768 from Solcor-3, San Pedro de Atacama, Tomb 79. (c) Inhalation tube 1999.1.208 from Chunchurí, with Masked Sacrificer.

Application of Incrustations

Based on our observations of the sample studied, I propose here that the incrustation of stones in the frames of trays is a feature proper to the Rio Loa, San Pedro de Atacama, and neighboring regions; it would not have been a custom in the nucleus of Tiwanaku culture, where probably only eyes and other details of the figures depicted in the upper panels of the trays were incrusted.[13] In the Circum-Puna style, this custom is found basically in the application of various stones, such as malachite, azurite, and turquoise (Thomas and Benavente 1984:168), as well as *mullu* (*Spondylus princeps*) and mother-of-pearl in the flat frames of the tray surrounding the receptacle or central cavity; malachite circles are also incrusted in the eye sockets of humans and felines, as well as the nostrils or ears of felines (see Figure 25.4b, which still conserves some incrustations). A review of the bibliography supports this idea: the frame of the Niño Korin tray (70.19.1, Gothenburg Museum, Sweden [Wassén 1972:Figure 5]), for example, is decorated with incisions, not incrustations; the same is true of the stone tray in the Museo Etnográfico de Buenos Aires (Tray 10718, apparently from Tiahuanaco [Torres 1987a:Plate 16]). Perhaps the application of incrustations to the frames of Tiwanaku pieces could be interpreted as "increasing their value" or a sort of "symbolic appropriation" by their local users.

Finally it should be noted that trays with triads present the greatest number of incrustations; there are examples with the frame of the cavity almost entirely covered with stones of different colors and sizes (see Figures 25.5c,e,f, 25.8, 25.9, and 25.10a). This suggests the preeminence of trays with this type of visual composition and may indicate their greater prestige among the Circum-Puna hallucinogenic paraphernalia, probably because they served to condense the ideology of human sacrifice by decapitation.

The Rite and Its Principal Actors

In the light of the evidence offered by the images analyzed above, we can propose some plausible ideas about a possible ritual "choreography" directed by the Sacrificer(s). This is especially important because Tiwanaku art, which is highly hieratic and cryptic, does not present narration of actions; its representations are abstractions removed from reality and charged with an impenetrable symbolism. Thus, the miniature art of

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

the Circum-Puna carvings is an inexhaustible source for deciphering certain passages of ancient rites. As early as 1908, Ambrosetti said of the trays from the La Paya site (Salta, northwestern Argentina), "These data strengthen my belief that these trays show us disconnected scenes from some religious ceremony, in which, among others, masked persons representing divinities or mythical entities took part" (Ambrosetti 1908:507). The personages who took part in the scenes of these ceremonies are described here:

Simple Victims. All the identical or very similar human figures presented individually, in pairs or in threes, who are not performing any action and in the great majority of cases are squatting with flexed knees, grasping their shins (Figure 25.8). In general, their hair hangs down their backs in a triangle with the ends bound together; when they wear a headdress, it may be (a) a simple cap (see Figures 25.2a and 25.5a), (b) a two-eared cap (see Figure 25.5b,c,e), or (c) a cap with the double-anchor symbol (see Figures 25.5c and 25.11a).

Victims Playing the Panpipes. The same figures mentioned in the previous paragraph may occasionally appear holding an *antara* with both hands, as if playing it. I do not believe that this is an attribute marking some kind of hierarchy among the victims but rather different moments in the sequence of the rite as I shall explain below (see Figure 25.5c,e).

Guards of the Victims. This appears to be the role of the Felinized Anthropomorph portrayed in profile; we have already mentioned that this personage flanks the central victim, using the same squatting posture. In triads, these lateral guards do not use special dress, only a prominent mask that hides their human face. The most decisive feature appears to be the fact that, as guards rather than Sacrificers, they are portrayed without the attributes of decapitation (see Figures 25.4a,b, 25.5b,c, and 25.8).

Unmasked Sacrificer. All those human figures presented individually or in identical pairs who in the vast majority of cases are kneeling on the ground—although there are isolated cases of standing figures—holding objects in their hands (axe and severed head; axe and *antara*), and in some cases playing the *antara*; they also wear a sash with a Greek frieze design (Figure 25.9; see also Figure 25.3b,c). Sometimes figures with these characteristics are not holding the sacrifice objects

Figure 25.8. Tray 26641 from Los Amarillos with central Victim flanked by two Felinized Anthropomorphs (one now missing). Museo Etnográfico J. B. Ambrosetti, Buenos Aires. Photos by the author.

but can be recognized as Sacrificers from their use of a sash or their kneeling posture, which are exclusive features of Sacrificers. In this type of representation of the Sacrificer, there is no direct allusion to his link with the feline (i.e., he does not wear a mask with feline jaws or erect ears). Based on an integrated iconographic analysis of hallucinogenic paraphernalia, I propose that these figures should be considered representations of the Sacrificer, even when they are not holding the sacrifice objects or wearing a feline mask.

Masked Sacrificer. All those human figures represented individually or in pairs—very often identical—kneeling on the ground and holding objects in their hands (axe and severed head; axe and *antara*), wearing a sash with a Greek frieze design and a feline mask over their faces. Figures with these characteristics sometimes appear without sacrifice objects or are standing instead of kneeling, but they can be recognized as Sacrificers by their use of the sash or their kneeling posture, which are exclusive features of Sacrificers (see Figures 25.3a,c, 25.5a,d, 25.6a,b, 25.7c, and 25.9).

To summarize, the evidence presented shows that in some cases, there is an ideal conjunction of all the iconographic elements or attributes in a single image (axe, severed head, sash with Greek frieze design, feline mask, kneeling posture, *antara* replacing the head or the axe); in others, their representation is only partial. In both cases, however, the attentive observer can discover the important theme of the Sacrificer behind all these subtly different forms.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

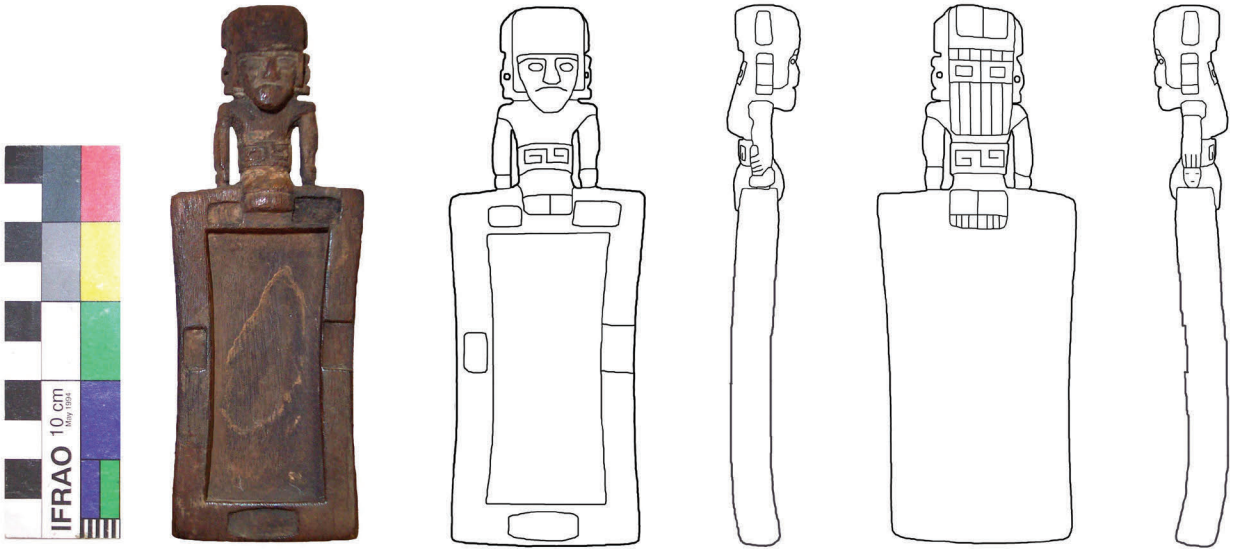


Figure 25.9. Tray 1976 of unknown origin. Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago. Photo by the author and drawings by Tania Basterrica.

The Role of Music in the Rite

We have already mentioned the presence of panpipes or *antaras* in relation to Complex Anthropomorphs and Victims in triad scenes. This situation was also noticed and analyzed by the ethno-musicologist José Pérez de Arce, who studied the trays in the context of a search for representations of pre-Hispanic instruments and reached conclusions very close to those I propose here (Pérez de Arce 1982, 1995). He defines the *zampoña* or *siku* as a wind instrument made of a variable number of reed tubes, held in place by a cane or wood cross-piece and tied with camelid fiber cords; the *antara*, in contrast, is a different type of panpipes made from a block of clay or stone with three or four internal orifices; in most cases, the internal divisions are not reflected on the exterior. This author also establishes a clear difference in the geographical dispersion of the *zampoña* (the area of Arica, in the far north of Chile) and the *antara* (San Pedro de Atacama), stressing that they are products of two different cultural and musical traditions (Pérez de Arce 1995). From the iconographic perspective, Pérez de Arce establishes the existence of the Antarist theme in tray representations, with a variant: the Sacrificer-Musician theme (for the cases in which the severed head or the axe is replaced indifferently by the *antara*, as we have seen above). According to Pérez de Arce, both themes form part of a broader iconographic system, the axis of which is a central figure with feline features linked to the *antara* and the trumpet, and to the Sacrificer-Musician theme. This iconographic system is related to the practice of inhaling hallucinogens, for which the trays and tubes were used (Pérez de Arce 2004; see also Durán 2001).

The Two-Eared Cap and the Dress Used in the Rite

Another interesting question is the detection of elements of dress, which will enable us to define in more detail the articles of dress required for the roles of Victim or Sacrificer. A highly symbolic element seems to have been a very particular cap, with ear-loops or rings on top (see Figures 25.5b,c,e and 25.10a). These headdresses have appeared sporadically in the archaeological record of the Atacama area, but to date, they had not been associated with a specific signification. I believe that the evidence provided by carvings on wooden trays and tubes now allows us to propose an association.

In his monograph on trays, Torres mentioned the presence of "horns" or short projections on the heads of various anthropomorphic figures on trays from Chile and Argentina (Torres 1987a:98), supposing that they might correspond to textile headdresses like those published by Llagostera and Costa (1984:Figure 66). Ambrosetti, describing trays from La Paya, also noted the presence of "little horns" on the head of the central figure of a triad (Tray 1600, MEJBA), but unfortunately "they fell off at once and it was impossible to re-attach them because they crumbled away" (Ambrosetti 1908:505).

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

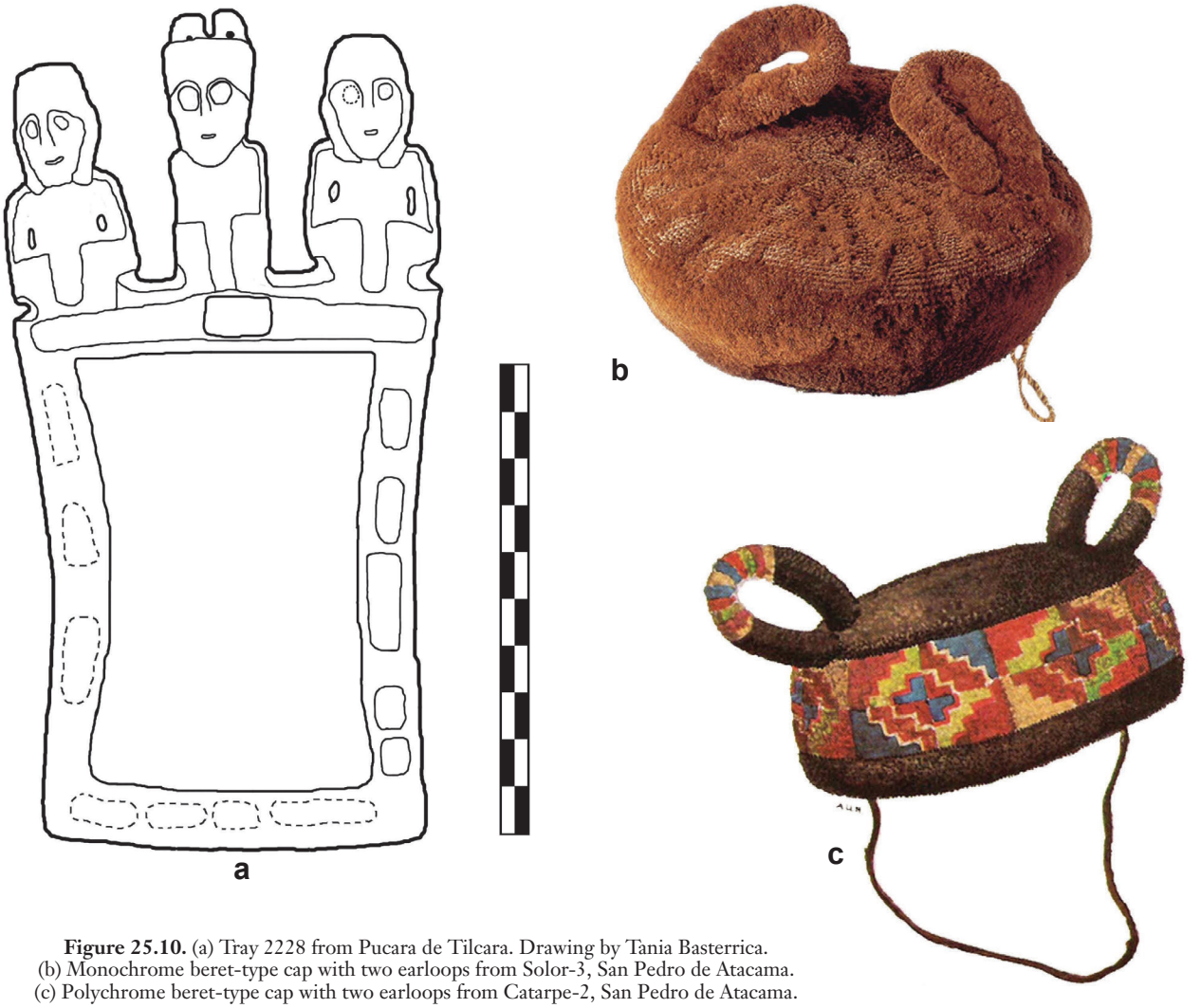


Figure 25.10. (a) Tray 2228 from Pucara de Tilcara. Drawing by Tania Basterrica. (b) Monochrome beret-type cap with two earloops from Solor-3, San Pedro de Atacama. (c) Polychrome beret-type cap with two earloops from Catarpe-2, San Pedro de Atacama.

Likewise, when describing another tray (1223, MEJBA; see Figure 25.5e), which also shows a triad—in this case of Antarists—he says that they had on their heads "little half-moon-shaped horns, face to face." In fact, I have been able to see that the figure is wearing a headdress with two protuberances in the center, like the central person in Figure 25.5b,c.

If we examine the archaeological examples of headdresses that might be portrayed on the heads of the figures in the trays mentioned, we find a very small number of caps with ear-loops from the Rio Loa area and the Salar de Atacama. The specialized literature calls them "beret-type plush cap" (Agüero 2000), or "velvety beret" (Berenguer 2007), and the manufacturing technique is a looping with the insertion of threads that are then cut close and evenly (*simili velours*; Izikowitz 1933; Latcham 1938:285); Llagostera and Costa (1984:66) mention them as caps with appendages "simulating feline ears." Núñez, describing a small wooden statuette ("Shaman de Pica"), mentions the use of a "hat" held on by a "hood" with two feline ears; in the new light shed by hallucinogenic iconography, I think that this may in fact be a plush cap with two ear-loops (Núñez 1961, 1962:197, Figure 33).

When Tarragó established the first textile sequence for the oases of the Salar de Atacama in 1989, she mentioned plush caps (with and without ear-loops) as elements of funerary furnishings associated with Black Polished ceramics and Tiwanaku ceramics. However, the recent review of Atacama textiles by Agüero (2000) includes three such caps in the Yaye Phase of San Pedro (AD 950–1200). Two are undecorated examples from Solor 3 (one is shown in Figure 25.10b); the other, which has polychrome geometrical decoration (Figure 25.10c), was recorded in the material from Catarpe 2 belonging

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

to the Solor Phase, which comes after the Yaye Phase in the San Pedro sequence (AD 1200–1470) (Agüero 2000, following the chronological-cultural order proposed by Tarragó in 1989). Apart from these examples with context, a further decorated example is known from Tomb 5 of Chacance 2, middle section of the Rio Loa (No. 810118; no author 2002[b]; Agüero 2007).[14] In both Solor and Catarpe, these caps appear much less frequently than the skin caps with straw supports that were the characteristic headdresses of the Atacameños during the Late Intermediate (Agüero 2000, 2007).[15] In my opinion, this highlights the exceptional character of these cap or beret-type headdresses with round, ear-like appendages, taking them out of the category of everyday items; at the same time, their shape is definitely exceptional among pre-Hispanic headdresses of the central-southern Andes and has not so far been recorded outside the Atacama area.

The testimony of these trays indicates that this type of headdress was used to identify or indicate people participating in the sacrifice, whether as Victims or Sacrificers. It should be stressed here that this was a cap with round earloops, like the ears found on Felinized Anthropomorphs. The appearance of this type of tray in the far north of Chile is absolutely exceptional and must be seen in the broad framework of long-distance exchanges of ritual objects of great symbolic value, which must have occurred between *curacas* of distant ethnic groups, as proposed by Llagostera (1996, 2006b) and Tarragó (2006). The archaeological record in the Azapa Valley and along the coast of Arica indicates the exchange of various other prestigious goods with the Tarapacá, Pica, and Rio Loa area, but this has not been observed for artifacts from the Salar de Atacama (Horta 2010).

The Double-Anchor Symbol

When I started to study the various elements that generally accompany the dress of the anthropomorphic figures in the style proposed in this chapter, the double-anchor icon appeared to me to be an isolated sign, not associated with any other element or person of the ritual choreography that I was trying to decipher. However, I subsequently started to perceive subtle relations between the images carved in various elements of the hallucinogenic complex, and a fine network of interconnected meanings gradually began to appear.

In the course of his investigations into elements of the hallucinogenic complex, Torres proposed that the "the ornament consisting of two vertical crescents united by a horizontal bar," or double-anchor ornament, might have formed part of an ensemble of iconographic elements shared by the trays of northwestern Argentina and those of the Rio Loa and that this ensemble also included human beings playing the *antara* and the theme of decapitation (Torres 1998:53). This author pointed to the ornament used by the person on the Doncellas tray, from Jujuy, Argentina, published by Krapovickas (here Figure 25.11a), relating it to that used by the person in a triad represented in Tray 9160 from Caspana (see Figure 25.5c). As can be seen in the latter figure, a central person, who is playing the *antara*, is flanked by two Felinized Anthropomorphs. The person playing the *antara* occupies the place usually occupied by the Sacrificer when he is flanked by two squatting anthropomorphs (possibly Victims according to my interpretation, as mentioned above). But in this case, he is not the Sacrificer because he is not wearing the sash, which is an essential part of the Sacrificer's dress. On the contrary, he is playing the *antara* and wears the double-anchor icon on his forehead. So I began to wonder what that symbol could have meant, and why this person was wearing it on his forehead.

The next analogical clue came from a wooden spatula from Pucara de Rinconada (Jujuy, Argentina [Torres 1987a:Plate 154]), with a handle carved with two standing human figures, their arms around each other's backs (Figure 25.11b). The remarkable feature is that they are both wearing the double-anchor icon on the backs of their heads like an insignia, over their hair. Thus, the scene on the spatula allows us to relate the double anchor with two persons who do not have the attributes of the Sacrificer and who appear embraced. This "embrace" is significant because it constitutes the link enabling us to recognize other human figures whose bodies are linked in the same way. It is the same gesture made by the masked Complex Anthropomorph when he is placed centrally in some triads and presents the two flanking human figures as offerings (see Figure 25.5d).

To summarize, we can say that we have a representation of a rite or ceremony involving the cap with earloops and the double-anchor symbol, as well as human figures wearing these insignia and who at the same time may appear playing the *antara*; we have also seen that the Sacrificer may appear playing that instrument (see Figure 25.3b). And we have also seen that the double-anchor symbol can appear among the ornaments of both Victims and Sacrificers. All these pieces of evidence will together enable us to close the circle underlying the gestures and objects used in the development of these special "choreographed" scenes.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

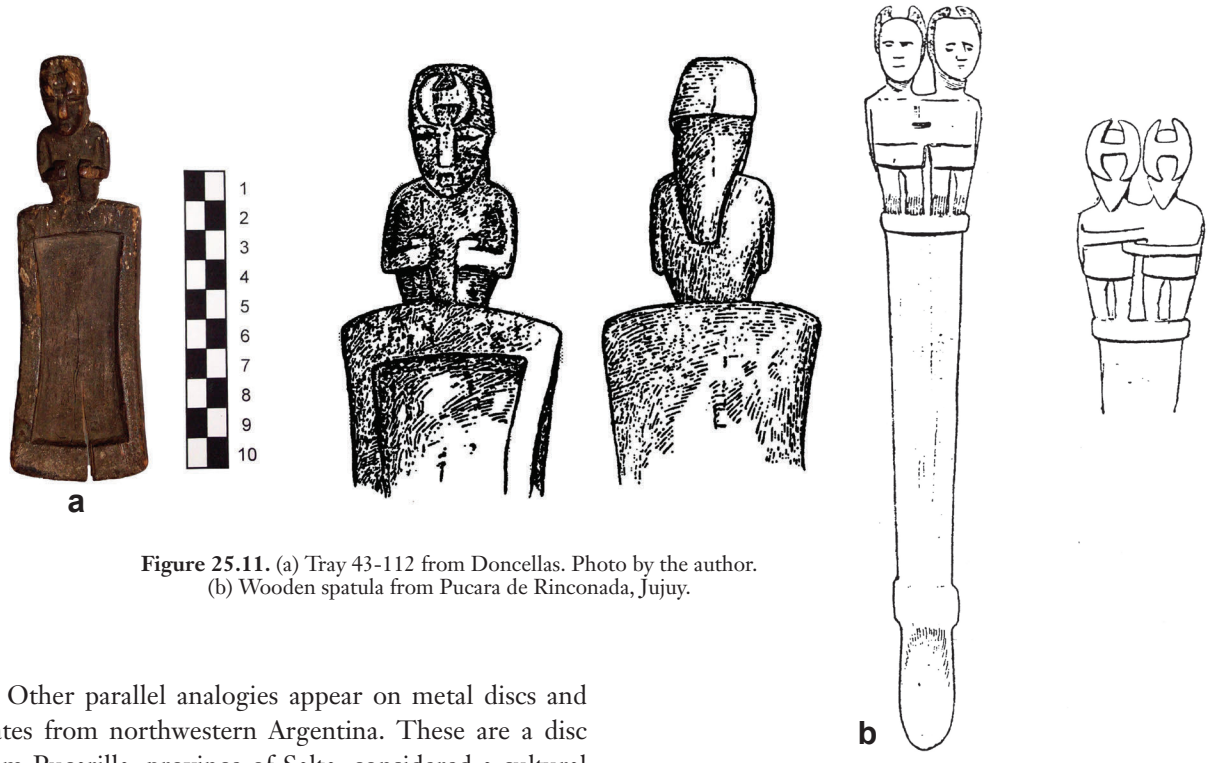


Figure 25.11. (a) Tray 43-112 from Doncellas. Photo by the author. (b) Wooden spatula from Pucara de Rinconada, Jujuy.

Other parallel analogies appear on metal discs and plates from northwestern Argentina. These are a disc from Pucarilla, province of Salta, considered a cultural artifact of La Aguada (González 1977:144; here Figure 25.12a); a rectangular plate with a relief figure recorded as originating from Tiahuanaco, published by González (1992:Plate 50B/1; here Figure 25.12b); another rectangular plate with a figure originating from La Rioja (González 1992:Plate 50B/3; here Figure 25.12c); and an exceptionally beautiful and well-preserved disc—no origin given—belonging to the collection of the Museo de Artes Visuales de Santiago (Figure 25.13). Each of these images presents a complex anthropomorphic figure full-face, together with intricate symbols. The double-anchor icon can be recognized on all of their foreheads, just as it appears on the foreheads of some images carved on hallucinogenic paraphernalia. Although the identity of this personage represented full-face on the discs and plates (González 1977; Pérez Gollán 1986) is subject to discussion, it seems to me that it is an important deity of the Circum-Puna subarea, whose cult might have been shared by the inhabitants. If this is the case, it would shed light on the link between such a deity and the human victims offered in its name. This might be the reason why the Victim wore the symbol of the god to which he was sacrificed. This idea is supported by the fact that the attributes of the full-face personage are precisely axes and—in one of the cases presented here—severed heads in a clear allusion to the rite of decapitation (see Figure 25.12b).

The Chronological Dimension of the Circum-Puna Style

We lack absolute dating for the great majority of the archaeological contexts from which the elements of the hallucinogenic complex in the style analyzed here originate. Consequently, we need to use association with ceramics, textiles, or other types of archaeological artifacts to attempt a definition of their relative chronology. The contextual data from the Argentinean Puna and the Quebrada de Humahuaca indicate that objects of this type are found—without exception—in sites or cemeteries with cultural material from the Late Intermediate or the beginning of the Late Period (Ambrosetti 1908; Boman 1908; Casanova 1946, 1950; Krapovickas 1958–1959; Lehmann-Nitsche 1902; Salas 1945; Von Rosen 1924) (see Appendix 1 with the samples used).

Everything indicates that the same time period is involved in the Atacama territory (Loa Basin and Salar de Atacama). As mentioned previously, Núñez established an important spatial difference between trays with Tiwanaku features, concentrated in San Pedro de Atacama, and trays in the local style concentrated in the Rio Loa Basin (Núñez 1963). Subsequently, Torres (1998) took a step further when he showed that the concentration of Tiwanaku-style trays in San Pedro corresponded

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

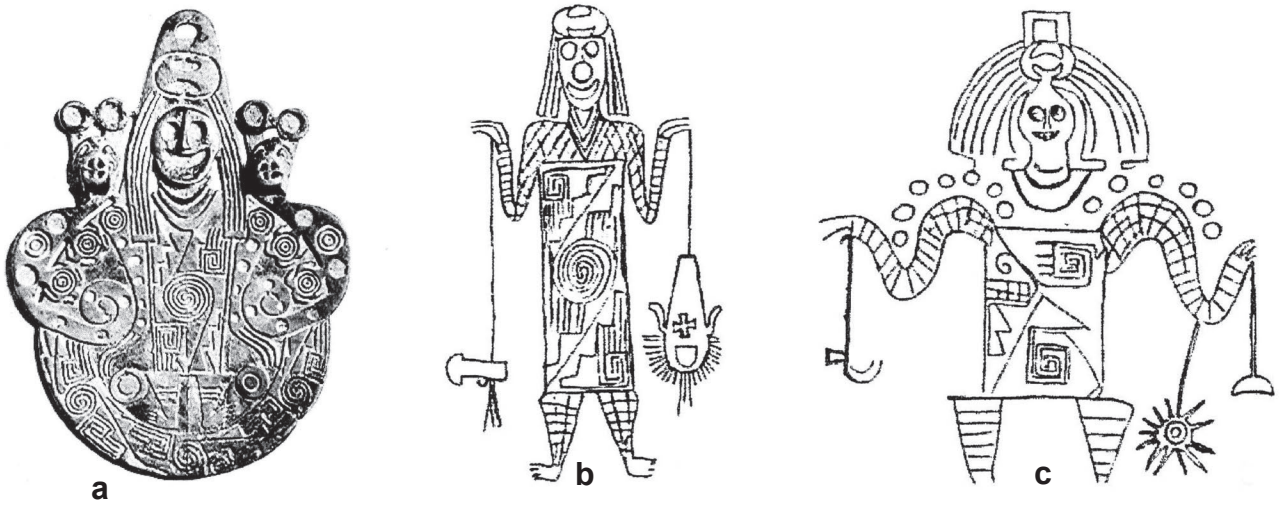


Figure 25.12. (a) Metal disc from Pucarilla, Salta. (b) Detail of rectangular plate from Tiawanaku. (c) Detail of rectangular plate from La Rioja, Argentina.

to the Middle Period (AD 300–1000) and highlighted the absence of this style in the Rio Loa and northwestern Argentina, indicating that other styles were current there during the Late Intermediate (AD 1000–1400). At the same time, this same author proposed that the formal and iconographic similarities between the Rio Loa Basin trays and those from northwestern Argentina suggested interaction between those two territories.

Llagostera points to two moments in the Middle Period: one initial, between AD 500 and 900 AD, which shows "the greatest flow of Tiwanaku trays," and one later, between AD 900 and 1200, which marks the decline of this flow (Llagostera 2006a:107); in other words, altiplano trays continued to be exchanged and adapted during the first half of the Late Intermediate in San Pedro, and epigonal local examples were even manufactured.

In her study of San Pedro ceramics, Tarragó (1989) analyzes contextual associations that naturally include trays and other elements of the hallucinogenic complex. From this analysis, we may deduce that Circum-Puna–style trays—which are indeed less numerous than those of Tiwanaku and other micro-local styles that have yet to be defined—are concentrated in cemeteries in San Pedro with cultural characteristics or components of the Late Intermediate or Late Periods such as Solor 3; Tchecar Sur; Yaye 1, 3, and 4; Catarpe 2; and Quitor 2 and 6. I have recently confirmed this by a study of the collection in the Museo R. P. Gustavo Le Paige in San Pedro de Atacama. Not only did I find minimal presence of the Circum-Puna style in the contexts of San Pedro *ayllus*, but I also found the existence of a local substyle with its own themes, although it was rooted in the Circum-Puna ideology based on decapitation and a shamanic rite, which I will not discuss here as it is beyond the scope of this chapter. In total, there are 26 pieces (trays and tubes) from cemeteries in San Pedro ascribable to the Circum-Puna style, that is, only 6 percent of the total universe of San Pedro trays (ca. 465 examples according to Llagostera 2006a:84).

For the Rio Loa Basin, we have information contributed by Alliende (1981), Hermosilla (2001), and Ayala et al. (1999). All these researchers agree in stressing the association of trays in the style analyzed here with cultural material from the Late Intermediate. Ayala et al. further propose a link with northwestern Argentina, specifically the Puna of Jujuy, through the presence of Yavi ceramics and pyro-engraved gourds in the styles of La Paya and Santa María–Belén. From this, they suppose "a solid link with the populations of that territory, at least since the beginning of the Late Intermediate" (Ayala et al. 1999:46). This same work indicates that there are no trays in tombs with cultural material from the Inca Period; it is therefore a time marker for the currency of the Circum-Puna style, at least in the Rio Loa Basin.

Future research may enable us to define the chronology of trays from northwestern Argentina more precisely, since they are clearly present in both Late Intermediate and Late sites (Ambrosetti 1908; Casanova 1950; Pérez Gollán and Gordillo 1993). Montenegro mentions three datings of materials associated with Jujuy trays (Montenegro 2002); these are from the Arroyo La Matanza–Cusi Cusi, Los Amarillos, and Juella sites, where the following dates were obtained: AD 1384 for a context that included a tray with a feline head, AD 1297

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Figure 25.13. Metal disc of unknown origin. Collection of Museo de Artes Visuales, Santiago (from the Exhibition Catalogue *Chile Indígena*, 1991).

to 1436 for a circular tray with no appendages from Compound 16 at Los Amarillos, and AD 1300 for Room 21 at Juella, where a tray was also found although its shape is not mentioned. Salas, excavating an exceptionally large room with a double *pirca* in Ciénaga Grande, which contained the burials of two adults, found fragments of a tray in direct connection with a painted aryballos (Salas 1945), which reaffirms the late presence of the hallucinogenic complex in northwestern Argentina.

Discussion and Conclusions

I have tried to offer a formal, thematic definition of an ensemble of wooden carvings that are three-dimensional, figurative, and narrative in character, with dispersal in the Rio Loa Basin and—to a lesser degree—in San Pedro de Atacama in northern Chile, as well as the Puna of Jujuy and the Quebrada de Humahuaca in northwestern Argentina. This distribution for the style reflects the current state of research; it is therefore to be hoped that future finds may be made in areas where exploration has only begun in recent decades, such as Lipes and Chichas in the southern altiplano (Angelo and Capriles 2004). In terms of themes, I have defined an iconographic ensemble consisting of the Simple Anthropomorph (Victim) and the Complex Anthropomorph (Sacrificer or Officiator at the sacrifice), in addition to the Felinized Anthropomorph or Guard of the Victim, who appears to be a variant of the Sacrificer, or his assistant in the rite. The way in which each is represented—as I have described above—would have varied according to the role he performed at different moments in the rite. The iconographic evidence indicates that these three types of personages are interconnected by their respective roles in a very specific ceremonial "choreography": human sacrifice by decapitation of one or more victims. This iconography possesses particular features that distinguish it from Tiwanaku iconography, although at the same time it is possible to recognize its roots in the visual languages of the altiplano shared by Pucara, Wari, and Tiwanaku.

I propose that stylistic analysis of the trays in the non-Tiwanaku style of the Atacama area and northwestern Argentina enables us to define a macro-regional style with its own characteristics, both formal and thematic, which I tentatively propose to call the Circum-Puna style. Taking into consideration the different types of evidence (stylistic, iconographic, archaeological, and geographical dispersal), I believe that this style is post-Tiwanaku and that it would have remained current during the period of the Inca domination of the Circum-Puna area.

In the iconography of this style, Sacrificers and Victims are differentiated by gestures associated with their roles, posture, and significant objects (special dress, decapitation instrument), but the use of the *antara* and the double-anchor icon is common to both. Sacrificers and Victims are interconnected by the roles that they perform in the choreography of the shamanic ritual of human sacrifice by decapitation of one or more Victims and the inhaling of a hallucinogen placed on the trays. The Felinized Anthropomorphs guarded and assisted the Victims in the preamble to the rite, adopting their posture. The Sacrificers—wearing special dress and feline masks—presented the living Victims ("act of presentation"). The Victim played the *antara* and was then decapitated. The Sacrificer sometimes played the panpipes while he presented the severed head.

The double-anchor symbol that can be seen on the foreheads of the personages depicted on the discs from northwestern Argentina, and also among the significant attributes of some Sacrificers, Victims, and Felinized Anthropomorphs, suggests that this insignia may have

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

represented a common Circum-Puna deity and that the human sacrifice "narrated" on the trays and tubes of the hallucinogenic complex was celebrated as part of its cult.

I consider that the evidence analyzed is a sufficiently solid base on which to try to establish a tentative sequence of the actions (real or mythical) that once composed the rite of decapitation and human sacrifice, which appears to have been a practice or belief rooted in the Circum-Puna area. The victims would have been subjected to some kind of special treatment the evening before the ceremony, which would have included the inhalation of cebil or the ingestion of *chicha* made from maize or *chañar*. This would explain the posture that they adopt and also the passivity that they display. Perhaps the victims participated in some episode in which music—supported by the shrill sound of the *antara*—played an important part (we have seen that both the Victim and the Officiator in the sacrifice played the panpipes in certain scenes).[16] The triads with Victims and Guards would be a portrayal of this preamble to the ceremony: the Felinized Anthropomorphs accompany the humans who are waiting to be sacrificed, not holding an instrument, which would reveal the decapitation rite about to be performed. The hypothetical reconstruction of the ceremony—and observation of the headdress and special insignia worn by the Sacrificers and Victims while they are playing the panpipes—together explain the significance of these scenes, which might otherwise be interpreted as moments in everyday life and not as passages of a complex ritual. Subsequently, the live Victims would have been presented by the Officiator, now invested in his role as Sacrificer by the special dress, by standing and putting his arms around their shoulders (this passage is also observable in the visual composition of some triads). In the majority of cases, at this moment in the sequence, the Sacrificer appears as an anthropomorph with a feline mask, using the well-known referents of jaws with crossed fangs, well-developed muzzle, and pointed ears.

Although no hallucinogenic carving has been found to date that shows the actual moment of decapitation, this may be deduced from the images of Complex Anthropomorphs holding the sacrifice objects. Likewise, we can infer that the Officiator(s) in the ceremony adopted the ritual kneeling posture to present the offering to a principal deity who is presently unknown. Núñez stressed the find made by Le Paige in Caspana as proof of the link between the rite of human sacrifice and trays for the inhalation of hallucinogens; this find was a collective tomb containing a child's head in a basket in the center, surrounded by the remains of 25 adults (Le Paige 1958:55, 1965:Plate 34; Núñez 1962:47). The suggestive aspect of the find was the presence in the funerary offering accompanying this sacrificed child of two trays, two spatulas, and a "plaited straw crown" (probably a typical Atacama cap *sensu* Agüero 2000). One of these trays (8973) was exceptional, round with two appendages on the frame in the form of two feline heads opposite one another, while the other (9160) was precisely the triad of our Figure 25.5c, one of the most beautiful examples of the Circum-Puna style.

Acknowledgments

I thank Agustín Llagostera (ex-director of Museo R. P. Gustavo Le Paige S. J., San Pedro de Atacama), Gabriela Carmona (archaeologist of Museo Francisco Fonck, Viña del Mar, during my visit in 2007), Pilar Alliende (Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago), and the late Francisco Téllez (ex-director of Museo Regional de Iquique) for having allowed me to analyze the material kept in their respective museums at different moments. I also thank Isabel Alvarado, deputy director of Museo Histórico Nacional, and Gregory Ortega, responsible for the archaeological collection of the same institution, for their kind collaboration; Myriam Tarragó for having helped me in all kinds of ways during my visits to the Museo Etnográfico Juan Bautista Ambrosetti in Buenos Aires, and the kindness of her colleagues Gabriela Ammirati, Alejandra Reynoso, and Fernando Veneroso; and my colleagues Nuriluz Hermosilla and Juan Chacama for having shared with me the results of their own research into the subject. I cannot fail to mention the friendly reception that I received in Tilcara at the hands of Clara Rivolta, director of the Instituto Interdisciplinario, and her colleagues Eli Aparicio and Armando Mendoza, as well as the helpful guidance by Mónica Montenegro, all of the Museo Arqueológico Dr. Eduardo Casanova, during a study visit that I made to various museums in northwestern Argentina. In Jujuy, my thanks are given to Beatriz Cremonte and Gabriela Ortiz of the Centro de Estudios Andinos (CREA), as well as Humberto Mamani of the Dirección de Cultura; Inés Pemberton, Heritage and Museums Coordinator of the Tourism and Culture Secretariat; Jorge Morales; Sebastián Peralta and Dina Piozzi of the Museo Arqueológico Provincial; and in Salta, Mirta Santoni, director of the Museo de Antropología. With each of them I established a fluid dialogue that enriched my stay in

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

the country. I must also acknowledge the generosity of my colleagues Pilar Alliende, Constantino Torres, José Pérez de Arce, Emily Stovel, Arturo Torres, Jorge Pavéz, Carolina Agüero, Germán Manríquez, and Valentina Figueroa, who—at different moments during my research—gave me bibliographic material and/or photographs that were of great assistance. I thank Constantino Torres particularly for his careful reading of an earlier version of this chapter and Christina Torres-Rouff for her English translation of the abstract of the present version. In the last phase of this study, I was able to use MECESUP Grant 0703 ("Strengthening and Internationalisation of Post-Graduate Studies with Academic Excellence in Anthropological Sciences"), of Universidad Católica del Norte, to study the hallucinogenic material excavated in the Atacama area by the expeditions of Créqui-Monfort and Sénéchal de la Grange, now in Musée du Quai Branly, Paris. This study visit would not have been possible without the institutional support of Paz Núñez-Regueiro, who was my official referee during my visit. My deep gratitude to them both. I must also state that this research was funded in part by Conicyt Anillo Associative Research Project ACT-96.

Abbreviations

MA	Museo de América, Madrid
MAI	Museum of the American Indian, New York
MASMA	Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa, Universidad de Tarapacá, Arica
MAVI	Museo de Artes Visuales, Santiago (ex Museo Arqueológico de Santiago)
MCHAP	Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago
MEJBA	Museo Etnográfico Juan Bautista Ambrosetti, Buenos Aires
MFONCK	Museo Corporación Francisco Fonck, Viña del Mar
MHN	Museo Histórico Nacional, Santiago
MMME	Museo Municipal de María Elena, Loa
MNHN	Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago
MRA	Museo Regional de Arica (now MASMA)
MRI	Museo Regional de Iquique
MSPA	Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Museo R. P. Gustavo Le Paige, Universidad Católica del Norte, San Pedro de Atacama

Notes

1 The material excavated at the same site by Emil de Bruyne in the 1960s is now in the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural de Santiago; it originally consisted of 173 artifacts, including 51 trays and 27 tubes (Hermosilla 2001:128). The most detailed analysis of this collection to date is by Alliende (1981). It is complemented and extended by Ayala et al. (1999) on the archaeological collection from Los Abuelos cemetery in the Museum of Caspana.

2 This group corresponds in part to the Type VI originally proposed by Krapovickas (1958–1959) and later adapted by Núñez (1963); it also corresponds to the "pre-Tiwanaku style" sketched by Llagostera in his 1995 work.

3 In Caspana for example, almost all the graves in Los Abuelos cemetery were found to contain tubes accompanying the trays (Alliende 1981; Hermosilla 2001)

4 As shown in Figure 25.1, the hard nucleus of the dispersion of this style is the Circum-Puna area, with sporadic presence in the far north of Chile (Arica, Iquique) and the Norte Chico or near north (Copiapó, Caldera).

5 In this case, we understand the tray to be a sort of small, flat wooden tray with (a) a rectangular, hyperboloid, or exceptionally oval or circular cavity, with a depression surrounded by a low frame to hold the hallucinogenic powder, and (b) a panel projecting from the frame, adjacent to this cavity, which could be decorated with incisions or carved to different depths, sometimes to the point where the carvings are volumetric and three-dimensional.

6 This author defines the simple human face as follows: "it is formed by the outline of the face, the eyebrows and the nose, all in continuous relief. The face appears on a lower plane" (Krapovickas 1958–1959:77).

7 Some of these attributes were first noticed by other researchers and mentioned in the related literature (Krapovickas 1958–1959; Núñez 1962, 1963, etc.). Mostny (1952, 1968–1969), Núñez (1964), and Latcham (1926) formulated definitions of the Sacrificer and his constant attributes based on material from the Norte Grande (far north) of Chile.

8 For the identification of the plant species used to induce hallucination, see Torres (1998), Torres et al. (1991), Pochettino et al. (1999), and Pérez Gollán and Gordillo (1993).

9 Note that in the case of Figure 25.5d, two volumes can be seen above the heads of the Simple Anthropomorphs that at first glance appear to be two more superimposed human heads, with no organic relation to the bodies; however, on closer examination, it can be seen that they are two birds (barn-owls?) perched on the heads of the flanking figures. Tray 12.941 of the Museo Histórico Nacional de Santiago presents the same composition with two birds perched on humans. The central figure—in this case a Complex Anthropomorph—presents a

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

feline mask at the height of the heads of the two Simple Anthropomorphs; this is the volumetric element that stands highest above the profile of the tray and is also worn at the center of the Sacrificer's breast. This serves here to emphasize the Sacrificer and his mask.

10 This act of "masking" by an anthropomorph with characteristics of the Sacrificer was proposed by Mostny (1968–1969) with reference to rock art images from the Rio Loa. He indicated the existence of a religious complex consisting of trays, tubes, and feline masks, with belief in a feline god professed by the inhabitants of the region. Núñez also argues in support of a feline god, to whom the "masked shaman" offered human sacrifices (Núñez 1962:49).

11 It may be noted that exactly the same Tiwanaku gesture of presenting the severed head is already observed in Pucara stone sculpture (Mujica 1991:Figure 219).

12 This horizontal zigzag appears to be as old as Pucara art, if we consider the evidence of Pucara monoliths (the Sacrificer of Puno [Paredes 1984]).

13 It must be said that the tray from Amahuaya, Bolivia, is an exception, since it presents signs of rectangular incrustations all around the frame of the tray, as well as incrustations of malachite, bronze, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and *Spondylus princeps*, which are still in situ in different details of the carved figure (Rendón 1999).

14 At this point, let me stress the exceptional character of Burial 5 of Chacance 2 in terms of the variety, quantity, and quality of objects that it contained; Agüero provides a detailed list of its contents, which included two other headdresses, a very unusual tunic using the tie-dye technique, and other funerary goods appropriate to the elite (Agüero 2007:137).

15 Of the material from the 35 tombs of Solor 3, Agüero (2000) reports 17 skin caps (48.5 percent) and two plush caps with ear-loops (6 percent); the 329 tombs of Catarpe 2 produced 59 skin caps (18 percent) compared to five plush caps, only one of which had ear-loops (1.5 percent). I have recently been able to investigate further into the presence of these plush caps in other cemeteries of the Atacama salt flats. It appears that Catarpe 5 presents four examples (from Tombs 2372–2374, 2381, and 2390); although these items cannot now be located, we have the very brief description from the notes of Le Paige, who does not mention that they had ear-loops.

16 I take the description of the sound as "shrill" from Pérez de Arce (1995, 2004). In his study on the acoustic quality of the pre-Hispanic Bolivian *ayarachi* (or *antara*), Gérard says that the intentional internal discontinuities of the tubes drilled in stone would have produced "multi-phonic, dissonant, strident, pulsing sounds," which presumably would have heightened the internal tension of the rite (Arnaud 2004).

References

Agüero, Carolina

2000 Fragmentos para armar un territorio. La textilería en Atacama durante los períodos Intermedio Tardío y Tardío. *Estudios Atacameños* 20:7–28.

2007 Los textiles de Pulacayo y las relaciones entre Tiwanaku y San Pedro de Atacama. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 12(1):85–98.

Alliende, Pilar

1981 La colección arqueológica "Emil de Bruyne" de Caspana. Tesis para optar a la licenciatura en Arqueología y Prehistoria. Departamento de Ciencias Sociológicas y Antropológicas, Facultad de Filosofía, Humanidades y Educación, Universidad de Chile.

Ambrosetti, J. Bautista

1908 *Exploraciones arqueológicas en la ciudad prehistórica de La Paya (valle Calchaquí, Provincia de Salta). Campañas de 1906–07. Primera y segunda parte*. Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Publicaciones de la Sección Antropología No. 3.

Angelo, Dante, and José Capriles

2004 La importancia de las plantas psicotrópicas para la economía de intercambio y relaciones de interacción en el altiplano sur andino. *Chungara* 36(2):1023–1035.

Arnaud, Gérard

2004 Interpretación acústica del ayarachi lítico "Yura" de los museos Charcas. Trabajo presentado en las Jornadas Arqueológicas 2004 de los Museos Universitarios Charcas, Universidad San Francisco Xavier de Chuquisaca. Sucre, Bolivia.

Ayala, Patricia, Omar Reyes, and Mauricio Uribe

1999 El cementerio de Los Abuelos de Caspana: el espacio mortuorio local durante el dominio del Tawantinsuyu. *Estudios Atacameños* 18:35–54.

Barón, A. Maria

1984 *Cráneos atacameños y su asociación con tabletas para alucinógenos. Simposio Culturas Atacameñas*. XLIV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Universidad del Norte, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, San Pedro de Atacama.

Berenguer, José

2007 *Gorros para el desierto*. Catálogo exhibición del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.

Boman, Eric

1908 *Antiquités de la région Andine de la Republique Argentine et du desert d´Atacama. Parts I and II. Imprimerie Nationale*, Paris.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Casanova, Eduardo
1946 The Cultures of the Puna and the Quebrada of Humahuaca. Bulletin 143. In *Handbook of South American Indians*, edited by Julian H. Steward, vol. 2, pp. 619–631. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
1950 *Restauración del Pucará*. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Antropología, Buenos Aires.

Durán, Eliana
2001 La representación del músico en el Complejo Alucinógeno: tres casos en la Colección Max Uhle. Revista Museos 25: 20-22, Santiago.

Durán, Eliana, M. Fernanda Kangiser, and Nieves Acevedo
2000 *Colección Max Uhle: expedición a Calama 1912*. Publicación Ocasional No. 56:5–49. Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago.

González, Alberto Rex
1977 *Arte precolombino de la Argentina. Introducción a su historia cultural*. Filmediciones Valero, Buenos Aires.
1992 *Las placas metálicas en los Andes del Sur. Contribución al estudio de las religiones precolombinas*. Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie des Deutschen Archëologischen Institut. T. 46, Bonn.

González, R. Alberto, and Marta I. Baldini
1991 Función y significado de un ceramio de la cultura La Aguada: ensayo de interpretación. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 5:23–52.

Hermosilla, Nuriluz
2001 The People of the Tumi, the Condor and the Jaguar. Psychoactive Plant Use in the Loa River Basin, Atacama Desert. *Eleusis* 5:123–136.

Horta T., Helena
2010 El señorío Arica y los reinos altiplánicos: complementariedad ecológica y multietnicidad durante los siglos pre-conquista en el norte de Chile (1000–1540 d.C.). Tesis doctoral inédita, Programa de Doctorado en Historia, mención Etnohistoria, Facultad Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad de Chile.

Izikowitz, Karl Gustav
1933 L'origine probable de la technique du simili-velours péruvien. *Journal de la Société des Americanistes* XXV:9–16.

Krapovickas, Pedro
1958–1959 *Arqueología de la Puna argentina*. Anales de Arqueología y Etnología, Tomos 14–15. Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Mendoza.

Lapiner, Alan
1976 *Precolumbian Art of South America*. Edited by Harry N. Abrams. Harry N. Abrams, New York.

Latcham, Ricardo
1926 El culto del tigre entre los antiguos pueblos andinos. *Revista Chilena de Historia Natural* XXX:125–136.
1938 *Arqueología de la región atacameña*. Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, Santiago.

Lehmann-Nitsche, Roberto
1902 *Catálogo de las antigüedades de la provincia de Jujuy*. Revista del Museo de La Plata, Tomo XI, La Plata.

Le Paige, Gustavo
1958 *Antiguas culturas atacameñas en la cordillera chilena (II Parte)*. Anales de la Universidad Católica de Valparaíso 4 y 5, Santiago.
1965 *San Pedro de Atacama y su zona (14 temas)*. Anales de la Universidad del Norte No. 4, Antofagasta.

Llagostera, Agustín
1995 Art in the Snuff Trays of the San Pedro de Atacama (Northern Chile). In *Andean Art: Visual Expression and Its Relations to Andean Beliefs and Values*, edited by Penny Dransart, pp. 51–77. Aldershot, Brookfield.
1996 San Pedro de Atacama: nodo de complementariedad reticular. In *Integración Surandina: Cinco siglos después*, edited by Xavier Albó, María Inés Arratia, Jorge Hidalgo, Lautaro Núñez, Agustín Llagostera, María Isabel Remy, and Bruno Revesz, pp. 17–42. Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas/ Corporación Norte Grande/Taller de Estudios Andinos/ Universidad Católica del Norte, Cuzco-Antofagasta.
2001 Archaeology of Hallucinogens in San Pedro de Atacama (North Chile). *Eleusis* 5:101–121.
2004 *Los antiguos habitantes del Salar de Atacama. Prehistoria Atacameña*. Biblioteca del Bicentenario, Pehuén Editores, Santiago de Chile.
2006a Contextualización e iconografía de las tabletas psicotrópicas tiwanaku de San Pedro de Atacama. *Chungara* 38(1):83–111.
2006b San Pedro de Atacama y el sistema reticular de interacción puneña. In *Esferas de Interacción Prehistóricas y Fronteras Nacionales Modernas: los Andes Sur Centrales*, edited by H. Lechtman, pp. 303–328. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos–Institute of Andean Research, Lima.

Llagostera, Agustín, and M. Antonieta Costa
1984 *Museo Arqueológico R. P. Gustavo Le Paige S. J.* Serie Patrimonial Ministerio de Educación Ministerio de Educación, Santiago.

Llagostera, Agustín, Constantino Torres, and M. Antonieta Costa
1988 El complejo psicotrópico en Solcor-3 (San Pedro de Atacama). *Estudios Atacameños* 9:61–98.

Looser, Gualterio
1926 Las tabletas para tomar rapé del Museo Nacional. *Revista Chilena de Historia* XXX:19–22.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Montenegro, Mónica
2002 Complejo alucinógeno e ideología: acerca del contexto simbólico de las tabletas para inhalación de sustancias psicoactivas de la Provincia de Jujuy, Argentina. Tesis inédita de Licenciatura en Antropología, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional de Jujuy.

Mostny, Grete
1952 Una tumba de Chiu Chiu. *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Historia Natural* XXVI:129–143.
1968–1969 Ideas mágico-religiosas de los "Atacamas." *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Historia Natural* XXX:129–143.

Mujica, Elías
1991 Pukara: una sociedad compleja temprana en la cuenca norte del Titicaca. In *Los Incas y el antiguo Perú: 3000 años de historia*, edited by Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario-Lunwerg S.A., pp. 272–297. Catálogo de exhibición del Centro Cultural de la Villa de Madrid. Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario-Lunwerg Editores S.A., Madrid.

Núñez, Lautaro
1961 Escultura antropomorfa prehispánica en el Norte de Chile. *Boletín* 26:56–60.
1962 Tallas prehispánicas en madera. Contribución a la arqueología del norte de Chile. Tesis de licenciatura para optar al título profesional de profesor en Historia, Geografía y Educación Cívica. Instituto Pedagógico, Facultad Filosofía y Educación, Universidad de Chile, Santiago.
1963 Problemas en torno a la tableta de rapé. *Anales de la Universidad del Norte* 2:149–168.
1964 *El sacrificador. Un elemento co-tradicional andino*. Noticiero Mensual Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, año 8, No. 96, Santiago.
1967 Informe arqueológico sobre una muestra de posible narcótico del sitio Patillos-1 (Provincia de Tarapacá, Norte de Chile). *Arstryck* 1967–1968:83–90.

Oyarzún, Aureliano
1971 [1931] Las tabletas y los tubos para preparar la paricá en Atacama. In *Estudios Antropológicos y arqueológicos*, compiled by M. R. Orellana, pp. 112–120. Editorial Universitaria, Santiago de Chile.

Paredes, Rolando
1984 El "degollador" (Nakaq) de Altarane, Puno. *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* 11:13.

Pérez de Arce, José
1982 *La música en el arte precolombino*. Catálogo de exhibición del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.
1995 *Música en la piedra. Música prehispánica y sus ecos en Chile actual*. Catálogo exhibición Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.
2004 Influencia musical de Tiwanaku en el norte de Chile: el caso del "siku" y de la "antara." In *Tiwanaku. Aproximaciones a sus contextos históricos y sociales*, compiled by Mario A. Rivera and Alan L. Kolata, pp. 193–220. Universidad Bolivariana, Colección Estudios Regionales, Santiago.

Pérez Gollán, José
1986 Iconografía religiosa andina en el noroeste argentino. *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* XV(3–4):61–72.

Pérez Gollán, José, and Inés Gordillo
1993 Alucinógenos y sociedades indígenas del noroeste argentino. *Anales de Antropología* 30:299–350.

Pochettino, M. Lelia, Alicia R. Cortella, and Marta Ruiz
1999 Hallucinogenic Snuff from Northwestern Argentina: Microscopical Identification of Anandenantheracolubrina var. cebil (Fabaceae) in Powdered Archaeological Material. *Economic Botany* 53(2):127–132.

Rendón, Pablo
2000 La tableta de rapé de Amaguaya. *Anales de la XII Reunión Anual de Etnología* 1:89–95.

Salas, Alberto
1945 *El antigal de Ciénaga Grande*. Publicaciones del Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Serie A, Volumen 5, Buenos Aires.

Tarragó, Myriam
1989 Contribución al conocimiento arqueológico de las poblaciones de los oasis de San Pedro de Atacama en relación con los otros pueblos puneños, en especial, el sector septentrional del valle Calchaquí. Tesis para optar al título de Doctor en Historia, Especialidad Antropología. Tomos I y II. Universidad Nacional de Rosario, Facultad de Humanidades y Artes.
2006 Espacios surandinos y la circulación de bienes en época de Tiwanaku. In *Esferas de Interacción Prehistóricas y Fronteras Nacionales Modernas: los Andes Sur Centrales*, edited by H. Lechtman, pp. 332–376. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos–Institute of Andean Research, Lima.

Thomas, Carlos W., and M. Antonia Benavente
1984 Reflexiones metodológicas acerca de las creencias en la cultura San Pedro a través del análisis de correspondencia de las tabletas de rapé. Simposio Culturas Atacameñas, 44º Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Manchester 1982, Inglaterra. Universidad del Norte, Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas R. P. Gustavo Le Paige S. J., San Pedro de Atacama.

Torres, Constantino
1983 Tabletas para alucinógenos de San Pedro de Atacama: estilo e iconografía. In *Tesoros de San Pedro de Atacama*. Catálogo exhibición Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

1984 Iconografía de las tabletas para inhalar sustancias psicoactivas de la zona de San Pedro de Atacama, norte de Chile. *Estudios Atacameños* 7:178–196.

1986 Tabletas para alucinógenos en Sudamérica: tipología, distribución y rutas de difusión. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 1:37–53.

1987a *The Iconography of South American snuff trays and Related Paraphernalia*. Etnologiska Studier 37, Etnografiska Museet, Goteborg.

1987b The Iconography of the Prehispanic Snuff Trays from San Pedro de Atacama, Northern Chile. *Andean Past* 1:191–254.

1998 Psychoactive Substances in the Archaeology of Northern Chile and NW Argentina. *Chungara* 30:49–63.

2001a Iconografía Tiwanaku en la parafernalia inhalatoria. *Boletín PUCP* 5:247–454.

2001b Shamanic Inebriants in South America Archaeology: Recent Investigations. *Eleusis* 5:3–12.

Torres, Constantino, D. B. Repke, K. Chan, D. Mackenna, A. Llagostera, and R. E. Schultes

1991 Snuff Powders from Pre-Hispanic San Pedro de Atacama: Chemical and Contextual Analysis.

Torres, Constantino, and William Conklin

1995 Exploring the San Pedro de Atacama/Tihuanaku Relationship. In *Andean Art: Visual Expression and His Relation to Andean Beliefs and Values*, edited by Penny Dransart, pp. 79–108. Worldwide Archaeology Series, Vol. 13. Aldershot, Avebury.

Uhle, Max

1913 Tabletas de Chiu Chiu. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* VIII:454–457.

1915 Los tubos y tabletas para rapé de Chile. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* XVI:114–136.

Von Rosen, Eric

1924 *Popular Account of Archaeological Research during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera—Expedition 1901–1902*. Stockholm C. E. Fritze, Estocolmo, Suecia.

Wassén, Henry

1965 *The Use of Some Specific Kinds of South American Indian Snuff and Related Paraphernalia*. Etnoliska Studier 28, Etnografiska Museet, Goteborg.

1972 *A Medicine Man's Implements and Plants in a Tiahuanaco Tomb in Highland Bolivia*. Etnologiska Studier 32, Etnografiska Museet, Goteborg.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Chapter 26

Conclusion

SAIS and the Study of Southern Andean Prehistory

William H. Isbell

The chapters in this volume demonstrate that as complex society developed in the southern Andes—an area embracing far southern Peru, western Bolivia, northern Chile, and northwestern Argentina (Figures 14.1 and 15.1)—extensive cultural interaction took place, at least from the beginning of the Common Era. The vast expanse of high desert, precipitous sierras, and arid valleys that seem to constitute such a formidable barrier to human travel appear instead to have provided a medium for long-distance llama caravans. Rather like the waters of the ancient eastern Mediterranean or the nineteenth-century Massim archipelago of Papua New Guinea, these apparent barriers actually promoted multisited identities by fostering intersettlement communication over great distances. These international identities were materialized in ornaments, clothing, ceramics, and other artifacts of quotidian but especially ceremonial life that circulated throughout the interaction sphere. Some objects and their meanings contributed to shared senses of affiliation. Others, especially rare exotic goods with imposing biographies, appear to have promoted social difference, personal power, and inequality. What and how did long-distance transactions contribute to the south Andean past and its cultural evolutionary processes? Do these experiences parallel developments of societal complexity in other archaic civilizations, or are they peculiarly Andean?

The SAIS, the Southern Andean Iconographic Series, was one of the most prominent and important material cultural complexes that circulated through the southern Andes, enduring almost two millennia. It divides naturally into two great phases: Early SAIS was characterized by Rayed Head imagery—one of the three primary icons of the later phase. Originating in the Lake Titicaca Basin, this symbolic system materialized the first multicommunity organization. It endured from about 800 BC until as late as AD 500 to 750 in at least the southern Lake Titicaca Basin. During this time, political organization expanded from the early village confederations to first-generation states. Furthermore, in the final centuries of Early SAIS iconography, antecedents for Profile Attendants and the Staff God appeared, the other primary icons of the Late SAIS triadic pantheon. However, these new antecedent figures were limited to a few of the cultural styles and still lacked important attributes diagnostic of late phase imagery.

The Late SAIS began with the formalization of the triadic pantheon, consisting of distinctively depicted Staff God, Profile Attendant(s), and Rayed Head. On at least some objects, all three appear together, confirming their separate identities as well as their association in a hierarchical structure. This supernatural pantheon lasted until AD 1000 or 1100, and early in its tenure, two first-generation states became expansionist empires. Tiahuanaco and Huari emerged as great capitals of Late

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

SAIS art, religion, and political power. Much of the old southern interaction sphere came under the influence of Tiahuanaco, a center of such eminence that modern archaeologists sometimes confound the city with the entire ancient interaction sphere.

Late SAIS spread beyond the southern region of interaction for the first time, appearing in Peru's central highland Ayacucho Valley, 750 km north of the altiplano capital. Adopted at the imperial center of Huari and its second city of Conchopata, almost as soon as the triadic pantheon was formalized at Tiahuanaco, Late SAIS subsequently spread as far north as Cajamarca in the highlands and Piura on the coast. This new cosmology may represent the religious ideology of imperialism. Gregory Areshian (2013a:9) affirms that most empires share "an ideology of world domination without frontiers and with the declared goal of establishing a perpetual peace and world order." Also significantly, and for the first time, a culture from the southern Andes overwhelmed the nations of the central Andes.

Archaeological understandings of cultural interactions in the southern Andean sphere are complex and varied but have traditionally privileged the altiplano and assumed the long-term hegemony of Tiahuanaco—beginning as early as AD 300 (Rivera 2008). Theoretical models have been proposed to explain the appearance of exotic and sometimes impressive objects in the graves of remote cemeteries from small communities in northern Chile and northwestern Argentina. Chile's dry Atacama Desert especially favors the survival of clothing, basketry, headdresses, and carved wood, along with more durable pottery and precious metals, that exquisitely document distant origins and complex biographies in the techniques, materials, and elaborate styles of select mortuary objects. Some archaeologists inferred that the complex material culture from peripheral cemeteries testified to Tiahuanaco imperialism, constituted by intrusive colonies and provincial administrations throughout much of the vast south. Imperial organization implies at least a few Tiahuanaco elites in the peripheral cemeteries who should be distinguishable by their impressive, heartland goods (Goldstein 1993; Goldstein and Owen 2002; Kolata 1993; Oakland Rodman 1992). However, numerous archaeologists prefer explanations that do not require full-fledged Tiwanaku imperialism, and many favor an Andean ethnohistorical model formulated by John Murra (1972, 1975, 1985a, 1985b), which argues that highland Andean economies were based on ecological complementarity organized by principles of reciprocity, not imperial power.

Murra's model of ecological complementarity asserts that highland ethnic capitals struggled to maintain specialized colonial settlements exploiting distant and complementary resources so diverse products could be redistributed to ensure self-sufficient survival of the entire corporate community—conceptualized as descent based. Accepting the political hegemony of urban Tiahuanaco, archaeologists seeking to account for the complex distribution of exotic grave goods defined limitations and opportunities in the arid south Andean environment, employed ethnographic descriptions of Andean kin groups known as *ayllu*, and inferred a unifying power from highland religious ideology, especially Staff God religion of the Late SAIS centered at Tiahuanaco. Combining these with the transport potential of llama caravanning, a series of distinct but related explanatory models have been proposed (Berenguer 1998, 2004; Browman 1980, 1984, 1997; Nielsen 2001; Núñez and Dillehay 1978). Some of the explanations assume core-periphery relations between a dominant capital and heartland that regulated more passive and receptive communities at the margin.

Core-periphery relations resonate with archaeological goals that emphasize comparison and seek generalizations, especially processual archaeology. Alternatively, many current scholars studying the southern Andes emphasize agency, special interests, and negotiated outcomes among prehistoric players who were more equal. Taking into account environmental and cultural specifics of local and regional contexts, their focus is on the creativity and originality of social outcomes, consistent with interpretive archaeology. "Andean" solutions are often preferred, stimulated by analogies from Andean ethnohistory and ethnography—especially variations of John Murra's model. Unfortunately, this particularistic emphasis in Andean prehistory makes it difficult to conceptualize the development of South American civilization in relation to other archaic civilizations and general cultural processes. Was the southern Andes unique in its complex history of interaction, or was intensive interaction a process shared with other areas of early complex society? Archaeological research in the southern Andes must take advantage of the best methods and goals of both processual and interpretive archaeology to gain the fullest comprehension of the past. What insights, comparative understandings, and more sophisticated questions can be asked of Andean culture based on its similarities and differences with other cases of ancient civilization? What approaches and methods can Andean prehistorians learn from colleagues experienced in other world areas? Do any cultural institutions—like market

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

exchange, or its absence—shape ancient cultural processes in discernible ways?

Parkinson and Galaty (2010:11–18), who specialize in the archaeology of interaction among archaic states, recommend an eclectic approach to cultural complexity that, on one hand, promotes generalizing as well as comparative understandings while, on the other, ensures accurate, culture-historic particulars. To promote comparability, they emphasize the importance of estimating the intensity of interactive influence on units of social integration at three different demographic scales (polities, settlements, households). They also recommend three scales of time and space: the macro-scale involves interregional interactions between polities or sets of polities that may or may not be units of similar magnitude over periods of hundreds or thousands of years. The intermediate scale involves intraregional activities among social units of the community and polity range and involves time periods of a few generations to a century or two. Micro-scale studies of social interaction examine households and settlements, with a time scale of years to a few generations.

Many of this volume's authors deal implicitly with interaction on one or more of these scales but without explicitly recognizing or exploring the potential implications, especially in terms of general models for social and political organization that have been examined in other areas of archaic civilization. At the macro-scale advocated by Parkinson and Galaty (2010), world systems analysis (Kardulias 2010:54) has been productive as an interpretive model, although in cases where the power differentials predicted for world systems are not apparent, peer polities (Renfrew 1975, 1986) analysis may be more suitable. A potentially regular process associated with world systems studies is described by distance parity models. They assert that power exercised by a core over a periphery decays with distance, probably even including the promotion of transportation and communication technologies. Distance parity may account for a "negotiated periphery" in which peripheral social units control conditions of exchange (Kardulias 2007), as opposed to "incorporation," in which core social units manage the interaction (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991).

Macro-scale interaction that does not involve state institutions may be explored in terms of Abner Cohen's (1969) trade diaspora model. Cohen studied Hausa merchants who established residential and business enclaves in cities across modern West Africa, far from their northern Nigerian homeland. Since the nineteenth century, this ethnic group has managed a vast network of trade in cattle and kola nuts essentially without governmental involvement. Ethnically based merchant groups are also known in archaic civilizations—Aztec *Pochteca* (Hassig 1998), Mesopotemian *dam-gar* (Adams 1966, 1974), and Ecuadorian *mindalae* (Salomon 1986), for example. Paul Goldstein (2005 and Chapter 9, this volume) employs a variation on the trade diaspora model to interpret Tiwanaku-style remains in the south Andean coastal Moquegua Valley, although he draws on the ethnography and ethnohistory of complementarity, developed by Murra (1972, 1975), rather than a trade model.

The long-term study of political and economic interaction may benefit from Marcus's (1998) dynamic model for cycles of consolidation, expansion, and collapse, as centers of authority expand and contract relative to previously autonomous areas. In particular, this model avoids some ideal political types in favor of changes over a long cycle. It also circumvents the pristine-/secondary-states opposition, recognizing instead first-generation, second-generation, and third-generation states in accord with the chronology of the particular region of study. Scholars have employed similar models for recognizing long-term variation for chiefdoms (Anderson 1990) and tribal societies (Parkinson 2002). These approaches offer important tools for study of the southern Andes, where dialogue with Chavin and central Andean processes should be explored.

Writing from an eastern Mediterranean perspective, Parkinson and Galaty (2010:14–15) argue that epigraphic and literary information, such as the Amarna letters that record elite gift exchanges throughout Egypt and the Levant, are especially relevant to macro-scale analyses. Unfortunately, the Andean world offers neither literary records nor epigraphy, but the shared triadic pantheon of Staff God, Profile Attendant(s), and Rayed Head is compelling evidence for transaction of remarkable fidelity between the religious elites of two capitals. Was an imperial religions ideology worked out by both Tiahuanaco and Huari, along with official representational symbols, early in the Middle Horizon (MH), as Isbell (Chapter 15, this volume) suggests? Similarly, very specific duplications, such as the Staff God on the Ponce monolith, and the Staff God on giant jars at Conchopata, imply close relations between the elites of the Tiahuanaco and Huari realms, which may imply gifting of ceremonial objects such as items of clothing or vessels for drinking ritual toasts.

While epigraphy is absent in the Andes, it does seem that there is more information to be read in SAIS iconography than archaeologists have realized. Patricia

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Knobloch (2000) has decoded one small symbol, identifying the *Anadenanthera* "glyph," that seems to have been shared—with minor variations—by all Late SAIS traditions. Pärssinen (Chapter 22, this volume) shows that the systematic logic of at least some of Tiwanaku's heartland iconography may be worked out employing ethnographic and ethnohistoric analogies. However, Torres (Chapter 11, this volume) demonstrates that the MH system for minor symbols was not universal. Different iconographic logics seem to have ruled in at least Tiahuanaco and San Pedro de Atacama. The next question to ask is whether the early SAIS art of Huari is sufficiently similar to Tiahuanaco to imply that both communicated with the same system of mnemonic symbols. If Makowski (Chapter 21, this volume) is correct about an elite Wari ceramic style created by Tiahuanaco-trained artisans, the answer must be yes. Significantly, there is remarkably similarity in the Staff Gods of the Ponce monolith and the Conchopata 1977 offering jars (Isbell, Chapter 15, this volume)—but are the logical systems of lesser symbols consistent? Specifically oriented research is called for.

Sourcing studies provide a major tool for macro- as well as micro-scale analyses of interaction. In the southern Andes, lithic sourcing as well as ceramics studies combining style and chemistry document long-distance interaction as well as workshop specialization (Lizzari 2010; Stovel and Deibel, Chapter 12, this volume). Stable isotope analysis is helping to resolve longstanding questions about trophy/severed heads (Tung 2012; Tung and Knudson 2008, 2010), demonstrating that at least a majority of the tiny sample of skulls tested so far did not come from the place where the cranium was found. The decapitated were outsiders. The appearance of new equipment, like portable X-ray diffraction machines, means that source studies of various kinds will soon become more practical, despite some technical limitations. A new era of archaeology based on laboratory science can be anticipated.

At the intermediate scale, Parkinson and Galaty (2010) recommend the peer polities model, especially its early state modules as trial organizational units (Renfrew 1975) at the local or regional level. Baines and Yoffee's (1998, 2000) model of high culture, which emphasizes the production and consumption of aesthetic objects controlled by elites, is also attractive and resonates with early peer polities. Exchange of elite goods is also consistent with some of the interactions described by chapter authors in this volume. A peer polity interaction approach, combined with the high culture idea, referred to by Parkinson and Galaty (2010:17) as "emergent high culture," may be especially useful for tracking changes in social interaction associated with the emergence of intensive peer polity exchange and processes leading to the promotion of elite authority through shared sets of symbols. Impressive gold flagons described by Tarragó (Chapter 14, this volume) come to mind. Exploratory interpretations of the SAIS, especially its component themes and symbols, using the peer polity and "emergent high culture" concept promise valuable insights.

Micro-scale social interaction studies employ models that include feasting and conspicuous consumption (Dietler 2001, 2003; Hayden 1995), staple finance and wealth finance (Brumfiel and Earle 1987; D'Altroy and Earle 1985), agent-based aggrandizing (Clark and Blake 1994), and perhaps the dual-process model proposed by Blanton et al. (1996). Feasting and conspicuous consumption models have already provided important insights into prehistoric Andean cultures (Bray 2003a, 2003b; Cook and Benco 2001; Cook and Glowacki 2003; Gero 1992; Isbell and Groleau 2010; Jennings and Boswer 2009; Swenson 2006; Vaughn 2004), and other models may prove equally enlightening. However, many archaeologists working at the micro-scale in the Andes place too much faith in the *ayllu* as the universal and timeless small-scale social unit of the Andean past. The ethnographic and ethnohistoric *ayllu* is poorly understood. It was profoundly affected under Spanish and perhaps even Inca rule. It is easily conceptualized to operate in almost any model. I suggest that archaeologists explore cross-cultural social units for a change. They should also interrogate architectural and spatial information from Andean habitation remains for what they can tell us about coresidential groups (Bawden 1982; Isbell 1996; Nash 2009) before accepting the *ayllu* as the universal prehistoric micro-scale social unit of the Andes.

Study of the SAIS can benefit from explicit approaches, exploring the social scales and research models pioneered in the archaeology of other world civilizations, as discussed above. Furthermore, knowledge of the SAIS and southern Andean interaction sphere has increased immensely with the contributions in this volume. A conclusion based on highlights from each provides a remarkable narrative of the SAIS in the southern Andean past.

Sergio Chávez (Chapter 2, this volume) shows that the roots of Tiahuanaco's iconography and ritual architecture lie not at a precocious type site but distributed among a large number of small agropastoral communities throughout the Lake Titicaca region. Named the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition for its supernatural imagery roughly sculpted on large stones, earliest

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Tiahuanaco appears to have been but one of many settlements engaged in Yaya-Mama rituals between 800 and 200 BC. Nothing distinguished it as a leader. When a regional capital emerged within this Yaya-Mama interaction sphere around 200 BC, it was in the northern altiplano, at a place called Pucara. Apparently, however, Tiahuanaco and Khonkho Wankane became closely related twin centers in the southern altiplano several centuries later (Janusek and Ohnstad, Chapter 4, this volume). Cultural interaction, rather than a singular precocious center, continued as a key feature of southern Andean cultural complexity throughout the SAIS era.

While Yaya-Mama art included only one SAIS image (the Rayed Head), the art of Pucara depicted several new themes that are obvious antecedents for later SAIS figures. Pucara's ascendency within the Yaya-Mama sphere may relate to its location on an important ecotone, but more symbolically, it lies against an immense red rock outcrop that from a distance looks like a reclining puma. Given the importance of felines in Andean religion, it seems likely that the Pucara rock had been sacred for generations, and as the population grew and intercommunity interaction promoted larger, more elaborate gatherings, the feline rock was honored with rituals and feasts. Ceremonial spaces and temple buildings were constructed, social inequality and specialization intensified, and a Yaya-Mama regional capital emerged as a religious pilgrimage center (Klarich and Chávez Justo, Chapter 3, this volume).

It now seems indisputable that the triadic pantheon of SAIS art—Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant, which grace so much Tiahuanaco sculpture—did not develop gradually at the type site, where it is not particularly early. Janusek and Ohnstad (Chapter 4, this volume) propose a four-phase seriation of stone sculptures for the south altiplano, seeking to distinguish a subregional variant of the broader Yaya-Mama style. Their focus is on the sites of Khonkho Wankane and Tiahuanaco, neighboring, apparently twin ritual centers on exactly the same longitude but opposite sides of a high range of altiplano hills. Sculpture, especially monolithic human figures, experienced gradual evolution in form, increasingly progressive in "rectilinearity" and "empanelment." The sequence proposed on this basis seems convincing, and other than the Rayed Head, which had been part of Yaya-Mama art from the beginning, there is no hint of SAIS images such as the Staff God and Profile Attendant, until the final phase of sculptural evolution. Formalization of the triadic pantheon took place at Tiahuanaco alone, as it eclipsed its old twin and the Yaya-Mama style disappeared. Adoption of two new images and their formalization into the triadic pantheon were apparently quick and late at Tiahuanaco, probably not before Tiwanaku 1 (Ponce's Tiwanaku IV), which probably began no earlier than AD 600 to 750.

Of course, the Rayed Head was the earliest of the SAIS images, experiencing a very broad distribution throughout the southern Andes. Intuitively, its form suggests the sun, perhaps documenting an emphasis on solar worship among early agropastoral communities of the south. Ann Peters (Chapter 5, this volume) carefully documents the chronology, distribution, and styles of Rayed Head imagery in Paracas textiles, as well as other early southern cultures and media, arguing that the common but variable theme does not represent a horizon style with a unified system of meaning. Rather, the broadly distributed Rayed Heads probably represent an old and loosely shared tradition among agropastoral peoples who had been interacting with one another for generations throughout the southern Andes, where mobility was a way of life.

Once Tiahuanaco is discarded as the precocious center where the SAIS imagery, especially the Staff God, developed evolutionarily into the triadic pantheon of MH times, archaeologists are obliged to explore alternative social processes throughout the south Andean past. But this depends on accurate archaeological facts from numerous international areas that participated in the great southern interaction sphere. What are the relevant artifacts and what do they look like? How frequent are they, and what were they associated with? What do they date? Determining these key data is prerequisite for theorizing social processes involved in the appearance and development of SAIS art, the triadic pantheon, and cultural complexity in the south.

Textiles and textile imagery have been underused in interpreting Andean prehistory, especially the development of the SAIS, argues Joerg Haeberli (Chapter 6, this volume). A suite of original atomic mass spectrometer (AMS) dates from woven fibers that constructed SAIS images provides an exceptionally reliable new absolute chronology, especially when combined with other radiocarbon assays. Based on these data, Haeberli concludes that the Staff God and triadic pantheon were more or less simultaneously adopted at altiplano Tiahuanaco and Ayacucho's Huari/Conchopata probably between about cal. AD 700 and 800. This means that archaeologists must search for the imagery from which the two descend, for neither center appears to include the immediately antecedent art.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Pucara art was an important intermediate step toward the triadic pantheon, but it remained very much Yaya-Mama in content. Significantly closer to triadic pantheon SAIS is what Haeberli (2002 and Chapter 6, this volume) has named Provincial Pucara, which is currently known only from textiles.

Provincial Pucara imagery depicts supernatural figures related to altiplano Pucara representations, in which a Rayed Head appears along with prototypes for a profile personage with staff and a front-face figure with outstretched arms that each grasp an object. But in altiplano Pucara art, clothing identifies the front-face figure as female, and none of the themes appears with any of the others in a manner that would imply a hierarchically organized pantheon. This important structural change seems to have occurred first in Provincial Pucara textiles. Centrally placed, on a three-step pyramid, is the Rayed Head. To left and right are smaller profile figures, human and animal, that hold an object in front of their body, like Profile Attendants. One especially spectacular Provincial Pucara shirt, the Gateway Tunic, shows front-face figures holding staffs. These are apparently still females to judge from their garments, but they are the best currently known antecedents for the later Staff God.

A convincing corpus of dates for Provincial Pucara-style weavings shows that they were in production between AD cal. 35 and 545 (Haeberli, Chapter 6, this volume). However, this leaves a significant hiatus—temporal and stylistic—between Provincial Pucara iconography and the figures (and composition) of the triadic pantheon at both Tiahuanaco and Huari. Haeberli postulates a "Missing Link" style, or styles, that must fill this hiatus, and he painstakingly describes the candidates he has identified in a Herculean search throughout the southern Andes, along with radiocarbon dates that establish a chronology for the critical iconographic development. Significantly, the distribution of "Missing Link" SAIS art is spotty and never seems to have been focused within a regional culture or center. Again the implication is that societal processes driving religious and iconographic changes continued to be embedded in long-distance interaction instead of single cultural capitals.

Some scholars have classified Provincial Pucara textiles as Early Tiwanaku art, arguing that they document the gradual (and precocious) development of SAIS art at the great type site. However, this is not convincing. No Provincial Pucara weavings have been discovered by archaeologists in situ, so provenience remains a mystery. Nonetheless, reports collected by Haeberli (2002) indicate that the weavings come from coastal Arequipa and probably the Siguas and neighboring valleys—which were never Tiwanaku territory. Furthermore, several of the figures wear headdresses consistent with anthropomorphic sculptures from the northern altiplano, Pucara region. Finally, Tiwanaku tunics have always been distinguished by vertical stripes that often consist of tapestry images in carefully planned patterns of alternation. This contrasts sharply with the organization and techniques of decoration on Provincial Pucara garments. Hopefully, future research will provide more information about the Provincial Pucara style, but at present it is best understood as an Arequipa coastal variant that shared much with highland Pucara art but was never identical. Indeed, Provincial Pucara weavings seem to represent a hierarchically structured pantheon, with the disembodied Rayed Head (perhaps a sun image) at the apex, who was associated with various profile and front-face figures that seem to represent subservient beings. Provincial Pucara is consequently the best antecedent for the SAIS triadic pantheon that appeared several centuries later at both Tiahuanaco and Huari, but in Haeberli's (Chapter 6, this volume) judgment, it was not the immediate antecedent.

Denial of precocious Tiahuanaco origins for the SAIS triadic pantheon certainly is not intended to denigrate the spectacular, monumental capital and its remarkable heartland culture. Documenting one of the marvels of Tiahuanaco's ancient art is the discovery and description of beautifully sculptured and polychrome painted ceramics from the island of Pariti, by Antti Korpisaari (Chapter 7, this volume). No workshops for the production of fine pottery have been discovered by archaeologists at the Tiahuanaco capital, but these vessels certainly entail their ancient existence. These ceramics are artistically and technically outstanding, including well-known Tiwanaku shapes and decorations as well as a host of completely new and unexpected forms and designs. Some are so distinctive that archaeologists have no idea how they were used, although it seems apparent that this remarkable pottery performed in completely unanticipated ritual activities, which obviously differed significantly from popular inferences about ceremonial processions through monumental Tiwanaku buildings. Archaeological context shows that inside a restricted hall that was part of a larger building, two narrow pits were dug through the floor and the smashed remains of dozens of amazing ceramic vessels were dumped into the pair. Since some fragments of the same vessels were found in both pits, these apparent offerings seem to represent a single event, and probably all belong to one moment as well. As such, this is a most amazing corpus

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

of Tiwanaku art, all associated with a particular time and ritual. It provides material for years of interpretive inferences. Among the surprises are five relatively late radiocarbon dates that confirm the interment to have taken place about AD 1000. Given that most of the pottery belongs to the early heartland ceramic style (the Tiwanaku 1 phase of Janusek or Tiwanaku IV of Ponce), the material represents another but very compelling nail in the coffin of the long-debated two-phase Tiwanaku ceramic chronology.

Tiahuanaco did not develop the SAIS triadic pantheon in situ and then diffuse it to receptive communities located in sparse peripheries, but that does not mean that the city did not colonize distant places, behaving like an empire. One region where the nature of Tiwanaku presence has been debated for decades is the expansive eastern Cochabamba Valley, an area famous for maize production and for *chicha* beer brewed from the local corn. When Wendell Bennett (1936) investigated Tiwanaku in the Cochabamba Valley, he concluded that a Tiwanaku-influenced pottery style had become popular, but these ceramics were so distinctive that he called them Derived Tiahuanaco. Such obvious differences implied that despite interactions with the altiplano city, the Cochabamba style was too different to imply actual colonization or direct exchange. Years later, Higueras-Hare (1996) conducted a regional survey in one section of the Cochabamba Valley complex and concluded again that Tiahuanaco did not colonize or directly occupy the region. However, Karen Anderson's (Chapter 8, this volume) impressive interrogation of Tiwanaku ceramics from Cochabamba's sites of Piñami and Quillacollo reaches a different conclusion. Her systematic comparison of heartland altiplano pottery samples with Cochabamba pottery convinces her that the Piñami and Quillacollo vessels are no more "derived" than numerous ceramic assemblages from heartland settlements, including Tiahuanaco itself. Cochabamba potters must have been Tiahuanaco trained, so they were either immigrants or taught by immigrants. Of course, not all MH ceramics from Cochabamba—a complex of several large valley areas—are so distinctively heartland Tiwanaku, but it seems likely that a significant complement of altiplano people established themselves in Cochabamba, almost surely as a colony of some kind. Hopefully, more research will clarify the nature of this immigration, but it seems that Anderson resolves the debate about Tiwanaku in Cochabamba. Although it is not clear how political relations between the Cochabamba province and the Tiahuanaco capital worked, the relationship appears to represent a case of colonial immigration best understood as some kind of Tiahuanaco imperialism (see Areshian 2013b).

Tiahuanaco imperialism is also apparent on the opposite side of the Andes where artifacts and other remains consistent with heartland culture appear in the Pacific coastal Moquegua Valley. Paul Goldstein (Chapter 9, this volume) affirms that altiplano settlers colonized the middle valley to farm maize, much of it to be caravanned to the highlands for consumption in the distant capital. Social identity, he suggests, coalesced around long-distance interactions rather than shared residence in a home territory—although he also argues that the highland immigrants continued to express identities based on their places of origin. Following currently popular thinking about social dynamics in societies experiencing the intensification of inequality, Goldstein believes that coastal corn was brewed into *chicha* beer for ceremonial feasts at Tiahuanaco. Quite innovatively and a bit speculatively, he infers that such intense emphasis on feasting rituals represents the emergence of a new patrimonial cult glorifying elite males that began at the onset of the Tiwanaku 1 era. This in turn relates to numerous other cultural changes, including colonization on the coast, as well as preferences for new ceramic forms and decorations. But most apparently, the singularity of male imagery in the fancy new ceramic art documents the ascent of men and masculine power in Tiwanaku society.

Goldstein also suggests the rise of a women's cult in Tiwanaku but expressed in simple utilitarian ceramics, perhaps in resistance to the increasing power of masculine ritualization. To the degree that Goldstein's inferences about gender in Tiahuanaco are correct, they represent a departure from Andean gender complementarity that appears to have been strongly expressed in the art of the earlier Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition. Furthermore, the spectacular pottery from the island of Pariti includes several exquisite sculptures of women (Korpisaari, Chapter 7, this volume; Pärssinen, Chapter 22, this volume) whose appearance in the amazing offering suggests that at least some women were highly respected participants in key ceremonial activities. Certainly, issues of gender require more investigation (Burkholder, Chapter 20, this volume), representing as they do important social domains that surely influenced cultural changes associated with the SAIS, as well as Tiahuanaco's ascendency throughout the southern Andes. Tiahuanaco imperialism is now convincingly documented in several peripheral regions of the southern Andes, but empire and colonization cannot explain

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

all cases of Tiwanaku influences in remoter southern settlements. Indeed, Carolina Agüero and Mauricio Uribe (Chapter 10, this volume) argue that no single model of interaction adequately accounts for all the variation in material remains—unfortunately limited primarily to mortuary contexts—coming from different locations throughout the southern Andes. In the past, interpretations of Tiwanaku-style artifacts in peripheral cemeteries were very altiplano centric, based on the inference that Tiahuanaco colonists employed Tiwanaku-style goods to express and maintain their altiplano identities, even when living far from home. Furthermore, diversity among the goods accompanying different interments in the cemeteries of northern Chile seemed consistent with John Murra's (1972, 1975) model of multizonal ecological complementarity, which postulated ethnic diversity in special-function peripheral settlements. But careful analysis of mortuary goods from the Tarapacá region of northern Chile shows that there are very few heartland Tiahuanaco goods—certainly not enough for an immigrant population to maintain a traditional identity by displaying heartland goods. Furthermore, the kinds of goods vary from one cemetery to another and are more often culturally hybridized artifacts than traditional heartland objects. Interaction with Tiahuanaco must have differed from community to community throughout this southern Andes area.

Agüero and Uribe's (Chapter 10, this volume) argument that different kinds of experiences characterized the Chilean oases-community's relations with Tiahuanaco seems to be demonstrated or at least supported by other volume chapters. Constantino Torres (Chapter 11, this volume) compares elements composing Tiahuanaco and San Pedro de Atacama SAIS art to show that both employ the same symbols, but these symbols were not combined in the same ways. Apparently, SAIS was not a single, unified system of representation that followed Tiahuanaco orthodoxy. Furthermore, some figures of the SAIS triadic pantheon in San Pedro de Atacama seem to have predated their appearance at Tiahuanaco.

Emily Stovel and Michael Deibel (Chapter 12, this volume) agree that Tiwanaku influences in San Pedro de Atacama have been exaggerated and misunderstood. Their chemical study of prehistoric San Pedro de Atacama pottery is surprising for its focus on residential remains, not mortuary ceramics. Analyses of chemical composition were intended to test a long-popular interpretation of relations with Tiahuanaco. If local residents sought to promote their own status by displaying Tiahuanaco-associated pottery, such as Negro Pulido ceramics that appear to have been emblematic in graves, then these specialized artifacts should be more or less as frequent and as distinctive in residential remains as in the cemeteries. But habitation refuse does not confirm expectations. Stovel and Deibel conclude that the intensity and probably the significance of Tiwanaku-style objects in the quotidian life of San Pedro de Atacama's inhabitants have been overestimated. Relations with Tiwanaku remain inadequately understood.

Demonstration that relations between Tiahuanaco and the communities of northern Chile were complex and anything but uniform has important but confusing implications for the SAIS. Torres (Chapter 11, this volume) accepts chronology based on thermoluminescence and cross-dating that dates at least some SAIS images on hallucinogenic snuff paraphernalia in San Pedro earlier than its appearance at Tiahuanaco, while Isbell and Knobloch (2006, 2009) point out that the Profile Attendant may have had its earliest appearance in the shamanic snuff kits of San Pedro de Atacama. However, there is reason for reserve about the north Chile chronology, proposed dates, and assignments of specific SAIS images to particular times in the past. Recognizing the importance of a more secure chronology, Christina Torres-Rouff and Mark Hubbe (Chapter 13, this volume) have run 50 new AMS dates on samples of human bone from San Pedro de Atacama graves. They are developing an entirely new and vastly more reliable chronology. Among the newly dated graves, 14 pertain to the period of Tiwanaku influence. Only two of the graves dated have SAIS imagery, but these and the general suite Tiwanaku phase dates are consistent with dating at least some SAIS figures of the triadic pantheon somewhat earlier in San Pedro than the beginning of the Tiwanaku 1 (Tiwanaku IV) period at the altiplano capital. In the near future, as analyses of the new dates and their relevance for tomb, cemetery, and regional chronology are worked out, temporal relations across the southern Andes will be greatly clarified. In the meantime, it seems that Torres-Rouff and Hubbe's (Chapter 13, this volume) new dates support the argument that SAIS triadic pantheon images—especially the Profile Attendant—appeared on San Pedro de Atacama snuff tablets before they became popular in the stone sculpture of Tiahuanaco.

Excessive aridity of the northern Chilean and the far southern Peruvian coasts promotes preservation of wooden snuff paraphernalia, fancy textiles, basketry, and other perishable art that immensely benefits archaeological recovery of the SAIS imagery. Unfortunately, preservation is not so good on the other side of the

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Andes, in northwestern Argentina. Nonetheless, there is convincing evidence that throughout the Quebrada de Huamahuaca, the Puna of Salta and Jujuy, and south into the departments of Catamarca and La Rioja, ancient communities participated in the southern Andean interaction sphere so long conceptualized by archaeologists in terms of Tiwanaku influences. Miriam Tarragó (Chapter 14, this volume) describes impressive gold *keros* and similar cups usually decorated with human heads or faces, which were widely spread and carefully curated until specially interred in graves or ceremonial caches. These are the most elaborate of a larger inventory of widely spread vessels that probably participated in a shared drinking ceremony. None of these effigy vessels bears SAIS iconography, although they resonate with special ceremonial artifacts shared with other southern Andean communities where Tiwanaku influence has been detected. They recall Paul Goldstein's (Chapter 9, this volume) discussion of patrimonial feasting rituals and the ascendency of male elites as a key feature in the successful spread of Tiwanaku provincial culture.

For a larger and overlapping region of northwestern Argentina, Alberto Rex González (2004) has described long-term relations with Lake Titicaca imagery—especially in metalwork from Argentina. The most prominent image is a Profile Attendant or probably, more precisely, a Sacrificer who recalls prototypes for the SAIS Profile Attendants that appeared before the triadic pantheon was formalized in Tiwanaku 1 (Tiwanaku IV) stone sculptures at the capital.

The gold *keros* discussed by Tarragó were discovered in the early decades of professional archaeology and have never been published in detail. Hopefully, this contribution will stimulate more examination of the materials, as well as interrogation of the chronology and processes of northwestern Argentine participation in SAIS and southern Andean interaction.

The northern expansion of SAIS iconography was relatively late in its history, beginning about the same time it was formalized into the triadic pantheon at Tiahuanaco—AD 500 to 750 but almost surely closer to the later date. By AD 1000, triadic pantheon iconography of the SAIS had spread at least as far north as Cajamarca and Piura in the northern Peruvian highlands and coast, respectively. The polity or culture responsible was not Tiwanaku but Wari, with its capital city of Huari in the Ayacucho Valley of Peru's central highlands. Clearly, the triadic pantheon of the SAIS came from the southern Andes, where it was formalized at Tiahuanaco, but decades of debate have not resolved the nature of the relationship between Tiahuanaco and Huari. As an important first step, the Huari and Tiahuanaco chronologies have been synchronized by identifying representations of the Staff God from the two heartlands that are almost identical (Isbell and Knobloch 2006, 2009). Isbell (Chapter 15, this volume) argues that the SAIS triadic pantheon shared by Tiwanaku and Wari probably came about from deliberate negotiations among religious leaders from many southern Andean groups already participating in some form of SAIS religious practices but, most significantly, representatives of the two most powerful centers of the time, Tiahuanaco and Huari. These leaders hammered out a new orthodoxy sanctifying a pantheon of three supernaturals, along with an official doctrine, liturgy, and way to portray the mythical beings. Explicit agreements among participants may account for a stylistic leap without requiring gradual evolution through a Missing Link style postulated by Haeberli (Chapter 6, this volume). But the new SAIS religious consensus did not last indefinitely. Variations soon sprang up in different areas, especially the Huari region.

Employing many of the chronological insights and absolute dates provided by Haeberli (Chapter 6, this volume), Isbell (Chapter 15, this volume) shows that the initial appearance of SAIS imagery at Conchopata/Huari did not initiate the MH but followed a phase of interaction between Ayacucho and Nasca, responsible for the appearance of the polychrome Chakipampa ceramic style. Deliberately smashed offerings of special Chakipampa jars at Conchopata demonstrate that this kind of ritual practice predated the SAIS in Ayacucho. Furthermore, some kind of expansive Wari polity had already been established, and it was into this incipient imperialist context that SAIS iconography was introduced, as the full-fledged triple pantheon, between approximately cal. AD 775 and 825. This was probably within the same generation or two that the full pantheon was first depicted at Tiahuanaco.

Schism was probably inherent in the new triadic pantheon religion from the moment of its adoption in both centers. Frequent representations of the hallucinogenic plant *Anadenanthera colubrina* as opposed to its avoidance in SAIS art implies conflict between adherents of personalized shamanic trance versus those who advocated sober, doctrinal experience of the supernatural based on liturgy conducted by priests.

Despite marked discrepancies in its practice, triadic pantheon Staff God religion participated positively in the spectacular expansion of Huari's politico-religious power. This is best documented by Wari influence across large segments of Peru, including ceramics, architecture,

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

weaving, mortuary preferences, and agricultural facilities. Most Andean prehistorians now agree that Wari conquered and incorporated numerous lesser polities to become Peru's first empire. Outside the heartland, the most extensive and convincing evidence comes from Cusco, where the MH archaeological record includes intrusive settlements, a great administrative center, and graves with the material remains that probably distinguished Wari provincial administrators. Many other highland valleys have similar but less extensive Wari remains, especially in the mountains south of Ayacucho. In northern valleys like the Callejón de Huaylas, Huamachuco, and perhaps Cajamarca, Wari artifacts and architectural influences are apparent, but it may be that Wari imperial control was more indirect (Isbell 2010). Katherina Schreiber (1992, 2001, 2005) provides the most convincing discussions of Wari imperialism, although Areshian (2013a) has pointed out that ancient empires were far more varied than long-popular models based on the Roman Empire have allowed.

Donna Nash's (Chapter 16, this volume) chapter discusses Cerro Baúl, a Wari colonial stronghold in the upper Moquegua Valley. She does not discuss the implications of a fortified Wari outpost on the Tiwanaku frontier for imperialism during the MH. Rather, her focus is on the materialization of Wari identity and the effects of interactions with Tiwanaku colonists occupying the adjacent middle valley (see Goldstein, Chapter 9, this volume), as they are documented by stylistic hybridization of ceramics. Pottery of heartland Wari style played a significant role in identity at Cerro Baúl, and as Nash shows, these ceramics were locally manufactured. Consequently, they were especially sensitive to social processes taking place at this Wari-Tiwanaku interface. Very interesting is a deliberately smashed pottery offering that probably consists of the ceramics in use as the occupation of a small palace at Cerro Baúl was terminated. Was this a feasting context?

Wari and Tiwanaku occupations are both very clear in the far south coastal Moquegua Valley, but the nature and intensity of Wari influence on Peru's central coast has been hotly debated for some time now. Menzel (1964) argued that the region around Lima came under Wari control with the appearance of the Nievería ceramic style in MH 1B. However, after a few generations of imperial domination, the great oracle at Pachacamac began producing a distinctively Wari style of pottery decorated with an innovative icon that was not part of the triadic pantheon. Menzel named the new figure the "Pachacamac Griffin" and inferred that it represented a religious heresy that sparked conflict between Pachacamac and the Ayacucho capital. To ensure its control of the coast, Huari inserted a new highland colony at Chimu Capac, about 100 km north along the coast from Pachacamac and Lima (Menzel 1964).

Political aspects of Wari control on the central coast were not discussed by Menzel, but recent scholars have questioned the intensity of Wari's occupation, arguing that Wari-style pottery and other artifacts are in fact everywhere very scarce on the central coast and that Wari never really dominated the region. Furthermore, the appearance of complex political organization in the region during the MH was the result of local evolutionary trajectories, not the imposition of highland administrative structure (Kaulicke 2001; Marcone 2010; Segua Llanos and Shimada 2010). In the light of this debate, Rommel Angeles Falcón's (Chapter 17, this volume) chapter on the tombs and textiles of Huaca Malena is particularly current.

Huaca Malena, about 100 km south of Lima, is blessed with good preservation, and even though its cemeteries were looted, a great many grave goods and human skeletal remains were left by the pillagers. Very significantly, the MH pottery of Huaca Malena shows no trace of Wari influence. On the other hand, remarkably preserved weavings are replete with Wari imagery. Some of the textiles described by Angeles are extremely fine and so diagnostically Wari that they must have been produced by Ayacucho artists, whether in the heartland or somewhere in a specialized workshop on the central coast. Clearly, textile remains are going to have to be more carefully consulted if archaeologists are to adequately understand Wari and its influences on the central coast and probably elsewhere. The Huaca Malena case should give pause to archaeologists working in the highlands where cloth rarely preserves. How many other cases where local ceramic styles are completely free of Wari influence would have revealed powerful Wari relations in other material domains, such as woven fabrics? It is impossible to determine, and of course, effects on archaeological interpretations are surely significant.

Fully as interesting as the fine, elite Wari textiles of Malena are other foreign styles, Sican and late Moche, for example, that sometime also reveal Wari influences. Local style fabrics, many with Wari hybridizations, are also frequent. Apparently, cultural identities and their materializations in clothing and mortuary practices were surprisingly complex in the ancient Malena cemetery. Angeles was even able distinguish many kinds of grave goods by sex and age, providing a remarkable description of the Malena community in death.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

The largest and most important settlement on the central coast during the MH and, indeed, from that time until the Spanish Conquest was Pachacamac. For several decades, its diverse ceramic styles have been a source of terminological and chronological confusion, as well as debate about the significance of Wari and SAIS influence on local cultural development. Peter Eeckhout (Chapter 18, this volume) successfully resolves many of these questions by defining, describing, and dating the individual ceramic styles of the region. Importantly, he shows that the pottery as well as the wooden Pachacamac idol (see Dulanto 2001) owe little to Wari but much more to local central coast traditions, with some iconographic influx from the north coastal Moche culture. This includes the Casma/Supe Press-Molded pottery (see Carrion Cachot 1959), which Menzel (1977) judged to be a late survival of Wari iconography. Her identification of Wari origins for this central coastal imagery appeared to confirm the transformative power of Wari culture and its political organization during the central coastal MH. Eeckhout, however, considers this inference of Wari supremacy to be excessive, although he does believe that Wari and its triadic pantheon had significant influence on central coast religious ideology, offering new ideas about the afterlife that were enthusiastically received by the peoples of Pachacamac and elsewhere. In his view, highland influences were more religious than political or material.

The nature of Wari and SAIS influence on the north coast has also been intensively debated, but Bernier and Chapdelaine (Chapter 19, this volume) put to rest the argument that Wari defeated a unified Moche polity, occupying the north coastal valleys and bringing about collapse of the spectacular Moche culture. Revising old chronology, the authors carefully examine a wide range of cultural features showing convincingly that Moche antecedents were responsible for most of the innovations witnessed in Late Moche culture but formerly attributed to Wari. On the other hand, there are definitive Wari influences in a few of the numerous Moche polities that survived into the Middle Horizon. Apparently, some Moche elites made alliances with provincial Wari lords, most likely high-status leaders who promoted Wari iconography, political organization, and international identity from the highland Cajamarca Valley.

SAIS imagery offers exciting opportunities for interpreting meanings in the ancient past, not only the primary figures of the triadic pantheon but also the greater corpus of images and symbols that appear in the many cultural styles that participated in the SAIS, from earliest Yaya-Mama to late Wari-influenced styles like Sican. Fifty years ago, Luis Valcárcel (1959) suggested that the Tiahuanaco Staff God might represent an early version of the Inca creator god, Viracocha. Menzel (1977) compared the Pacheco male and female Staff Gods with the Inca Sun and Moon deities but also suggested the possibility of identification of Staff Gods with Illapa, the Inca god of lightning and rain. Certainly, the most secure identification of a SAIS symbol is Patricia Knobloch's (2000) recognition of the *Anadenanthera colubrina* glyph, which appears in many SAIS styles and in several variants. Gender in SAIS imagery is only beginning to receive significant attention, although Haeberli identified Staff Goddesses in Provincial Pucara art, and Goldstein inferred an elite male cult and probably a more quotidian female-oriented ritual as prominent components of Tiwanaku culture. JoEllen Burkholder's (Chapter 20, this volume) contribution is unique and ambitious in dealing exclusively with gender in SAIS art. Employing essential features of female life, Burkholder looks for women in SAIS and closely related styles. Mothers, fertility, and birth, as well as rebirth and fecundity, constitute a set of themes she thinks should identify women, so Burkholder explores features such as figures who may be pregnant, birthing stance, infants and children, and so on to infer which representations may refer to women. Another set of themes she considers includes first menstruation and menopause, which are likely to have been ritualized events and appropriate subjects for symbolic art. Some readers may consider Burkholder's female identifications speculative, but they show how much can be achieved when universal maleness is not assumed by viewers of SAIS imagery. Indeed, the case is made that women are much more common and important in SAIS iconography than formerly recognized, and a number of potential diagnostics of the female gender can now be tested to more securely identify women and their activities.

An idiosyncratic and fascinating interpretation of SAIS art is presented by Krzysztof Makowski (Chapter 21, this volume), who argues that throughout the Wari domain, fine artifacts manufactured to Tiahuanaco standards by highly skilled craftspeople legitimized Wari leaders' authority through association with the prestige of Tiahuanaco on the far-distant shores of sacred Lake Titicaca. Certainly, similar processes are known for other cases of royal elites, but chronologically, Makowski's model must assume the achievement of politico-religious complexity and exquisite artistic craftsmanship at Tiahuanaco before the migration to Wari. Several authors dispute this (see Haeberli, Chapter 6, this volume; see Isbell, Chapter 15, this volume). However, it is

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

a fascinating issue to explore, and the nature of Tiwanaku influence on Wari has been debated for a decades.

Makowski offers an alternative interpretation of the Late SAIS triadic pantheon as well. He agrees that its figures represent deities that populated the SAIS cosmos but disagrees about how they should be understood. Makowski argues that differences in the attributes associated with versions of the Staff God and Profile Attendants—who endured for centuries—refer to multiple deities. He also questions the hierarchical structure inferred by other authors for the pantheon members. Much of this is speculative, requiring assumptions about how Andean people of the MH thought about supernaturals, but the issues are exciting and worthy of further discussion. A great deal can be learned.

Martti Pärssinen (Chapter 22, this volume) takes a structural approach to inferring meaning in SAIS art, interrogating the spectacular pottery offering from the island of Pariti—a large collection that surely represents the associated artifacts of a single ceremonial event. Pärssinen suggests that the large corpus of imagery constitutes a set of iconic cues that accompanied liturgical presentations in official Tiwanaku worship. Meanings might be inferred for at least some symbols by combining well-described Andean logical structures with Inca organizational analogies, especially the transformation of tripartite structure into quadripartite organization. Two of three primary categories can be combined and opposed to the third, which in turn implies a missing fourth element. In Tiwanaku art, this may have been most obviously expressed in the visual categories feline and avian, opposed to fish/snake, that imply the missing frog/toad. These zoomorphs might relate to Inca social categories/statuses *qollana*, *payan*, and *kayaw*—first, second/intermediate, and third/last. So the appearance of different combinations of the zoomorphs in the crows on Staff God images would signal different statuses and perhaps different deities.

Pärssinen's chapter presents an interpretative approach that this article only begins to explore. It shares a great deal with some of the interpretive works by R. Tom Zuidema (2009, 2011) and, hopefully, holds exciting promises that will be further explored in future analyses of SAIS art.

An actor-based historical approach to interpreting Wari SAIS art is presented by Patricia Knobloch (Chapter 23, this volume), who assumes that regularities in clothing, face paint, and headdresses among human figures represented in MH ceramic and textile art were intended to identify widely recognized "agents" of Wari myth and history. The iconographic data Knobloch has assembled are impressive; they are presented in their entirety on her website, "Who Was Who? In the Middle Horizon Andean Prehistory (http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~bharley/WWWAgents.html). In this presentation, she carefully identifies when and where 17 distinct agents appear, as well as with what additional attributes they were associated—for example, with hands bound behind the back as captive. Knobloch's recognition of frequent violence in the art leads her to infer that the narratives refer to the forceful introduction of SAIS religion and cosmology. Interestingly, one set of agents seems to be associated with the new SAIS Staff God, while another set is associated with the Profile Attendant, which she calls the "profile deity." While Knobloch has certainly engaged in some speculation, her identification and tracking of numerous Wari agents is very convincing, and as their spatial and temporal distributions become more apparent, along with special attributers associated with depiction of each, meanings will become more apparent. This approach offers another image-based approach to inferring a Wari perspective on MH history, without actual writing.

Mary Frame (Chapter 24, this volume) shows archaeologists how Wari tunics and other fine textiles were probably experienced by educated observers during the MH. A goal for the art was to combine different and cross-cutting patterns, or structures, in such a way that the viewer could appreciate one—figure compression, for example—and almost instantly switch to the perception of another—color patterning, for example—followed by an equally immediate switch to experiencing a third pattern—figure rotation, for example—so that the surface would seem to flash through a series of dazzling changes. Analogous to the sparkle or flash of a gemstone or of polished metal, the trick of this perception did not involve the shifting angles of reflected light, but shifting perception in the eye, or the mind, of the beholder. Such an accomplishment is astonishing. Frame's chapter contribution emphasizes only two systems of organization in the vertical striped tunics of Wari but is nonetheless a demanding read. The first system is rotation of figures metaphorically re-creating locomotion across a surface, perhaps based on ancient dance. The second is color patterning, which is based on three-dimensional fiber technology that Frame seeks to explain with models from cord-wrapped sticks. Although this article takes a different approach to meaning in ancient arts, I believe that Frame has succeeded in getting inside the head of MH people—weavers and those who admired

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

their products—with astonishing success. The chapter is a masterpiece of interpretive archaeology, giving careful readers a new level of appreciation of this amazing art.

The importance of woven artifacts for the world of the SAIS cannot be emphasized sufficiently, and exquisite interlocked tapestry tunics of the kind described by Frame were apparently the garments of choice for the elites of Wari as well as Tiwanaku. Surprisingly, there is a larger sample of these beautifully decorated garments than one might think. Most are from the Wari culture, but some are definitely Tiwanaku, for a total of about 300 in all. Susan Bergh (2012a:175–181, 2012b) has described a rarer and more spectacular subgroup of these exceptional MH shirts that constitute some of the world's finest and most astonishing garments—sleeved tunics. These shirts are marvelous by any standards, and distinguish themselves by some of the world's highest counts of yarns per linear cm, and virtually double the number of stunning representational images that appear on excellent but standard MH tunics. Among their astonishing attributes is the addition of sleeves, which were not sewn on, but woven into the garment with unbroken warps and wefts, a bewilderingly complicated technology. Obviously, these vestments must have been reserved for the supreme authorities of the late SAIS world, and both Tiwanaku's Gate of the Sun Staff God and Wari's Pacheco Urn Staff Gods are shown wearing sleeved tunics. Apparently, they were the supreme garments of both capitals worn by the ultimate elites of both cultures. If so, why do the general rules of Andean cultural identity—distinctive clothing for distinct ethnic groups—seem to be violated in this amazing case of MH sleeved tunics, shared by the Tiwanaku and Wari leaders? Were there religious authorities—like cardinals and pope—or political officials—like governors and emperor—in both realms who wore matching sleeved tunics? What can these spectacular garments reveal about the MH world of Wari, Tiwanaku, and the SAIS?

SAIS art is replete with representations of bound human captives and the display of decapitated heads, apparently a result of human sacrifice with a knife or an ax that is also frequently displayed in the art. In fact, the SAIS Profile Attendant has an antecedent and overlapping figure, the Sacrificer, who usually carries a cutting weapon as well as a severed head in one hand while the other hand grasps a staff held in front of the body. A similar sacrificial decapitation theme seems widespread in the ancient Andes, appearing also, for example, in Cupisnique and Moche iconography (Cordy-Collins 1992, 2001). So, can comparisons of the decapitation theme in different Andean styles inform understandings of what was meant and how decapitation participated in the ancient world of the SAIS? Does the imagery depict symbolic experience in hallucinogenic shamanic ritual? Does it refer to the fulfillment of an obligation to kill to ensure fertility and new life? Does it refer to captives and warfare? With these issue in mind, no set of imagery appears to narrate this theme so thoroughly as the carved hallucinogenic snuffing paraphernalia that Helena Horta Tricallotis (Chapter 26, this volume) names "Circumpuneño style" and attributes to the Late Intermediate Period (in central Andean chronology) of the southern Andes, from San Pedro de Atacama and Rio Loa region, across the mountains to the Puna de Jujuy and Quebrada de Huamahuaca. As she argues, this late art probably has its roots in the SAIS, so continuity of meanings is a strong possibility.

Horta's presentation is mostly descriptive of the newly defined and little-known Circumpuneño style, but it reveals the possibilities for more intensive and comparative analyses. What is shared, and what are the differences among Circumpuneño, SAIS, and Cupisnique-Moche Sacrificer imagery? In anticipation of this intensive study, Horta's observations are fascinating. The Circumpuneño Sacrificer seems to be depicted as a human wearing a mask, rather than a supernatural being. Perhaps this indicates that these sacrifices took place in the real world, officiated by real people, not just in shamanic hallucinations. Furthermore, Horta identifies specific protagonists who seem to have parallels in the inventory of SAIS figures, as well as special paraphernalia, such as a belt or sash, panpipes, and a distinctive image that appears on the chest. Significantly, Circumpuneño sacrificial art never represents the victim as a bound captive but instead emphasizes variation in postures and gestures such as squatting versus kneeling, with hands grasping the shins as opposed to resting on the knees. Decapitation is implied, never shown as the actual act.

This collection of 25 original essays demonstrates the significance and unity of the SAIS in Andean prehistory and the southern Andean interaction sphere. It participated with many other forms of material culture circulating through the vast southern region, but it was one of the longest lasting, most complex, and most thoroughly linked with the development of complex society. For a century, the SAIS has been unnamed except for its identification with Tiwanaku. However, as the collection of chapters in the volume show, the SAIS is older, larger, and more complex than even the great Tiahuanaco capital. It provides an important concept in terms of which archaeologists and art historians will be free to pursue more productive studies and analyses.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

References

Adams, Robert McCormack

1966 *The Evolution of Urban Society*. Aldine, Chicago.

1974 Anthropological Perspective on Ancient Trade. *Current Anthropology* 15(3):239–258.

Anderson, D.

1990 Stability and Change in Chiefdom-Level Societies: An Examination of Mississippian Political Evolution on the South Atlantic Slope. In *Lamar Archaeology: Mississippian Chiefdoms in the Deep South*, edited by M. Williams and G. Shapiro, pp. 187–252. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Areshian, Gregory E. (editor)

2013a *Empires and Diversity: On the Crossroads of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History*. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, Los Angeles.

Areshian, Gregory E.

2013b Variability and Complexity in Multidisciplinary and Interdisciplinary Studies of Empires. In *Empires and Diversity: On the Crossroads of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History*, edited by G. E. Areshian, pp. 1–20. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, Los Angeles.

Baines, John, and Norman Yoffee

1998 Order, Legitimacy, and Wealth in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. In *Archaic States*, edited by G. M. Feinman and J. Marcus, pp. 199–260. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

2000 Order, Legitimacy, and Wealth: Setting the Terms. In *Order, Legitimacy, and Wealth in Ancient States*, edited by J. Richards and M. Van Buren, pp. 13–17. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Bauer, Alexander A., and Anna Agbe-Davies

2010 *Social Archaeologies of Trade and Exchange Exploring Relationships among People, Places, and Things*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Bawden, Garth

1982 Community Organization Reflected by the Household: A Study of Pre-Columbian Social Dynamics. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 9(2):165–181.

Bennett, Wendell C.

1936 Excavations in Bolivia. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 35(4):329–507.

Berenguer, José R.

1978 La problemática Tiwanaku en Chile: visión retrospectiva. *Revista Chilena de Antropología* 1:17–40.

1998 La iconografía del poder en Tiwanaku y su rol en la integración de zonas de frontera. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 7:19–37.

2004 *Caravanas, interacción y cambio en el Desierto de Atacama*. Sirawi Ediciones, Santiago de Chile.

Bergh, Susan E.

2012a Tapestry-Woven Tunics. In *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*, edited by S. E. Bergh, pp. 158–191. Thames & Hudson and the Cleveland Museum of Art, New York.

2012b *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*. Thames & Hudson and the Cleveland Museum of Art, New York.

Blanton, Richard E., Gary M. Feinman, Stephen A. Kowalewski, and Peter N. Peregrine

1996 A Dual-Processual Theory for the Evolution of Mesoamerican Civilization. *Current Anthropology* 37(1):1–14.

Bray, Tamara L. (editor)

2003a *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Bray, Tamara L.

2003b To Dine Splendidly: Imperial Politics, and the Inca State. In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by T. L. Bray, pp. 93–142. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Browman, David L.

1980 Tiwanaku Expansion and Altiplano Economic Patterns. *Estudios Arqueológicos* 5:107–120.

1984 Tiwanaku: Development of Interzonal Trade and Economic Expansion in the Altiplano. In *Social and Economic Organization in the Prehistoric Andes*, edited by D. Browman, R. Burger, and M. Rivera, pp. 117–142. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 194, Oxford.

1997 Political Institutional Factors Contributing to the Integration of the Tiwanaku State. In *Emergence and Change in Early Urban Societies*, edited by L. Manzanilla, pp. 229–243. Plenum, New York.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M., and Timothy K. Earle

1987 Specialization, Exchange and Complex Societies: An Introduction. In *Specialization, Exchange and Complex Societies*, edited by E. M. Brumfel and T. K. Earle, pp. 1–9. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Burger, Richard L., Karen L. Mohr Chávez, and Sergio J. Chávez

2000 Through the Glass Darkly: Prehispanic Obsidian Procurement and Exchange in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia. *Journal of World Archaeology* 14(3):267–362.

Carrion Cachot, Rebecca de Girard

1959 *La Religion en el Antiguo Peru (Norte y Centro de la Costa, Periodo Post-Clasico)*. Typografia Peruana, Lima.

Chase-Dunn, Christopher K., and T. D. Hall

1991 Concepetualizing Core/Periphery Hierarchies for Comparative Studies. In *Core/Periphery RElations in Precapitalist Worlds*, edited by C. K. Chase-Dunn and T. D. Hall, pp. 5–44. Boulder, Colorado.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Clarke, J. E., and M. Blake
1994 The Power of Prestige: Competitive Generosity and the Emergence of Rank Societies in Lowland Mesoamerica. In *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, edited by E. M. Brumfel, pp. 17–30. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Cohen, Abner
1969 *Custom & Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. Routledge & K. Paul, London.

Cook, Anita G., and Nancy Benco
2001 Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama: producción artesanal en un centro urbano Huari. *Boletín de Arqueologia PUCP* 4:489–504.

Cook, Anita G., and Mary Glowacki
2003 Pots, Politics, and Power: Huari Ceramic Assemblages and Imperial Administration. In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by T. L. Bray, pp. 173–202. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Cordy-Collins, Alana
1992 Archaism or Tradition: The Decapitation Theme in Cupisnique and Moche Iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* 3(3):206–220.
2001 Decapitation in Cupisnique and Early Moche Societies. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by E. P. Benson and A. G. Cook, pp. 21–34. University of Texas Press, Austin.

D'Altroy, Terence N., and Timothy K. Earle
1985 Staple Finance, Wealth Finance and Storage in the Inka Political Economy. *Current Anthropology* 26(2):187–206.

Dietler, Michael
2001 Theorizing the Feast: Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics and Power in African Contexts. In *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, edited by M. Dietler and B. Hayden, pp. 65–114. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
2003 Clearing the Table: Some Concluding Reflections on Commensal Politics in Imperial States. In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by T. L. Bray, pp. 271–284. Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York.

Dulanto, Jahl
2001 Dioses de Pachacamac: El Ídolo y El Templo. In *Los Dioses del Antiguo Peru*, edited by K. Makowski, Vol. II, pp. 159–181. Colección Arte y Tesoros del Peru, Banco de Credito del Peru, Lima.

Gero, Joan M.
1992 Feasts and Females: Gender Ideology and Political Meals in the Andes. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 25(1):15–30.

Goldstein, Paul S.
1993 House, Community, and State in the Earliest Tiwanaku Colony: Domestic Patterns and State Integration at Omo M12, Moquegua. In *Domestic Architecture, Ethnicity, and Complementarity in the South Central Andes*, edited by M. S. Aldenderfer, pp. 25–41. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
2005 *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of South American Empire*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Goldstein, Paul S., and Bruce Owen
2002 Tiwanaku En Moquegua: Las Colonias Altiplanicas. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:139–168.

González, Alberto R.
2004 La Arqueología del Noroeste Argentino y las Culturas Formativas de la Cuenca del Titicaca. *Buenos Aires: Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* XXIX:7–38.

Haeberli, Joerg
2002 Tiempo y Tradición en Arequipa, Perú, y El Surgimiento de la Cronología del Tema de la Deidad Central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5:89–137.

Hassig, Ross
1988 *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Hayden, Brian
1995 Pathways to Power: Principles for Creating Socioeconomic Inequalities. In *Foundations of Social Inequality*, edited by T. D. Price and G. M. Feinman, pp. 15–86. Plenum, New York.

Higueras-Hare, Alvaro
1996 Prehispanic Settlement and Land-Use in Cochabamba, Bolivia. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh.

Isbell, William H.
1996 Household and *Ayni* in the Andean Past. In *Structure, Knowledge and Representation in the Andes: Studies Presented to Reiner Tom Zuidema on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by G. Urton, pp. 247–305. University of Illinois, Urbana.
1996 Household and *Ayni* in the Andean Past. In *Structure, Knowledge and Representation in the Andes: Studies Presented to Reiner Tom Zuidema on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by G. Urton, pp. 247–305. University of Illinois, Urbana.
2010 Agency, Identity and Control: Understanding Wari Space and Power. In *Beyond Wari Walls: Regional*

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru, edited by J. Jennings, pp. 233–254. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Isbell, William H., and Amy Groleau

2010 The Wari Brewer Woman: Feasting, Gender, Offerings, and Memory. In *Inside Ancient Kitchens: New Directions in the Study of Daily Means and Feasts*, edited by E. A. Klarich, pp. 191–220. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Isbell, William H., and Patricia J. Knobloch

2006 Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past. In *Andean Archaeology Vol. III: North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 307–351. Springer, New York.

2009 SAIS—The Origin, Development and Dating of Tiahuanaco-Huari Iconography. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sanchez, pp. 163–210. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver.

Jennings, Justin, and Brenda J. Bowser

2009 *Drink, Power, and Society in the Andes*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Kardulias, P. Nick

2007 Negotiation and Incorporation on the Margins of World-Systems: Examples from Cyprus and North America. *Journal of World-Systems Research* 13:55–82.

2010 World-Systems Applications for Understanding the Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean. In *Archaic State Interaction: The Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age*, edited by W. A. Parkinson and M. L. Galaty, pp. 53–80. School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Kaulicke, Peter

2001 La Sombra de Pachacamac: Huari en la costa central. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4:313–358.

Knobloch, Patricia J.

2000 Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata: An Interpretation of Anadenanthera Colubrina Iconography. *Latin America Antiquity* 11(4):387–402.

Kolata, Alan L.

1993 *The Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization*. Blackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Lizzari, Marisa

2010 Landscapes of Circulation in Northwestern Argentina: The Workings of Obsidian and Ceramics during the First Millennium AD. In *Social Archaeologies of Trade and Exchange Exploring Relationships among People, Places, and Things*, edited by A. A. Bauer and A. Agbe-Davies, pp. 49–68. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Marcone, Giancarlo F.

2010 What Role Did Wari Play in the Lima Political Economy? The Peruvian Central Coast at the Beginning of the Middle Horizon. In *Beyond Wari Walls: Regional Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru*, edited by J. Jennings, pp. 136–154. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Marcus, Joyce

1998 The Peaks and Valleys of Ancient States: An Extension of the Dynamic Model. In *Archaic States*, edited by G. M. Feinman and J. Marcus, pp. 59–94. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Menzel, Dorothy

1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Ñawpa Pacha* 2:1–106.

1968 New Data on Middle Horizon Epoch 2A. *Ñawpa Pacha* 6:47–114.

1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Murra, John V.

1975 El "control vertical" de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas. *Historia Andina* 3:59–115.

1972 El 'Control Vertical' de un Máximo de Pisos Ecológicos en la Economía de las Sociedades Andinas. In *Iñigo Ortiz de Zuñiga, Visita de la Provincia de Leon de Huanuco en 1562*, edited by J. V. Murra, pp. 429– 476. Universidad Hermillio Valdizan, Huanuco.

1975 *Formaciones Economicas y Politicas del Mundo Andino*. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

1985a "El Archipiélago Vertical" Revisited. In *Andean Ecology and Civilization*, edited S. Masuda, I. Shimada, and C. Morris, pp. 3–14. University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.

1985b The Limits and Limitations of the "Vertical Archipelago" in the Andes. In *Andean Ecology and Civilization*, edited S. Masuda, I. Shimada, and C. Morris, pp. 15–20. University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.

Nash, Donna J.

2009 Household Archaeology in the Andes. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 17(3):205–261.

Nielsen, Axel E.

2001 Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives on Caravan Trade in the South-Central Andes. In *Ethnoarchaeology of Andean South America: Contributions to Archaeological Method and Theory*, edited by L. Kuznar, pp. 163–201. International Monographs in Prehistory, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Núñez, Lautaro, and Tom Dillehay

1978 *Movilidad Giratoria, Armonía Social y Desarollo en los andes Meridionales: Patrones de trafico e Intercambio Economica*. Universidad del Norte, Antofagasta.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Oakland Rodman, Amy
1992 Textiles and Ethnicity: Tiwanaku in San Pedro de Atacama, North Chile. *Latin American Antiquity* 3(4):316–340.

Parkinson, William A.
2002 Integration, Interaction, and Tribal "Cycling": The Transition to the Copper Age on the Great Hungarian Plain. In *The Archaeology of Tribal Societies*, edited by W. A. Parkinson, pp. 391–438. International Monographs in Prehistory, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Parkinson, William A., and Michael L. Galaty (editors)
2010 *Archaic State Interaction: The Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age*. School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Renfrew, Colin
1975 Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication. In *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, edited by J. Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, pp. 3–59. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
1986 Introduction: Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change. In *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, edited by C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry, pp. 1–18. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rivera, Mario A.
2008 The Archaeology of Northern Chile. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell, pp. 963–978. Springer Science and Business Media LLC, New York.

Salomon, Frank
1986 *Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North-Andean Chiefdoms*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Schreiber, Katharina J.
1992 *Wari Imperialism in Middle Horizon Peru*. Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Anthropology, No. 87. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
2001 The Wari Empire of Middle Horizon Peru: The Epistemological Challenge of Documenting an Empire without Documentary Evidence. In *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, edited by S. Alcock, T. N. D'Altroy, K. D. Morrison, and C. M. Sinopoli, pp. 70–92. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
2005 Imperial Agendas and Local Agency: Wari Colonial Strategies. In *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by G. J. Stein, pp. 237–262. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Segura Llanos, Rafael, and Izumi Shimada
2010 The Wari Footprint on the Central Coast: A View from Cajamarquilla and Pachacamac. In *Beyond Wari Walls: Regional Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru*, edited by J. Jennings, pp. 113–135. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Swenson, Edward
2006 Competitive Feasting, Religious Pluralism and Decentralized Power in the Late Moche Period. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell and H. Silverman, pp. 112–142. Springer, New York.

Tung, Tiffiny A.
2012 *Violence, Ritual, and the Wari Empire: A Social Bioarchaeology of Imperialism in the Ancient Andes*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Tung, Tiffiny A., and Kelly J. Knudson
2008 Social Identities and Geographical Origins of Wari Trophy Heads from Conchopata, Peru. *Current Anthropology* 49(5):915–925.
2010 Childhood Lost: Abductions, Sacrifice, and Trophy Heads of Children in the Wari Empire. *Latin American Antiquity* 22(1):44–66.

Valcárcel, Luis E.
1959 Símbolos magico-religiosos en la cultura andina. *Revista del Museo Nacional Tomo* XXVIII:3–18.

Vaughn, Kevin J.
2004 Households, Crafts, and Feasting in the Ancient Andes: The Village Context of Early Nasca Craft Consumption. *Latin American Antiquity* 15(1):61–88.

Zuidema, R. Tom
2009 Tiwanaku Iconography and the Calendar. In *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by M. Young-Sanchez, pp. 83–100. Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, Denver.
2011 Royal Tunics: Inca, Huari and Tiahuanaco. University lecture delivered at the State University of New York at Binghamton, October 11, 2011.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD